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THE
MODERN PART
OF AN
Universal History,

FROM THE
Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

VOL. XII

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Modern History:

BEING A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

Universal History.

BOOK XV.

History of the Othmân Empire.

CHAP. I.

Origin of the Othmân Turks, and History, till their settling in Asia Minor, under the Seljuk Soltâns. Remarks on their Historians; with the Reigns of Soleymân Shâh and Ertogrul.

THE observation, that the greatest empires have sprung from the most inconsiderable people, whose origin is obscure, may be applied with as much justice to the *Othmân*, or *Ozmân* (A) *Turks*, as to any other nation whatever. There can be no doubt that they came originally from *Turkestan*, or some other part of *Tartary*: but it is not easy to fix the particular province of that vast region from whence they issued; or to determine the particular tribe from which they derive their descent.

(A) *Othmân* is an *Arabic* word, of which *Ozmân* is the *Persian* pronunciation, followed by the *Turks*, who dwelt a long time in *Persia*. They are called *Ali Othmân*, or the *Othmân People*.

Their genealogy suspicious.

We are told by a late writer, that it is agreed by all, that the *Othmán Turks* are descended from one of the most noble of the *Ogúzian* families^a, who derive their pedigree from *Ogúz Khán*, one of the most ancient heroes of the *Turkish* nation; and hence they assume the name of *Ogúzians*. But, altho' the *Turks*, and *Mohammedan Tatars*, reckon *Ogúz* among the ancestors of the *Turks* in general, yet none of them speak of a particular tribe, or branch of the *Turkish* nation, under the name of *Ogúzians* (B), as appear from what hath been before related^b: and if there had been any such, it does not appear how the *Othmáns* can be more intitled to that name than the *Seljúk Turks*, who derived themselves from *Ogúz*, as well as they. But, after all, the genealogy which is given of the race of *Ogúz* (if not the person of *Ogúz* himself) may well be suspected of being fictitious; since *Saadi Effendi*, one of the most esteemed historians among the *Turks*, speaks but dubiously of it, or as a thing not sufficiently vouched by those who exhibit it^c.

Name Turk odious:

The name of *Turk* being brought into great contempt in the East, by the *Arabs* and *Persians*, who have stigmatized it, as a word implying rudeness and barbarity, the *Othmán* Port will not be called the *Turkish* Court: nor does it suffer that word to be used, but in reference to the language; as, *Turkiye vilurmisin? Do you understand Turkish? Othmâniye vilurmisin*, being improper: for *Othmâniye* denotes politeness of manners; as, on the contrary, *Turkiye* signifies rude and uncivilized. Hence the common saying, *Turk muddeti umrinde*; that is, *A Turk thro' the whole course of his life*: as much as to say, *He will always be a clown, and never learn the politeness of the Othmáns*^d. Yet these *Othmáns* were, perhaps, the most rude and unpolite of all the three *Turkish* branches, till they conquered *Constantinople*.

Rejected by them.

As they are ashamed of their name, and will not own it belongs to them, several stories are framed to inform us how it came to be given to them. First, prince *Cantemir* affirms, (whether of his own head, or after some *Turkish* author,

^a CANTEMIR, Hist. Oth. Emp. pref. p. 12.

^b See before.

Vol. IV. p. 19.

^c CANT. ubi sup. p. 14.

See also before,

Vol. IV. p. 5, & seqq.

^d Cant. pref. p. 8.

(B) *Khalkokondilas* relates, that in his time they talk'd of a tribe of *Tartars* called *Ogúzians*, from whence they derived them-

selves. But this only shews, that they talked then as they do now; having begun to contrive and write their history.

does

does not appear (C), that the name of *Turks* was given to *Soleymân* (the grandfather of *Othmân*) and his followers, by the *Persians* (meaning the *Seljuks* of *Râm*), upon a supposition, that they were part of the *Jenghiz Khân Scythians*, as he calls the *Mogols*. For it must be observed, that this author supposes the name of *Turks* to have belonged to the nations, or tribes of people, whom *Jenghiz Khân* brought from *Tatary*, when he invaded the southern countries of *Asia*; and that, on their dispersing themselves thro' *Persia*, and *Asia Minor*, the name of *Turks* first became known there*. Whereas the followers of that conqueror were universally known only by the name of *Mogols*, or *Tatars*; and that of *Turks* (with which the *Persians* had then been for many ages acquainted) was introduced into *Asia Minor* by the *Seljukians*, above 200 years before. On what grounds.

SECONDLY, he suggests, that when, on *Jenghiz Khân's* invasion, the *Persian* governors shook off the *Persian* yoke, *Aladin*, Soltân of *Ikonium* (whom he makes one of them) forced many of the *Scythians* to submit to his obedience; and mixing them with the peasants, to till the lands, called them by the common name of *Turks*. And hence, continues our author, it came to pass, that he who before was called governor of the *Persians*, or Soltân of *Ikonium*, was afterwards stiled Soltân of the *Turks*. Whether prince *Cantemir* framed this apology himself, or took it from some *Turkish* author, it is certain nothing can be more absurd or contrary to the truth of history. It is observable here, that by the *Persians* he means the *Seljukians* of *Rûm*, or *Anatolia*; in which, to serve his turn, he seems to follow the *Greek* writers: not considering, that they use the words *Turks* and *Persians* synonymously; and that they call them *Persians*, only because they came from *Persia*, when they invaded the *Roman* dominions, as we have observed more than once in the preceding history: not that they believed them to be natural *Persians*; for they relate expressly, that *Tangrolipix* (as they call *Togrol-bek*) the first *Seljukian* Soltân, and his followers, were *Turks*†. The reasons given.

His last plea is, That *Othmân*, on his being proclaimed Soltân, after *Aladin's* death, to banish from the people the ignominious and odious name of *Turks*, ordered it to be confined forced and unlikely.

* CANT. pref. p. 7.

† See before, Vol. IV. p. 89.

(C) He seldom cites his authors distinctly, or distinguishes his own opinions from theirs.

to the peasants (D), and the rest to be called Othmânli, or Othmâns. What ! were the Persians to be called *Othmâns* ? was the name of *Seljuk* to be buried in that of the son of *Ertogrol* ? No surely, not so long as any of the *Seljukian* princes, who after the death of the last Soltân had set-up for themselves, remained in power : although our author, following the partial *Turkish* historians, will have it, that they all submitted at once to *Othman*.

Real
Turks:

To return to the point: the truth is, that though the *Othmâns*, as well as *Seljuks*, when they grew powerful, assumed those appellations, either being too proud any longer to bear a name which was fallen into contempt, or else to honour the founders of their respective empires ; yet they were nevertheless *Turks* in reality : and, in saying they were *Ogúzians*, they confirm that opinion the more, since *Ogúz* was but a few descents from *Turk*. Nor can we see, why they should be ashamed of the name ; since *Turk*, whom they feign to be a son of *Japhet*, is acknowledged as the common ancestor of all the tribes, or nations, inhabiting *Tartary*. Besides, as the *Othmâns* came originally from thence, they must needs be *Turks* by descent, let them call themselves by what name they will : and methinks they ought to prefer that name above any other, as it denotes their being descended immediately from *Turk*, their great ancestor ; and that all the other tribes of *Tatars* are sprung from theirs.

their ori-
ginal coun-
try,

As to the particular part of *Tartary* where this supposed *Ogúzian* hord, or tribe, originally inhabited, all the *Turkish* historians, we are told, agree, that it dwelt in the neighbourhood of the *Caspian* sea, and was especially of those *Tatars* whom they commonly call *Konar Kocher Tatar Tayfeli* ; that is, *staying and going* : as much as to say, without fixed habitations. Prince *Cantemir* is inclined to believe, that these *Ogúzians* dwelt in the country between that sea and the lake called *Karabogâz*, at present inhabited by the *Karakâlpaks*, who lead a wandering life, and speak the *Turkish* language ; although the *Turks* greatly differ from them in their manners and way of living². That the *Turks* should differ from them at present, in those respects, is not to be wondered at : but it is probable, that, when they lived in those deserts, they had a great conformity in manners, either with the *Karakâlpaks*,

very an-
certain.

² CANT. *ibid.* p. 12.

(T) What need had he to do what *Aladin* had done before ?

as the *Turkmâns*, their neighbours (E); from whom the *Othmân*, as well as the *Seljuk*, *Turks* have been reproached with being descended. But the affair of country or nation, about which so great a bustle is made, is a very idle ridiculous concern, since these qualifications can confer no honour on a people if they be wicked, nor reflect any dishonour on them in case they be virtuous.

ALTHOUGH the *Turkish* historians run up the genealogy of the *Othmân Turks* as high as *Ogúz* and *Japhet*, five generations beyond him, yet it does not appear that the ancestors of *Othmân*, who, as Prince *Cantemir* confesses^a, are but darkly set forth in the *Turkish* authors (F), can be traced with any certainty beyond the third degree, or that of his great-grandfather. These, according to the tradition in the time of *Khalkokondylas*, were *Ertogrul*, *Ogúzalp*, and *Duzalp*: according to the *Turkish* annals, *Saadi effendi*, and other eastern writers, their names were *Ertogrul*, *Soleymân Shâh*, and *Kiya aleb*, called by some *Kiya Khân*.

OF *Kiya Khân*, father of *Soleymân Shâh*, or indeed of any of the three ancestors of *Othmân*, very little is related by the *Turkish* historians; and even that little is liable to many objections.

S A A D I effendi, author of the annals so approved, as we settle in are told, by the *Othmâns*, relates, after the best antient writers, that at the same time when the family of *Seljuk* removed from *Mawara'lnahr* (or the country beyond the river *Amâ*) into *Irân* (or *Persia* at large, lying to the south of that river), with them also *Kiya Khân*, father of *Soleymân Shâh*, prince of the *Ogúzians*, departed with his tribe from *Marû Shâhjân*, and possessed himself of the city of *Makhân* (G)¹: but that after
Jenghiz

^a Hist. Othm. pref. p. 12.
p. 822. *Soleymân Schah*.

¹ HERBELOT'S Dict. Orient.

(E) The *Turkish* annals testify, that *Ertogrul*, father of *Othmân*, resided for a time near the *Euphrates*, in moveable habitations, like the inhabitants of *Tatary*.

(F) He even owns, that the learned *Turks* confess, that every thing in the *Othmân* history, before *Saleyman*, favours of fable.

(G) *Makhân*, or *Mabân*, is between *Bawerd*, or *Ibûrd*, and *Darûn*, not far from the river

Amû, and about 160 miles from the *Caspian* sea. *Cantemir*, from some *Turkish* author, chooses to give the place from whence he retreated the name of *Nere*, although he knows not where to put it. Not finding it in the maps of Christians, he supposes it to be either *Herât*, capital of *Khorassân*, or else *Nurketzur*, in *Mazanderân* (which he makes a part of *Ghilân*); but the first is not near the *Caspian* sea, as he
says

A. D. 1214. *Jenghiz Khân's* irruption, *Soleyman Shâh*, son of *Kiya*, or, as some write it, *Kiya aleb Khân*, whose dominions reached to *Ahlad* (H), to avoid the fury of the *Tatars*, was forced to relinquish his possessions, and with his people go in quest of new habitations towards the country of *Rûm*^k (or *Anatolia*).

remove west-wards. Hej. 611. A. D. 1214. *HESHRI*, a much older historian than *Saadi*, says the *Ogúzians* possessed the country of *Ahlad* 170 years before *Soleyman*; under whom, in 611, they made their first expedition towards the regions of *Asia Minor*. But the *Tatars* having left nothing undestroyed, *Soleyman*, with his followers, abandoning *Rûm*, removed back to *Azerbejân* (I), and there, for some time, led a country or unsettled life. At last,

Hej. 616. A. D. 1219. in the year 616, pressed for want of necessities, he advanced a second time with 50,000 men towards *Rûm*, to recover his former possessions: but, in attempting to swim over the *Euphrates* on horse-back, was drowned^l.

THE place where this accident happened, according to the *Tajo' Hawarikh* of *Saedd'eddîn*, was over-against the castle *Khaybar*, or *Jâbber*, and he was interred in a place called at present *Mazar dhi Turk*^m. The *Tarikh Othmâni* relates that *Soltân Aladin*, of *Seljukian* extraction, flying from *Khorassân* to the country of *Tunnân* (K), and seizing the city of *Sevasta*

* CANT. pref. p. 12. & seq. D'HERBELOT, p. 822, art. *Solimân Schah*.
^l Ibid. ^m Ibid.

says the *Turks* place *Nere*; and the latter is too much out of the way from *Marû Shâh jân* and *Mabân*. We rather judge, that he reads *Nere* by Mistake for *Nexa*, ther and x, in the *Arabic* characters, differing only by a point. This *Nexa*, *Nesa*, or *Nasay* (as it is written in the translation of *Abûl'ghâzi Khân's History of the Turks*), lies between *Mabân* and *Marû Shâh jân*, distant from each about 140 miles; and, for its delightful situation, is called *Little Damascus*.

(H) *Aklât*, or *Kelât*, in the *Great Armenia*, often mentioned before.

(I) *Cantemir* says *Azerbejân* is *Shirwân*, or *Belâdo'l'jebâl*;

whereas they are three different provinces of *Persia*; the first to the north of *Azerbejân*, or *Adberbijân*; the last, called *Kubestân* by the *Persians*, is a part of *Persian Irâk*. The same author commits a farther mistake, in saying *Azerbijân* is a province bordering on *Syria*, whereas all *Mesopotamia* and *Kûrdîstân* lie between. What is still worse, and argues a great deficiency in geography, he puts the river *Nile* for one of the boundaries of *Europe*. See his *Othmân Hist.* p. 4. and the notes 8 & 9.

(K) Not *Karamania*, as *Gaudier* supposes; nor *Ionis*, as *Cantemir* will have it; but *Greece*, or the *Greek empire* in general.

for

(or *Sivâs*) assumed regal power : at the same time, *Makhân* being destroyed, *Soleymân Shâh*, giving way to the violence of the *Tatars*, repaired to *Erzingân* (L) (or *Arzingân*) ; from thence, penetrating into *Romania* (*Rûm*, or *Rûmilî*), came to *Amasia*. Then, altering his course, marches to *Halep*, and thence to the city of *Jabber* on the *Euphrates* (M), where he encamped : and, in attempting to swim over the river on horse-back, was drowned *.

A. D.

1219.

Soleymân Shâh drowned.

THIS retreat of *Soleymân* is by the historians marked to have happened after *Jenghiz Khân* had destroyed the city of *Balkh*, in *Khorassân* ; and had slain, after expelling from his kingdom, *Kurzem Shâh* (N).

THIS history, as delivered by the *Turkish* historians, made use of by *Cantemir*, is liable to several objections. First, what is asserted, that the dominions of *Soleymân* extended from *Makhân*, in *Khorassân*, to *Ahlâd*, in *Armenia*, is contrary to the truth of history : for all *Persia*, and great part of *Armenia*, was, at that time, under the obedience of the *Karazm Shâhs* ; and before them, were in the possession of the *Seljukians* of *Irân*. Nor is it likely, that *Ahlâd* was at all in the hands of the *Oguzians*, much less for 170 years before *Soleymân's* retreat, if indeed he ever was possessed of it : for it is hardly possible, that two places, at so vast a distance as *Makhân* and *Ahlâd*, should be so long subject to petty princes, whose dominions were almost wholly confined to those two cities, and whose names were scarce known to the historians of those countries. Add to this, that his being forced to relinquish his possessions, with his followers, consisting of 50,000 men,

Objection first.

* CANT, pref. p. 13. *Annal Soltanor*, p. 1.

(L) A city on the *Euphrates*, to the southwest of *Arzerûm*. *Cantemir* wrongly supposes, that by *Erzingân* is meant *Exerbejân*, or *Adberbijân*, the ancient *Media*. Pref. to his *Othm.* Hist. p. 12.

from thence is applied to the countries bordering on that sea (2). Whereas the sea takes the name of *Kurzem*, or *Karazm*, from the country of *Karazm*, or *Khowarazm*, situate on the east sidethereof. The *Shâh* here mentioned is *Mohammed Karazm Shâh*, the last of that *Turkish* race spoken of before, Vol. IV. p. 380, & seq. : but, because the *Turkish* histories do not mention his name, our princely author did not know it : which shews his reading did not go much beyond the *Turkish* historians.

(M) Below *Bîr*, towards *Rakka*.

(N) Or *Karazm Shâh*. *Cantemir* discovers great want of reading on this occasion ; he says, that *Kurzem Shâh* signifies the king of *Caspia* (a kingdom of his own making) ; for that *Kurzem*, with the *Turks*, (1) signifies the *Caspian sea* ; and

(1) Pref. p. 12.

(2) Hist. Othman. p. 2.

A. D. 1219. to seek new habitations in *Rûm*, does not at all consist with his character of a prince possessed of large dominions; who, in that case, would have been able to have raised more numerous forces, and to have withstood the *Mogols*, instead of flying from them without fighting a stroke.

2d Objection. SECONDLY, what is related of *Soltân Aladdin* (or *Alao'd-dîn*) flying from *Khorassân* at the same time that *Soleymân* retreated from thence, and assuming royal power in *Sevasta* by right of conquest, is all a fiction: for *Alao'ddîn* came by succession to be *Soltân* of *Koniyah*, or *Ikonium*, on the death of his brother *Azzo'ddîn*, in 616; and, for any thing that appears, was never out of *Anatolia* before his accession to the throne. Indeed all that is related of this *Soltân*, and of what passed between him and the ancestors of *Othmân*, is merely fictitious, as will be shewn hereafter.

3d Objection. THIRDLY, what is said with regard to the time when *Soleymân* made his retreat from *Makhân* carries the marks of a bungling piece of forgery: for it is affirmed to have happened in 611 (O), and yet to have been after the death of

Hej. 617. *Karazm Shâh*, which was in 617, and of the destruction of *Bâlk*, which came to pass the year following. Nay, *Jenghîz Khân*'s forces did not pass the river *Amû* into *Khorassân*, the most northern province of *Persia*, till the year 617°, which was the year after *Soleymân*'s death. So that, instead of being forced out of that country by the *Mogols*, or *Tatars*, he must have left it six years before there was any apprehension of their coming. This shews also the inconsistency of the reason assigned for his quitting the country of *Anatolia*, and returning to *Azerbejân*; namely, because the *Tatars* had left nothing undestroyed there. Whereas they had not then entered upon their *Persian* expedition. Nor did they penetrate into *Asia Minor* during the reign of *Alao'ddîn*; which ended Hej. 634. in 634: nor for several years after. If Prince *Cantemir* had examined the *Turkish* historians critically in this part which A. D. 1235. relates to the origin of the *Othmâns*, it is presumed he would have followed them with more caution, and not exaggerated matters (P), after *Saadi effendi*, and the other later writers,

° See LA CROIX's Hist. of Jenghiz Can, p. 238, & 283, &c.

(O) According to *Nisbrin*, *Saadi effendi*, and other *Turkish* historians.

(P) *Cantemir* speaks of the retreat of this obscure prince in these pompous words: Then it was that *Solimân Shâh*, son of *Kiyâ Khân*, prince of the city of

Nere, and of the *Ogûzian Tatars*, lord also of the region of *Maru Shân jân*; excelling all the princes of his nation in nobleness of birth, glory of ancestors, and his own virtues, in the year, &c. *Oth. Hist.* p. 2, & seqq.

whq

who had more the *Othmân* glory, than the truth of history, in view. But to return to the history itself.

A. D.
1236.

SOLEYMAN left four sons, *Sungurtekin*, *Jundogdi* (Q), *Erdogrul* (or *Ortogrol*) *Gâzi*, and *Dundar*, or *Dumdar*. The two first, on their father's death, returned into *Persia*. *Erdogrul* and *Dumdar*, with their part of the forces, first pitched their tents in a place called *Shirmahuchuker* (R). *Dumdar* dying here a few days after, *Erdogrul* moved towards *Asia Minor*, subduing several provinces in his way (S); and, from his compelling those he defeated to embrace his religion (T), obtained the name of *Zeletis*, very famous in those parts. After this, that he might not seem tyrannically to covet the possessions of others, he sends his eldest son *Saru-yati* (U), (afterwards celebrated by the epithet of *Savuchi Beg*) in an humble manner to *Aladin* (X), *Soltân* of *Ikonium*; desiring a habitation somewhere in his kingdom for himself and his followers. *Aladin*, thinking it better to make this powerful, though new, neighbour, his friend than his enemy, and above all things wanting a good general to lead his armies, readily grants his request: and, sending back *Saru-yati*, with ambassadors, to *Erdogrul*, promises, that, in case by his valour

Ertogrul's
conquests;

repairs to
Asia Mi-
nor.

(Q) These two are named in *D'Herbelot Sanku Zenghi* and *Gbundogdi*. *D'Herb.* p. 822, art. *Soliman Schah*.

(R) *Syrmalyzkur*, p. 8. of the *Oth. Hist.* probably *Chirmalek*, in *Diğârbeke*, between *Bir* and *Orfa*.

(S) In the history, p. 8. it is said, that he reduced by arms, or policy, all the countries between *Alippo* and *Cesarea* (that is in *Asia Minor*), with their castles and towns; introducing every-where the *Mohammedan* religion, which he professed.

(T) As if the inhabitants of those parts had been infidels, and not *Mohammedans*.

(U) Elsewhere written *Saru-jâr*. *Hist. Oth.* p. 9.

(X) *Canemir*, p. 8, note 6, says he is called the second by the *Turkish* historians, although they do not mention a first. Hence he supposes the first *Aladin* is the *Axatines* of *Nicepho-*

rus Gregoras, who fled to *Michael Palæologus*, in the year 661, or of Christ 1261. But that *Axatines*, or *Azzo'ddin*, was the next successor except one to *Aladin I.* as we have shewn before, Vol. IV. p. 251, & seqq. And if *Erdogrul* repaired to *Aladin* soon after *Soleymân's* death (as it should seem from the history he did), this must have been the first *Aladin*, since he was proclaimed *Soltân* in the same year that *Soleymân* is said to have been drowned; and the *Azzo'ddin*, before-mentioned, did not begin his reign till the year 642, or 1244 of Christ; which is 28 years later: but, indeed, the whole of *Ertogrul's* transactions with *Aladin* are manifestly fictitious, as not in any respect agreeable with what is related of that victorious *Soltân*, by historians of unquestionable authority.

A. D. 1236. the remainder of the *Tatars* were driven out of his dominions, not only to place him at the head of his armies, but also to associate him in his empire. *Erdogrul*, on this encouragement repairing to *Aladin's* court, was assigned *Karajedâghî*, in the country of *Ancyra*, for the place of his abode.

expels the Mogols: ABOUT this very time, a numerous body of *Tatars* happening to invade the region of *Ancyra*, *Aladin*, who had been long infested by them and often brought to the last extremity, leads such forces against them as could be assembled in haste; but, being inferior to the enemy's, they were put into disorder on the first onset. *Ertogrul*, hearing of the battle, came up opportunely with 5000 men; who, seeing the *Soltân's* forces flying and dispersed, advise him to join the conquerors, and seize the spoils of the runaways: but he, scorning to draw his sword upon the prostrate, bravely attacks the *Tatars*, and puts them to flight. The *Soltân*, mindful of his promises, royally rewards *Erdogrul*, commits to his government the whole province of *Ancyra*, and makes him generalissimo of his armies (Y). After this, *Ertogrul*, joining his forces to the *Soltân's*, not only puts a stop to the incursions of the *Tatars*, but compels them to retire from the borders of the kingdom. He likewise subdued other countries from the *Romans*, and annexed them to *Aladin's* empire. In the year 680, according, says our author, to the accurate historian *Saadi*, he crowned his victories with the conquest of the famous city of *Kutahi* (Z) from the *Greeks*. At length, being worn out with wars and old age, he died in the same year, according to the same historians, but, according to *Nisbrîn*, in 687 (A); and was buried at the castle of *Suguchik* (B), where his sepulchre is at this day religiously visited by *Mohammedans* ^P.

Othmân exalted: *ERTOGRUL* left three sons; *Othmân*, *Junduz*, and *Sarviz*. To *Othmân* (who, though the eldest, received in *Aladin's* family the diminutive appellation of *Othmânchik*, or *Othmânjik* (C), he left by will the inheritance, which he had received from *Aladin*. The grateful *Soltân* not only confirmed his bequest, but made him chief of all the *Tekaddum*, gover-

^P CANT. préf. p. 13. Hist. p. 9, 10.

(Y) Yet we don't find, that he performed the chief part of his engagement, which was to associate him in the empire; nor how *Erdogrul* resented such a disappointment.

(Z) Or *Kutayeh*, the antient *Kotayum* and *Kotiacum*.

(A) The *Turkish* annals place his death in the same year.

(B) Or *Soguta*.

(C) This nickname, which signifies *Little Othmân*, is no great sign that he was in great esteem.

nor commanders; and sent him the *Tab-lâleh*, or military signs; that is, the drums, standards, and other ornaments of a general; with full power over his whole army. More than this, in all the cities and provinces which had been subdued by his father, or should be subdued by himself, he permitted him to coin money in his own name (D); and to have the *Khotba* (E); that is, to be mentioned in the public prayers.

A. D.
1281.

OTHMAN now seemed to want nothing of the royal dignity, but the title of *Soltân*; which, however, he did not think safe to assume, during the life of *Aladin* (F): but, pre- serving the allegiance he had sworn to that prince, judged it better to fight in his defence. He first reduced the princes who had revolted from the empire: then turning his arms against the *Greeks*, in the year 687, took the town of *Kulza*, the first fruits of his victories, and added it to *Aladin's* dominions. The same year, he took *Kalanos*, or *Kallinikos*, brother to the captain of *Karasberi* (G), or the black city; whom he caused to be slay'd, and then orders the whole army to piss on his grave; from whence the field, called before *Tomalidz* (H), still retains the name of *It Isbni*, or dogs piss. *Othmán* lost many men in this conflict, and among the rest his brother *Junduz*; who was buried in his father *Ertogrul's* sepulchre, near *Suguchik*. Immediately after this victory, he took also the city of *Karakhisar* (I), and annexed it to the *Seljukian* empire.

conquest
from the
Greeks:

Haj. 687.
A. D.
1288.

ALADIN the second, or younger (K), being informed of *Othmán's* victories, invests him with the government of

defeats the
Mogols:
Isbehr,

(D) And the title of *Soltân*, as will afterwards appear.

(E) *Khotba* signifies acclamation, or petition, in the public prayers, said (by the *Khatib*, or *deacon*) for the health and sacred majesty of the emperor, and for victory over his enemies, particularly the Christians. *Cant.*

(F) Yet elsewhere he expressly affirms, that *Aladin* allowed him to use the title of *Soltân*. *Pref. p. 13.*

(G) Rather *Karasbahr*.

(H) Or *Tomalij*; possibly from the hill of that name, which is the *Tomolus* in *Phrygia*.

(I) Written here *Çarachi-*

far; but in the preface, p. 14, *Carajebisar*. From the context it seems to be no other than *Karasberi* before-mentioned.

(K) This is the first time *Aladin* is distinguished by the quality of second, although *Cantemir* says the *Turks* mention not a first: neither does he before speak of a *Seljukian* empire; but instead of *Seljukians*, or *Turks*, affects to call the *Soltâns* of *Rûm*, and their subjects, *Persians*. He tells us, *pref. p. 13.* that the proper name of this *Aladin* was *Key Khosrew*; which was the name of the 11th and 13th *Soltâns* of *Rûm*; but if this is a different *Aladin* from him mentioned

A. D. 1289. *Behr*, or the old city (L). The next year, 688, *Othmân* expels the *Mogol Tatars*, quite suppressed their incursions on all sides, and gained many signal victories. At length, having assembled inhabitants, and enlarged *Karakhisar* with buildings and walls, he made it the seat of his residence. Here our author observes, that the *Seljukian* historians (M) differ in their computation (N); for they put the victory over the *Mogol Tatars* in the year 698, that is 10 years later; and he believes this date truest (O), because *Saadi*, in the following actions of *Othmân*, uses that supputation.

on Aladin's retreat

Hej. 699.
A. D. 1299.

IN 698, *Othmân* takes the castle of *Jarhissar* by stratagem; after which he adds the towns of *Bilejiki* and *Aynegbiol*, with many other castles and their territories, to *Aladin's* dominions. Next year, a swarm of *Gazanensian Tatars* (P) invading his kingdom, the princes and great men revolt a second time. By this defection, the *Soltân's* affairs becoming desperate, he is forced to abandon his dominions, and privately fly to *Mikhael Paleologus*, the *Greek* emperor; who, instead of assisting, imprisoned him (Q).

THE

tioned before, he is more likely to be *Kaykobâd*, the last of the *Seljukian Soltâns*, who began his reign in 687, or of Christ 1288: but then the first *Aladin* will have a monstrous long reign of 71 years; which besides is contrary to the *Seljukian* history, which places four *Soltâns* between the first *Kaykobâd* and the second.

(L) The *Paleopolis* of the *Greeks*.

(M) *Cantemir* has spoken of *Othmânian* historians, but not of *Seljukian* writers before: and in all likelihood, according to his inaccurate and confused way, he in this place confounds one kind with the other. Had he consulted the *Seljukian* historians, he would probably have made the *Othmân* history tally better with the *Seljukian*, from which it widely differs.

(N) It must be understood from the *Othmânian* historians.

(O) Here then is a mistake of 10 years in the *Othmânian*

computation; and if *Saadi* followed the chronology of the *Seljukian* historians in this and the succeeding actions of *Othmân*, why not in those preceding it? Were the *Othmâns* more exact in marking the date of facts in the beginning than in the progress of their affairs? From this circumstance we think he ought to have preferred the computation of *Nisbrin*, with regard to *Ertogrul's* death, in 687, to that of his accurate *Saadi*, in 680.

(P) By this very improper, if not absurd, expression is to be understood *Tatars*, or *Mogols*, sent by *Gazân*, or *Kazân Khân*, who reigned at that time in *Persia*.

(Q) This is a very great blunder of our author: for how could *Aladin* fly, in 1299, to *Mikhael Paleologus*, who died in 1283? He seems to have had *Soltân Arzûddin* in view; whom, as we have before remarked, he confounds

THE governors, on his retreat, divide his dominions among themselves : but *Othmân*, far superior to the rest in power and wealth, prevailed with them all, partly by great presents, partly by a communication of power, and partly by threats (R), to acknowledge him for sovereign of the whole empire. Wherefore, by unanimous consent of the great men and the army, he is, in the beginning of the year 700, declared *Soltân*, and in the city of *Karakhisar* assumes the title of emperor of the *Othmâns* ; into which name he changes that of *Ogâzians*, or *Turks*, as they were commonly called under both the *Aladins*. From hence, says Prince *Cantemir*, some historians date the beginning of *Othmân's* reign ; and he follows their authority against that of *Saadi effendi* : although, according to him, this latter contends, not without strong reasons, that the first year of his reign commenced in 687 ; when, after the taking of *Karakhisar* (S), he, with *Aladin's* consent, had his name mentioned there in the public prayers, and coined money impressed with the title of *Soltân*.

OTHMÂN, being thus possessed of the empire, sets his sons over the provinces and cities to govern and protect them. The *Sanjak* of *Karajedâghi* (T) was given to *Orkhân* ; that of *Eskibahri* to *Funduz aleb* ; that of *Ayn Onghi* to *Aygûd aleb* ; that of *Jarhissar* to *Husan aleb* ; and that of *Ayneghiol* to *Dorgûd aleb* : but *Alao'ddin*, his youngest son, with the government of the city *Bilejik*, or *Bilejki*, was committed to the care of his mother and father-in-law *Baliâd*. The city of *Kuprihissar* being also taken the same year, *Othmân* removes the imperial seat from *Karakhissar* to *Janghishbahri* ;

confounds with the first *Aladin* ; or else confounds the second *Aladin* (who he says was *Malek Shâh*, or the *Moloko* of *Gregoras*, son of the first) with his father : for he adds, although he is said by *Nicephorus Gregoras* to be afterwards delivered out of prison by his subjects, yet it appears by the unanimous testimony of historians, that he died in the year of the *Hôjrâb* 703, of Christ 1303. There must be some farther mistake here ; but we have not *Gregoras* to examine the matter by. He should also have told us what histori-

ans he means by the *Greek* or *Turkish*.

(R) So in the history, but in the preface, p. 13, he is said to have obliged (or forced) them to seek his protection and favour.

(S) The taking of this city is ascribed to *Ertogrul* by other *Turkish* historians, who differ greatly from those made use of by *Cantemir*. See *Leunclav. Hist. Musul.* l. ii. p. 102.

(T) A city afterwards very famous by the name of *Soltân Onghi*.

A. D.
1299.

is pro-
claimed
Soltân :

A. D.
1300.

appoints
governors

which

A. D. which he adorns with stately buildings, and strongly fortifies¹.
1299.

- THIS is the account which Prince *Cantemir* gives us from the *Turkish* historians, of the origin and foundation of the *Othmân* empire: but it is no less liable to objections than what he has delivered, from the same authority, concerning the origin of the *Othmân* family.
- Objec. 1.** 1. It is not at all probable, that *Erdogrul*, with but half his father's forces, could conquer all the country between *Haleb* and *Kaysariyah*, or *Cesarea*, in *Capadocia*; one part having been in the hands of the successors of *Salâh'oddîn*, or *Saladin*, powerful princes; and the rest subject to *Alao'ddîn Kaykobâd*, the tenth and greatest of all the *Seljukian Soltâns* of *Rûm*.
- Objec. 2.** 2. There could be no room for making the vanquished embrace *Mohammedism*, since all the inhabitants of those countries, excepting a few, were *Mohammedans* for many ages before.
- Objec. 3.** 3. If *Ertogrul* had conquered so many countries as is pretended, how came he to be so much at a loss for want of a habitation, as to beg one from *Alao'ddîn*?
- Objec. 4.** 4. THE condition of the *Soltân's* granting his request could never be that of driving out the *Tatars*, since the *Tatars* did not enter into his dominions during his reign; and, if they had, it is highly improbable, that *Ertogrul*, with only 5000 men, should defeat those people, who had defeated the forces of *Alao'ddîn*, a very powerful prince.
- Objec. 5.** 5. IT is said in one place, that *Othmân*, by *Alao'ddîn's* consent, had the title of *Soltân* stamped on his coin; and, in another, that he was afraid to assume that title (U). This is a flat contradiction: nor is it scarce possible, that *Alao'ddîn*, even had he been so weak a prince as he is represented by the *Turkish* historians, should have granted *Othmân* leave to assume all the royal honours.
- Objec. 6.** 6. IT is not probable, that *Othmân* should add the conquests which he made from the *Greeks* to *Alao'ddîn's* dominions, if he had been allowed by agreement to keep them himself.
- Objec. 7.** 7. IT is impossible, that *Alao'ddîn* should fly, in the year 1299, to *Mikhael Paleologus*, the *Greek* emperor, who died 16 years before: nor is it probable, that he should reign from 1219 to 1299; as he must have done, in case the *Turkish* historians mention only one *Alao'ddîn*, whom they call the second. But the falsity of this is demonstrable from the oriental

¹ CANT. pref. p. 13. Hist. 10—15.

(U) Although he had a right to it, by what is said in a third place, that he should be associated in the empire, in case he drove out the *Tatars*, as it is pretended he did.

historians,

historians, who reckon six kings within that interval ; four of whom are mentioned by the *Greek* writers. A. D. 1299.

8. IT is not probable, if the governors divided *Alao'ddîn's* empire among themselves upon his retreat, that they should immediately submit to *Othmân*, and acknowledge him for their *Soltân*. Besides this, is contradicted by the *Greek* historians, and even by the *Turkish* historians themselves ; according to whom it appears, that those princes maintained their power, as sovereigns, or *Soltâns*, independently for a long time, till they were gradually subdued by the successors of *Othmân*. *Objc. 8.*

9. *SAADI* contending so strenuously for commencing *Othmân's* reign ten years earlier than the other *Turkish* historians, and even during the reign of *Alao'ddîn* himself, shews how partial he was in favour of the *Othmân* glory : and *Cantemir's* rejecting his authority in this point, shews that he did not think him so infallible, but that he might in other cases have used him with more caution. *Objc. 9.*

10. LASTLY, the distribution made, among his sons by *Othmân*, of his territories (which appear to be no more than the few cities he had conquered, at no great distance one from the other) is a sufficient proof that his dominions at that time were far from being large ; much farther from comprising the whole *Seljukian* empire, or country of *Râm*. *Objc. 10.*

FROM the preceding remarks, we presume it is manifest, that the original of the *Othmân Turks*, and their power, is very obscure ; and that their historians, especially *Saadi effendi*, and other later ones, have rendered it still more doubtful, by the inconsistencies which the vain desire of aggrandising the founders of their empire has betrayed them into. On the contrary, the *Turkish* annals translated by *Gaudier*, which *Cantemir* treats as fabulous, and with so much contempt, are free from those stains which discredit the writings of that prince's favourite authors. *Conclusion.*

FOR although those annals recite the suspicious genealogy of *Othmân*, and suppose *Soltân Alao'ddîn*, as well as *Soleymân Shâh*, to be driven out of *Persia* by the *Tatars* ; yet nothing occurs afterwards inconsistent with the *Seljukian* history, or the probability of facts.

THEY only relate in substance, that *Soleymân Shâh*, coming to *Arzingân*, made an inroad into *Asia Minor* as far as *Turkish Anafia*, and carried off much plunder : that then, turning off towards *Halep*, he was drowned at *Jabber* : that hereupon *Ertokul* (or *Ertogrul*) marching up the *Euphrates* to the *Passonian* (X) plains, there encamped with 400 portable houses. *Other*

(X) Or the plain of *Pasin* *Leunclau. Hist. Musul. Turc. Nâsi*, 12 miles beyond *Arzerûm*. l. 2. p. 97.

after

A. D. 1299. after their manner : that he continued there for a time, during which interval he had many bickerings with the neighbouring people : that, at length, being informed that *Soltân Alao'ddîn* had subdued several provinces in *Asia Minor*, and founded a great empire, he sent *Sarigati*, one of his three sons, the other two being *Gundus* and *Ozmân*, to intreat that he would grant him some place in his dominions, where he might dwell with his followers : that *Alao'ddîn*, readily consenting to his petition, appointed them a country fit for their habitation, both in the summer and winter seasons : that a certain nation (Y) at the same juncture advanced against the *Soltân* ; and, while this prince marched with his forces to give them battle, *Ertokul*, with his sons *Sarigati* and *Ozmân*, made the best of their way towards *Enguri* (or *Ancyra*) : that *Ertokul*, settling thereabout with his people, never ceased harassing the neighbouring *Greeks* with incursions (Z) : and that, having governed them for 52 years, he died in 687 : that, some territories being conquered, his son *Ozmân* founded a principality, or dominion, and divided part of it among the commanders who came thither with his father *Ertokul* : that afterward *Ozmân*, and his son *Ur Khân*, joining their forces, turned their arms against the Christians ; and, laying all waste before them, took *Isnik* (or *Nice*).

free from
fables.

IN this account of the origin of the power of the *Othmân*, or *Ozmân*, Turks, you hear nothing of the *Ogúzians* reigning from *Makhân* to *Akhlat*, in *Armenia* ; or of their holding this last city for 170 years before *Soleymân Shâh* : nothing of *Ertogrul's* conquering all the provinces between *Halep* and *Casarea* ; or of *Alao'ddîn's* being invaded by the *Tatars*, and their expulsion by *Ertogrul* with a handful of men : nothing of the same *Alao'ddîn's* living to the time of *Othmân*, much less to the year 1300 ; of his conferring the regal honours on *Othmân* ; or the governors unanimously proclaiming him *Soltân* on *Alao'ddîn's* retreat.

Authors
most ap-
proved.

To confirm the judgment which we have passed on the historians made use of by Prince *Cantemir*, we shall produce the authority of Count *Marfigli* ; who, during some years stay in *Türky*, made it his business to enquire into the antient,

* Annal. Soltaner, p. 2.

(Y) The later *Turkish* writers, in making this nation *Tatars*, have exposed their ignorance, and convicted themselves of forgery.

(Z) They were so far from defeating the *Tatars*, or going to assist their benefactor, that they provided for their own security by flight.

as well as modern, state of the *Othmân* empire. This noble-
 man remarks the same difference as we have done among
 the *Turkish* authors, relating to the origin of the *Othmân* fa-
 mily; and declares, directly contrary to what Prince *Cante-*
mir asserts, that those only are generally approved of which
 represent the facts agreeable to the *Turkish* annals of *Gaudier*.
 But to give Count *Marfigli*'s own words, he observes, speak-
 ing of the origin of the *Othmân* empire, "that the most
 "learned among the *Turks* acknowledge, that *Erdogrul*, by the
 "whom some call *Ordogrul*, *Orthogrul*, and *Urtukul*, was *Turks*.
 "the *Morzar* (A), leader, or chief, of the *Tartarian Turk-*
 "mans: that his father *Soleymân Shâh*, governor of *Ma-*
 "hâm, a city of *Khorassân*, being driven out by *Singhiskam*,
 "fled with his *Turkmân*s into *Armenia*, called from them
 "*Turkomania*: that joining himself to *Aladin*, *Soltân* of
 "*Ikoniûm*, he began to set up for a sovereign by the assistance
 "of that prince's troops: that, *Erdogrul* dying in 687, *Ala-*
 "*adin* continued the same favours to his son *Ozmân*, or *Oth-*
 "*mân*, honouring him with the drum, the standard, and the
 "sable; which are the marks of sovereignty (B): and per-
 "mitting him to conquer *Asia Minor* from the *Greeks*."

THIS, Count *Marfigli* affirms, is what is related in the
Turkish histories most universally received: but, on the other
 side, those, who would flatter the *Othmân* line, say, "that
 "*Soleymân Shâh* was descended from *Singhiskam*; that his
 "son *Erdogrul* was acknowledged as sovereign by *Aladin* him-
 "self; and, in short, that *Osman* obtained the kingdom of
 "*Ikoniûm* by grant from *Aladin*, during his life-time."

As the dominion of the *Othmân Turks* still subsists, they *Turkish*
 are more happy than the *Seljukians*, in having a great number *historians*.
 of national, or domestic, writers extant in the world, to pub-
 lish the actions of them and their monarchs from the founda-
 tion of the empire.

THE chief *Turkish* authors, whom Prince *Cantemir* made
 use of in framing his history of the *Othmân*s, seem to have
 been two; both bearing the name of *Saadi Effendi*, but dis-
 tinguished by other marks. The first is called *Saadi Effendi* *Saadi Ef-*
 of *Larissa*, and stiled by *Cantemir*, the most learned *Saadi*, *fendi of*
 author of the elaborate *Synopsis Historiarum*. This, he tells *Larissa*.
 us, was collected from the most celebrated historians, *Mev-*
lana Idris, *Nesbrîn*, *Saadi*, *Tajo'taverikh*, *Pechovi*, and

• *Stato Militare dell' Imperio Ottomanno*, p. 6.

(A) *Murza*, or *Murfa*. sovereignty, being the honours

(B) But not all the marks of belonging to generals.

A. D. 1299. *Hezarfen* (C). It was published in 1696, and dedicated to *Soltân Mostafa*; who in that year began his reign¹.

CANTEMIR's history seems to be a translation, or abridgment, of this author; and yet he no-where expressly tells us so. It is true, he quotes others in his preface, notes, and history, preceding *Othmân*: but gives little or no account of them, or how far he has made use of them; only says, in general, that he has collected his history from the best *Turkish* historians, and delivered matters in their own words².

Saado'd-din Mohammed. THE other *Saadi* is the same with the author of the *Tajo't-taverikh* mentioned above, among those from whom *Saadi* of *Larissa* compiled his *Synopsis*. His name, according to *D'Herbelot*, is *Saado'ddin Mohammed'ebn Hassan*, the most famous and elegant of all the *Turkish* historians. He was preceptor to *Soltân Morâd* (or *Amurath*) III. son of *Selim*, and advanced even to the dignity of *Musti*, or pope (D). He is commonly called *Khowajeh*, or *Khoja Effendi*, and has composed, in very elegant *Turkish*, the book, intituled, *Tajo'ltawarikh*, or *al Tevarikh*, as the *Turks* pronounce it; that is, *the crown of histories*; which is a history of the *Othmân Soltans* from the commencement of their monarchy to *Soleymân I*³. Prince *Cantemir* calls this work *Saadi Tajo'ltavarikh*, and its compiler *Saadi Effendi*, the famous author of the *Othmân annals* *Tajo'ltaverikh*, so approved by the *Othmâns*; and gives him the character of one who was *not more zealous for the Othmân glory, than historical truth*⁴; which judgment, we apprehend from the remarks that have already been made on him, will not be thought strictly true.

Turkish annals. BEFORE Prince *Cantemir*'s history appeared, we had a *Latin* translation of a *Turkish* author, by *John Gaudier*, alias *Spiegel*, under the title of *Annales Sultanorum Osmanidarum*; which carries down the history from their original to the year 1550; and seems to give a plain and undisguised relation of facts, from the earliest historians. However, Prince

¹ CANT. pref. p. 7.

² Ibid. Hist. Othm. p. 266.

³ D'HERB. p. 728. Art. Saad eddin ben Hassan.

⁴ CANT.

pref. p. 6, 7, 12, 14.

(C) *Hussayn Effendi Hezarfen*, or *Hazarfen*, a modern *Turk*; who has given an history of all the *Turkish* monarchies. It is an abstract of *Al Fannâbi* the *Arabian's* general history of *Asia*; and was published in *Turkish*, in 1672. It has been

translated by M. De la Croix senior, interpreter to *Lewis XIV.* of *France*. See *De la Croix's Hist. of Tengkiz Can*, p. 427, and pref. to *Hist. of Timour Bec*, p. 22.

(D) He died in *Hejrab* 1008, A. D. 1599.

Cantemir

Cantemir endeavours to wound the credit of these annals through the sides of *Gaudier*; whom he charges with too boldly asserting for truth what he had taken from some Turkish chronicle concerning the Othmân race. He then produces passages out of it, wherein he alleges the names to be corrupted, and put out of their true order, as well as other matters to be reported falsely by *Gaudier*; which is very unfair, as he knew that person did no more than translate the work. And the matters, which he says are reported falsely, may be presumed to be those relating to the origin of the Othmâns, and their power; which the author has not set-off with so much splendor as the *Saadi Effendi's*. To us, there seems to be nothing fabulous in it, but what concerns the genealogy of Othmân, and affects it in common with the other histories.

IN short you meet, in the annals, with none of those glaring marks of forgery, which appear in the histories made use of by Prince *Cantemir*. However, as the flaws to be found in the Othmân history chiefly affect this part of it, which the writers had most temptation to adulterate, we shall for the future follow them with less scruple; our design being, not to destroy the authority of the Turkish history in general, as delivered by their own authors, but only to separate the spurious part from the genuine; and point out the absurdities which their pride has introduced, through a vain imagination, that it would diminish the lustre of a potent empire, should it be thought to have arisen from an inconsiderable beginning; and that the origin of its founders was obscure. This book was published by *Leunclavius*, with very learned and useful notes, geographical and historical, under the title of *Pandects*. Judgment
thereon.

PRINCE *Cantemir's* censure seems to be pointed at the same annals, when he says, "that the *Tevârîkhi al Othmân* (E) is one of the fabulous histories, which were written very soon after the foundation of the Turkish empire: that some Christian authors seem to borrow their chronology of the Othmâns from those books; but that they are not approved of by the Turks, and are bitterly inveighed against in the *Tajot'taverîkh*." Because, we presume, they do not sufficiently exalt the Othmân glory, by exaggerating their rise with such shining, but false circumstances, as later historians have done: for the nearer the historians were to the times Censure
of Cante-
mir:

* CANT. Hist. Othm. pref. p. 9.

(E) That is, *the history*, or There are a great many under annals, of the Othmân Soltâns. this title. See *D'Herbelet*, p. 860.

A. D. 1299. they wrote-of, the more likely they are to relate the truth. As domestic authors are generally inclined to magnify the origin of their nation and monarchs, it is not probable, that they would suppress those facts which redound most to the glory of both; and substitute others not so much to their advantage.

his unjust
reflection

on Abû'l-
faraj :

BUT whatever ground Prince *Cantemir* might have had to censure the *Othmân* annals, and other histories of the *Turks*, we cannot imagine what could induce him to fall foul on *Abû'l-faraj* (whom he misnames *Abûlfarago*), or even to mention him. Speaking of Christian historians, who, in their accounts of the *Turkish* affairs, have loaded their works with fables, barbarisms, and anachronisms, he says, he has often wondered, *that men of learning, and, in other respects, of great penetration, could be ever induced to credit the indigested and absurd narrations of Abûlfarago; who, among the Turks, scarce merits the name of historian.* Surely Prince *Cantemir* must have been wholly a stranger to that author, or must mistake him for some other: for how little soever he may be intitled to the character of an historian (his history being no more than a collection of select facts reduced into chronological order), yet none before this princely censor ever accused his *Compendium of Dynasties, as consisting of indigested and absurd narrations*; nor is any work perhaps freer from fables, barbarisms, and anachronisms: except by fables are meant the traditions of nations, and by barbarisms the oriental names of persons and places; in which case Prince *Cantemir's* own history is no less liable to objection than that of *Abû'lfaraj*; who was a person of eminent learning, and dignity in the *Syric* church. And as for anachronisms, no author perhaps has given the dates of actions with greater care and exactness.

WHAT makes this censure of Prince *Cantemir* the more unaccountable, and would induce one to imagine, that he has mistaken this author for some other, is, that *Abû'lfaraj* does not mention one word of the *Othmân Turks* throughout his annals; and consequently is, with no manner of propriety, introduced by *Cantemir*, even supposing he was such an author as his censor represents him.

condemns
European
authors :

THE *European* authors indeed are justly censured by the prince, as being full of fables, barbarisms, and anachronisms, owing to their ignorance in the oriental languages and histories; of which his quotations from *Nicephorus Gregoras*, and *Lonicerus*, concerning the successors of *Jenghiz Khân*^a, are

^a CANT. pref. p. 9.

flagrant proofs : but, on the other side, it may be as justly A. D. 1299. } retorted, that he himself has committed mistakes in history, chronology, and geography ; which he could not have done, had he been only tolerably versed in the oriental authors. Some instances of this have been already produced ; to which we shall here add one or two more. The first concerns those same successors of *Jenghiz Khân* in *Persia* ; with regard to whom he says, *It is agreed by all, who have left written histories of the eastern nations, that the Tartarian princes, successors of Jenghiz Khân, were in the year of the Hejrah 656, and of Christ 1258 (forty-four years before Othmân) subdued by Ebubekir, son of Saadi, king of Persia, and their provinces restored to the Persian monarchy, excepting those which were held by some of the Satrapæ (or governors) ; who, in the expedition of the Tatars, took the opportunity to set-up for themselves : among whom were Aladin, Soltân of Ikonium, and Soleyman, grand-father of Othmân. Hence, says he, it is evident, that the Tartarian kingdoms, in Asia, were overturned by the Persians long before the beginning of the Othmân empire* ^b.

PRINCE *Cantemir* asserts two points in this paragraph, *in oriental* which are the most contrary to fact that can be imagined. *history.* First, that the *Tartarian* kingdoms in *Asia* were overturned by the *Persians* under *Ebubekir*, in 1258. This is so far from being fact, that the monarchy was then at its greatest height under the famous *Hulâkû Khân*, first of the race of *Jenghiz Khân* in *Persia* : and although, after the death of *Abû saïd Behâder Khân*, successor of *Hulâkû*, in the year 736, no sole monarch of the house of *Jenghiz Khân* succeeded him ; yet the *Mogols*, whose commanders divided the regal power among themselves in the several provinces, held the *Persians* in subjection till the reign of *Timûr Bek*, or *Tamerlan*. This is agreeable to the unanimous testimony of the oriental historians ; nor can any one of any authority, much less all, be produced to support Prince *Cantemir*'s assertion. And as to his *Ebubekir* (rather *Abû Bekr*) son of *Saadi*, he seems to be no less imaginary as to his existence than his conquest.

Hej. 735.

A. D.

1335.

SECONDLY, in saying that *Aladin, Soltân of Ikonium, Secondin-* and *Soliman*, grandfather of *Othmân*, were among the go- *rance.* vernors who set up for themselves, he affirms two facts, one of them contrary to the authority of the best historians, the other, to what he elsewhere relates himself : for it appears from the foregoing history of the *Seljûks*, that *Aladin* was

^b Ibid. p. 9.
ben *Algiaptu*.

^c See D'HERB. p. 32. Art. *Abu saïd*

A. D. 1335. no governor, but an absolute prince; and by his own account, *Soleyman* was sovereign prince of a territory, or territories, in *Khorassân*, a province of *Persia*^a. Nor does he, in the list which he afterwards gives of those governors, mention *Soleyman*^b: but to make amends, he inserts among them *Khurzem Shâh*, king of *Caspia*, as he calls him; and tells you, that *Aladin*, as the chief of them, alone enjoyed the title of *Soltân*. Now this *Khurzem Shâh*, whom he makes a petty governor, was no less a person than the *Great Mohammed Karazm Shâh*, lord of all the countries from *Turkestan* to the river *Tigris*. He likewise enjoyed the title of *Soltân*, as well as *Aladin*, or *Alaoddin*, who, compared with him, was but a little prince.

His censure,

FROM the foregoing instances, the reader may be apt to judge that prince *Cantemir* was but little acquainted with any part of the *Mohammedan* history, except that of the *Othmân Turks*: but to have written well on their affairs, he ought at least to have consulted the *Seljukian* authors, in case any be remaining, as he seems to intimate, by what has been mentioned before; if he has not committed some mistake on that occasion, which is not improbable.

and commendation.

IT is very usual with prince *Cantemir* to assert things without bringing his vouchers; and to give his own opinion, or report of matters, for that of others. He is apt also to mix the different accounts of authors together, without distinguishing them; which, with his own historical and geographical mistakes, makes a strange rhapsody of error and confusion throughout his preface, and in the beginning of his history: but he grows more correct, as he advances from the early times of the *Othmân* monarchy; and indeed is recommendable not only for having given us a *Turkish* history, taken immediately from the *Turkish* authors, but also for a great number of very useful notes wherewith he has improved it.

The Byzantine historians.

WITH regard to the *Greek*, commonly called the *Byzantine* historians, there are but three or four who treat of the affairs of the *Othmans*, namely *Nicephorus Gregoras*, the emperor *John Kantakuzenus*, *Dukas*, and *Laonicus Khalkondylas*, or *Khalkokondylas*. The first of these authors, as prince *Cantemir* observes, is rather a rhetorician than an historian, as indeed most of those writers are, who speak of foreign affairs only occasionally, and neglect the essentials of the history and chronology to attend to the polishing of their style. *Kantakuzenus* does not say a great deal on the subject; but *Dukas*

^a CANT. Hist. Othm. p. 3.

^b See pref. p. 12.

trats copiously, and like an historian, of the *Turkish* wars, from the death of *Orkhan*, to the taking of *Constantinople* by *Mohammed II.* Cousin, who translated several of the *Byzantine* writers into *French*, says, *His work is more extensive than that of Khalkondylas, because he goes farther back; and that it is conducted with much more judgment.* A. D. 1335.

HOWEVER that may be, the history of *Dukas* is not near *More* so voluminous as that of *Khalkondylas*, who has professedly *western* written a history of the *Turks* to the same period. But nothing can be more jejune or incorrect, than his account of the origin of those people, and the first *Othmân Soltâns*. He quotes no authors for what passed before his own time; and indeed seems to follow none. The small conformity there is between his account of affairs, and that given by *Pakkamir*, *Kantakuzenus*, and *Dukas*, shews that he was quite unacquainted with those authors; and that he rather wrote what he remembered to have heard, than from books. This is confirmed by his seldom marking the date of facts; which, tho' equally essential to them, as the scene of action, is not so easily retained in memory.

FROM the taking of *Constantinople*, the history has been carried down to the present by the *Venetian*, *German*, and other western authors. Among the rest, *John Leunclavius*, a *German*, hath, besides the annals before-mentioned, published *The History of the Turks, taken from their own Historians* (F). These, at the same time they add many things not found in the annals, differ much from the annals; and the historians made use of by prince *Cantemir* differ still more from them. Hence it appears, that the *Turks* have more than once brought their history under the hammer; and that the first essays not pleasing their vanity, they have raised it a-new upon a plan more to their liking, but still more inconsistent with truth.

LEUNCLAVIUS has improved his history with in-*Great* dexes, in which are explained all the *Turkish* words that oc-*fauls o* cur, with the situations of places, and the names they had *them* before the *Turks* changed them; a work which manifests the great learning, genius, and application, of its author: but the misfortune is, he has mixed what the *Greeks*, and others, have written, with the *Turkish* memoirs, and not always sufficiently distinguished the reports of one author from those of another. This fault, which has been the ruin of history in every country, ought to be carefully avoided; for the

(F) *Historiæ Musulmanæ Tur- exscriptæ*, lib. xviii. *Francfort*,
cœrum d. monumentis ipsorum 1591.

A. D.
1300.

especially
the latter.

early historians being compounded together in one age, and those recomposed with others in the next, falsehood becomes blended with truth, in such a manner, that, for want of referring things to their proper authors, there is no separating the one from the other; and thus the whole falls under the suspicion of fable and forgery with posterity.

AFTER all, *Leunclavius* hath transgressed in this respect much less than the generality of history writers since his time; whose works ought to be considered rather as the produce of their own invention, than histories framed from the memoirs of other men. At least, citing no vouchers for what they deliver; and being themselves many ages posterior to the facts they relate, their testimony can be of no manner of authority with persons of judgment; who will always expect good evidence for the truth of what they read.

CHAP II.

The Reign of Othmân, or Ozmân, First Khân or Soltân.

Rise of
Othmân.

WE find in the *Greek* writers an account of the rise of *Othmân*, more exact perhaps than that which we meet with in the *Turkish*; and at the same time not inconsistent with theirs. *Laonicus Khalkondylas* informs us, that the *Ogûzians*, after their coming into *Asia Minor*, settled in a little town or village, called *Soguta* (A), on the borders of *Myfia*, and not above 15 or 16 leagues distant from the *Propontis*. A river of the same name runs thro' the place, which was before named *Itaa* (B). It is well known that the *Othmân* monarchs have always held this town in great esteem, often visiting it, and bestowing more favours on the inhabitants than those of any other place.

Elected
chief.

AFTER the *Ogûzians* had dwelt here for a long time, *Othmân*, by his courtesy and gifts, so gained on them, that they chose him for their chief. This done, he immediately armed them; and falling on all sides on the *Greeks*, with whom before they had frequent bickerings, defeated some, and drove others out of the country, which they took possession of. After this he gained frequent victories; which coming to the ears of *Soltân Aladin*, he made him his lieutenant-ge-

(A) Rather *Suguchik*, or *Sugutjik*, as the *Turks* call it; that is, the village of willows.

(B) *Itaa* signifies also a place

of willows; so that the *Turkish* name is only a translation of the *Greek*.

neral;

nerd: but *Atadin* dying soon after, great disputes arose among his great officers. At length they entered into a league to make conquests, with their joint forces, and then divide them amongst themselves. In these expeditions *Othmân* signalled his valour and conduct above all the rest. The commanders, A. D. 1300. One of the who were seven in number, divided the territories they had conquered, by casting lots; which fell in the following manner: 1. All the inner parts of *Phrygia*, as far as *Cilicia* and *Philadelphia*, fell to the share of *Karamân*; 2. *Sar Kân* had the maritime provinces of *Ionis*, which extended to *Smirna*; 3. *Kalamuz*, and his son *Karaz* (C), possessed *Lydia*, to the frontiers of *Mysia*; 4. *Bithynia*, with all the countries towards mount *Olympus*, fell to *Othmân* and *Tokis*; 5. *Paphlagonia*, with other lands, extending to the *Propontis*, became the lot of the sons of *Omur* (D). As for *Karmân*, it is said he was not of the number; but that having at the beginning of these revolutions seized on *Ikhaniam*, he was afterwards driven out, and retired into *Isia*, where he lived a private life*.

THIS heptarchy or division among the *Turkish* chiefs, we shall see confirmed hereafter by *Pakhemire* and *Dubus*, and *Turkish* even by the circumstances of the *Turkish* history itself: from princes whence it appears, that altho' *Othmân* continued his conquests, and might have improved his share more than some of the other *Turkish* commanders, yet he was still upon the same footing with them; nor seems to have assumed any titles of authority more than the others had done: but as he laid the foundation of a great empire, which his successors completed, it is proper that his reign should commence from the time that he became an independent prince, after the extinction of the *Seljukian* monarchy, when the partition that was made by the *Turkish* commanders took place; which must have been in the year 1300, or not long after.

AMONG the exploits already mentioned to have been performed by *Othmân* before the dissolution of the *Seljukian* monarchy, that of his taking the city of *Bilejiki* (E) deserves a more particular account. The *Turkish* historians write, that Hej. 698. in the year 698, *Mikhael Kofa*, that is, *Goat's beard*, governor of *Bilejiki*, having invited *Othmân* to the marriage of his A. D. 1298.

* KHALKONDYLAS, l. i. c. 4.

(C) By others *Karase*. vol. iv. p. 272.

(D) Or *Amur*, slain by *Soltân* (E) Or *Bylejtk*, by others *Messûd*, of *Rûm*. See before, written *Bilezug*.

A. D.
1298

daughter, the other *Greek* governors (F) of the neighbouring places resolve to seize him. Being informed of their design, by his trusty friend *Mikhael*, he orders some hundreds of soldiers to conceal themselves near the place, and 40 well armed men, dressed like women, to enter the castle of *Jarhissar*, and in the night set fire to the houses about it: mean time he repairs with a small retinue to *Kbakirhumar*, a place in the suburbs, where the marriage was to be celebrated. At the time appointed, the 40 disguised soldiers set fire to the town, then without garrison; which, as soon as *Othmân* perceived, he gives the signal to the soldiers in ambush, who, rushing on the guests buried in wine, slew them all, without distinction of sex, excepting *Mikhael*, and a few others; among whom was the bride *Holofira*, of noble descent. This lady *Othmân* afterwards married to his son *Or Khân*; by whom she had *Soleyman* and *Murâd*.

and other
places,

THIS affair is represented somewhat differently by the Christian writers. According to them, *Mikhael Koffi*, governor of *Hirmen Kata* (G), invites his friend *Othmân*, with the Christian governors of the neighbouring castles, to his daughter's wedding. *Othmân*, by his noble presents on that occasion, raising both the envy and jealousy of these governors, they combine to destroy him. To effect this, the governor of *Bilejtki*, the most powerful of them, being to marry the captain of *Jarhissar*'s daughter, invites *Othmân* to the nuptials; and sends *Koffi* to conduct him thither. *Koffi* found *Othmân* very willing to go; but unwilling that so brave a man should perish by treachery, discovers the plot to him. The *Turk*, resolving to be revenged, bids *Koffi* tell the governor, that he would certainly wait on him; but being at war with a neighbouring prince, and fearing a surprize in his absence, desired the liberty of sending his mother-in-law and wife, with their attendants, and some of his best goods, to *Bilejtki*.

by stratagem.

THIS being readily granted, *Othmân* disguised 40 young men like women, and stowing several others in packs like goods, comes to the place where the marriage was next day to be solemnized, being an open field, at some distance from the castle. As soon as the pretended ladies and goods were received into *Bilejtki*, the soldiers throwing off the mask,

(F) The *Turkish* authors, to magnify the exploit, call them princes.

(G) He was more likely governor of this castle than of *Bilejtki*; since this latter was given to *Baliq*, as before related;

which could not well be, if *Koffi*, his friend, had been governor of it, as the translator of *Cantemir* well observes; unless, indeed, he was promoted to a better government.

with

with some difficulty seize the fortress. When the governor was retired to his bed-chamber, *Othmân*, who concluded his stratagem had succeeded, takes horse, with his followers, and friend *Koffi*, and rides full-speed to *Bilejtki*. The governor, informed of his sudden departure, pursues, and overtakes him; but his attendants being, for the most part, drunk, he is slain by *Othmân* in the conflict, and the rest put to flight. Having thus taken *Bilejtki*, *Othmân* next morning likewise surprised *Jarhissar*, where he took prisoner the captain, and his beautiful daughter the bride, who were preparing to go to the wedding ^b.

WE meet with little or no account in the *Turkish* history *Defet* in of the actions of *Othmân* for the first 17 years of his reign; *his story*. which argues a great want of records during that time. To fill up this gap, we are only told, that after he had removed his residence to *Jenghisbahri*, as before mentioned, he spent some time in regulating his domestic affairs. We shall therefore, in some measure, supply the defect out of the *Byzantine* historians; by shewing the miserable state to which the *Greek* affairs in *Asia* were reduced at the time that *Othmân* appeared there.

WE have related, towards the close of the *Seljukian* history, *The emperor's retreat*. by what means the affairs of the East, which had been restored by *Tarkoniates*, came to be again ruined. Sometime after, six thousand *Alans* (H), who had served *Nogas* (I) the *Tatar*, came to offer their service to the emperor *Andronicus*; who receiving them as succors sent from heaven, divided them into three parts: the greater number he sent before into the East, and reserved the most valiant for the young emperor *Michael*, who, eager to be in action, followed soon after, and encamped at *Magnesia*, near the desert. From thence he sent out parties, who scoured the enemy's country, and brought off much plunder; while the *Turks* betook themselves to the hills, and their strong holds: but afterwards assembling their forces, and descending into the plains, the emperor was pre-

^b CANT. Hist. Othm. p. 13.

(H) There were at that time 8000 of that nation fit to bear arms.

(I) This *Nogas* was one of the *Tatar* commanders, who having subdued the country to the north of the *Euxine* sea, set up for himself, and extended his con-

quest along the north side of the *Danube*; but in 1297 he was defeated, and killed, by *Tuktai*, descended from the princes of the kingdom which *Nogais* had seized. *Pach. in Mich. & Andronic. l. 9. c. 26.*

vailed

A. D. 1303.ailed on to retreat, by the chief officers of his army, who magnified the forces of the enemy.

encourages the Turks. THIS shameful retreat encouraged the *Turks* to make incursions as far as the field of *Menomene*, and ruin the country on all sides, while the emperor was shut up in *Magnesia*. The *Alans*, after this, demanded leave to return; and as the whole defence of the empire then depended on them, when the young emperor found that he could detain them no longer, he retired secretly as he could from *Magnesia*, in a dark and stormy night. The *Turks* had so over-run the country to the south of *Pergamus*, that the inhabitants, abandoning their houses and effects, fled for safety, some into that city, others to *Endromit* (or *Adromitium*) and to the sea-coast near *Lampsakus*; while many crossed the *Hellepont* into *Europe*; so great was the general fear and distress.

Othmân
ravages
Bithynia
A. D.
1302.

THE East being thus inclosed, as it were, by the *Turks*, from one sea to the other, *Othmân* appeared the 27th day of July, at the head of a very numerous army, near *Vaseum*, a place not far from *Nikomedia*. After having pillaged the country about *Nice*, he crossed the mountains, to go ravage the territories of the *Alifons*; and was joined by more forces from *Paphlagonia*, who seemed resolved to over-run at once all which remained to the *Romans*. All the troops which *Muzalon* had, both of *Romans* and *Alans*, to oppose such formidable enemies, did not amount to 2000 men: besides, a misunderstanding arising between the two parties, they made but small resistance. A good number was slain by the *Turks*, and the *Romans* fled shamefully to *Nikomedia*; while many *Alans* lost their lives to favour their escape. After this defeat, the people ran for shelter to that city; and the *Turks* ranged the country every-where, without opposition, to the very walls of *Prusa*, *Nice*, and *Endromit*, where the emperor then was. In short, the whole East was ruined by the fury of arms, excepting the strong-holds and fortified places. There was only a small space of land towards the sea, about *Akhirao*, *Cyzicus*, *Piga*, and *Lopadion*, which was exempt from pillage.

A. D. 1303. WITH regard to the islands, after the pirates abandoned *Tenedos*, which had long been their place of rendezvous, the *Turks* seized it; and, with the vessels they built there, subdued the islands of the *Archipelago*, *Samos*, *Karpathus*, and even *Rhodes*, which they entirely laid waste.

The emperor's policy.

THE emperor finding that he could not by force of arms repress the enemy, who made incursions as far as the *Bosphorus*, had recourse to other measures. *Kuximpaxis* (K), a Tatar,

(K) Perhaps *Kushim Pashi*, or *Bashi*.

on the death of *Nogais*, to whom he was strictly attached, fled, with his wife and children, towards the East; but being driven by contrary winds towards *Heraklea*, implored the emperor's protection, was received, and changed the *Mohammedan* faith for the Christian. *Andronicus*, after this, having brought about a match between the daughter of his convert and *Soliman Paxis*, chief of the *Turks*, who were nearest the frontiers, gave the government of the country round *Nikomedia* to *Kuximpaxis*; in hopes *Soliman* would spare the *Roman* frontiers, out of respect to his father-in-law. But this piece of policy did not succeed to his expectation: for altho' *Soliman* forbore incursions, yet he could not restrain *Amurat* (L), another commander, from pillaging; the chiefs acting independently of each other. Besides, the moment one chief sat still, his soldiers listed under another, who continued to ravage the country; so that *Soliman's* men committed the same hostilities, as if their chief had been at their head (M).

A. D.
1304.

In short, there were then in arms several parties under so many different commanders, as *Atman* (or *Othmân*), *Atin* (or *Aydin*), *Alifuras*, *Mantakkia* (N), *Lamises*, *Sfondiles*, *Pagdin*, and others, who, like a devouring fire, had ruined all the country (O). The emperor had no forces to oppose the enemy, and but one way left to raise any; and that was, by making use of the fund out of which the pensions of the churches, monasteries, and his guards, were paid. The emperor *Mikhael* finding it not safe to remain at *Pergamus*, went with his troops to *Cyzicus*, whither the people, who could escape, retired with their effects; but fearing to be besieged, he soon after removed to *Piga*, a little city near the sea, where he fell into a dangerous sickness, caused by grief and vexation. A little before this, on the 8th of *August*, there happened an earthquake. It was scarce felt about *Constantinople*; but at *Rhodes* it was so violent, and did so much mischief, the like was never known. It was also very great at *Alexandria*, and the country round: it shook *Koron*, *Methone*, a part of the *Morea*, and the island of *Kandia*; in all which places much damage was done.

Turkish
princes.A. D.
1304.Violent
earth-
quake.

* PAKH. l. 10. c. 16, 17. 19, 20. 25, 26. 29, 30.

(L) Or *Morád*.

(O) The author says, beyond

(M) The modern practice of one prince lending another forces against his ally is not unlike this.

Bithynia, *Myfia*, *Phrygia*, and *Lydia*; but the *Greeks* seem then to have had nothing left them in *Phrygia*, and but very little in the other three provinces.

(N) Called afterwards *Karaman Mantakkia*.

A. D. 1304. IN September following, in the second indiction (P), Roger (Q) came, at the invitation of the emperor, with seven ships, and a fleet of his allies, both *Catalans* and *Amogavars* (R), to the number of 8000 men. This Roger had served in the wars between the kings of *Sicily* and *Naples*; which being at an end, he, to avoid falling into the hands of the pope, who had demanded him, had recourse to the emperor. *Fernand Ximenez* had arrived before, with his subjects armed, to serve for pay against the *Turks*. The emperor, charmed with so large a succour, conferred on Roger the title of *Grand Duke*, and gave him his niece in marriage: but his troops being transported to *Cyzicus*, committed all sorts of violences, plundered the towns, carried off the women, and treated the inhabitants as if they had been slaves. *Fernand* did what he could, by his remonstrances, to restrain their outrages; but finding it in vain, returned home with his troops: nor would the emperor *Mikhael* receive the *Grand Duke*, when he went to visit him at *Piga*.

Sardes preserved.

As the emperor had not yet forces sufficient to make head against the enemy, he had recourse to *Kazan Khân* (S), of the *Tatars*, who accepted his offer of an alliance, and promised to put a stop to their ravages. As soon as this news came to their ears, they slackened their incursions; and *Alais* began to think how he should preserve the rich booty which he had gathered in *Myfia*. There was at *Sardes* an exceeding strong fort, which formerly had served for a citadel: it was inaccessible on one side for rock, and on the other for precipices. *Alais* sent to acquaint those who held it, that in case they would give him one half, which was separated from the other by a strong wall, with only a gate of communication, he would suffer them to cultivate their lands in peace. This offer necessity induced them to accept of, against their inclinations; and indeed the fear of the *Tatars* was no sooner over, than *Alais* formed the design of making himself master of the whole citadel. This coming to the knowledge of the *Romans*, they resolved to prevent him; and sending for some troops, who were in the neighbourhood, came upon the *Turks*, when they were asleep, and put them all to the sword^d.

^d CANT. Hist. Othm. l. 11. c. 5—17.

(P) Which answers to the year 1304. supposes that they drew their origin from the *Avars*.

(Q) Called by others *Renzorius*, or *Rouzerius*.

(S) Our author writes *Caxanes Cam*.

(R) *Pachamire*, l. 11. c. 21.

MEAN time, the miseries of the East increased daily: the enemy took *Cele*, *Afrabilus*, and *Hiero*, where they exercised the greatest cruelties. *Nikomedia* was extremely pressed with hunger and thirst; *Belokome*, *Angelkome*, *Anagourde*, *Platanum*, and *Melageum*, were almost empty of people: *Krulhem* and *Katacium* were in a worse state. The roads from *Nice* to *Heraklea* and *Nemikome*, before the most frequented of all, were then quite desert. There was only one small road opened from *Cio* thither, through the forest. Passengers used to cross the neck of land from *Cio*, by night; and then embarking in the other bay, go by water to the only gate of *Nice* (T), which was open.

A. D.

1305.

Other cities exposed.

A. D.

1305.

THE emperor having sent some troops to *Katacium*, they were no sooner arrived, than 5000 *Turks* (under *Othmán*) appeared before the place. The soldiers, unable to oppose them, fled; and a multitude of women and children were taken prisoners under the walls of the fort. After this they destroyed the country. As *Othmán* was on his return, he learned that the inhabitants of *Belokome* (U) had joined the *Roman* troops in their retreat; so that the place was without defence. Hereupon, he took it by force, slaying part of the people, and seized a prodigious quantity of riches.

WHILE the *Catalans* exercised horrid cruelties at *Cyzicus*, *Philadelphus* besieged the city of *Philadelphia* with an army of *Karmanians*, the most powerful people among the *Turks* (X), took all the neighbouring forts, and reduced the place to great straits. In *March* the army set forward from *Cyzicus*, consisting of 8000 men, one thousand *Romans*, 6000 *Italians* (Y), and 1000 *Aians*. *Marulus* commanded the *Romans*; but the Grand Duke *Roger* was generalissimo, with an absolute power. On his approach to *Gherme*, the *Turks* shamefully deserted their fort, leaving their baggage behind. From thence he passed by *Kliara*, and other places, to succour *Philadelphia*. On his way the inhabitants of *Tripoli*, which had been taken some time before by the *Karmanians*, sent to desire his assistance. He attacked the *Turks* at *Aulak*, and defeated them;

A. D.

1306.

(T) Hence it appears, that there is a river which communicates with the lake of *Nice*; on the east or north-east side whereof that city stands.

(U) This *Belokome*, or *Bellikome* (as *Kantakuzenus* writes it, lib. iv. cap. 17.) seems to be

Bilijiki; said to have been taken in *Aladin's* time.

(X) By this it appears, that *Othmán* was not yet become the most considerable in the heptarchy.

(Y) That is, *Catalans* and *Amogavares*.

A. D. 1306. their general *Alifuras*, who was wounded, flying to *Amur* (Z) for safety : and thus the siege of *Philadelphia* was raised.

Tripoli
taken

by strata-
gem.

ALTHOUGH *Tripoli* was formerly no more than in the rank of citadels, the emperor *Dukas* enlarged and fortified it, so as to serve as a bulwark to cover *Philadelphia*. The report went, that this last city never had been taken since the deluge, which tradition made the inhabitants so vain, that they despised the arms of the *Turks*. *Tripoli*, however, came to be besieged by them, at length ; and the inhabitants being reduced to famine, by succours not coming to their relief, prevailed on the *Turks* both to supply them with provisions, and suffer them to go out to buy necessaries. The *Turks* taking advantage of the liberty they had of going to *Tripoli* to sell their provisions, by means of some inhabitants whom they bribed, introduced sacks full of trumpets, drums, and other warlike music, instead of corn. At midnight the *Turks*, who came with the sacks, sounded the instruments ; and while the people were confounded at the unexpected noise, the traitors opening the gates, let in *Alifuras*, whom it afterwards served for a place of retreat, from whence to make incursions with his *Karmanians*.

Roger's
exactions.

A. D.
1306.

ROGER, after his victory, returned by the forts of *Kula* and *Turnus*, to *Philadelphia*, where he raised immense sums by force. He exercised the like exactions at *Pyrge* and *Ephesus*, in the isle of *Scio*, *Lemnos* and *Mitylene*, torturing people to discover their hidden treasure, and putting those to death who refused, not sparing the emperor's officers, and even governors of places (A). A little before this, the inhabitants of *Magnesia*, having been ill used by him, on the arrival of *Roman* troops, killed some of his *Italian* garrison, and imprisoned the rest. On this advice, *Roger* hastened to besiege the place : but finding, after several fruitless attacks, that there was no likelihood of taking it, he offered to retire, provided they would deliver him his money and baggage, which he had lodged there. This they rejected with scorn, and added sneers to their refusal.

* PAKH. 1. 11. c. 21—26.

(Z) Or *Omer*.

(A) At *Mitylene* he condemned *Makramus*, governor of the fort of *Asi* (on the *Meander*) for having deserted that place, tho' no longer able to keep it. Afterwards his life was granted, on condition he paid 5000 crowns ; but not being able to

raise the whole, he ordered his head to be cut off. That instant the executioner seizing him by the hair, laid him all along ; and fastened him to the block with such violence, that he put his neck out of joint ; and then gave him the fatal stroke.

WHILE

WHILE Roger lay with his forces before *Magnesia*, the *Turks* ravaged the *Roman* territories, without controul: and tho' the emperor often sent orders to him to withdraw, he paid no regard to them: yet at last, wearied out with fatigue, the grand duke was obliged to raise the siege. In his way back to *Mitylene* he burdened the cities with great exactions; and from thence passing with his troops to *Lampfacus*, he crossed over to *Callipoli*¹.

A. D.
1306.The Turks
ravages.

WHILE those troops were committing great disorders in *Philadel-Europe*, the East was neglected; and *Philadelphia* so closely besieged by the *Turks* (B), that the inhabitants were forced to feed on dead bodies, for want of provisions. At the same time they attacked the island of *Scio* with 30 ships, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, excepting some who fled to a fort, and others who escaped in 40 vessels, only to be cast away near *Skyra*. Altho' the emperor conferred on Roger the dignity of *Cæsar*, in order to satisfy his ambition, if possible, and prevail on him to defend the East against the *Turks*, yet still he eluded the performance of his engagements by his usual artifices. He promised, on receiving that honour, with 11,000 crowns in gold, to pass over immediately into *Asia* with 3000 men, and dismiss the rest; but instead of disbanding any, he sent some over to *Cyzicus*, *Piga*, and *Lupadion*; and retained the *Catalans*, under pretence that they had not received their pay.

AFTER this, wanting to know the strength of the emperor Roger *Michael's* army, he went in *March* to *Adrianople*, with a guard of 150 men, under pretence of taking leave of that prince, whom he had never seen before he embarked. *Michael*, tho' surpris'd at his arrival, received him with many caresses; but two or three days after, as he was entering alone into the apartment of the empress, *George*, the chief of the *Alans*, whose son had been killed by the *Catalans* at *Cyzicus*, took that opportunity to revenge his death, and ran him thro' the body. Thus fell, says our author, this unjust and insolent, but fierce and intrepid barbarian. While the *Asiatics*, in revenge for his cruelties to their countrymen, were cutting his body in pieces, his *Italians*, who were without, were seized and cast into prison².

THE *Catalans*, on the news of their chief's death, put the inhabitants of *Kallipoli*, of which they had long been masters, *talans* *re-venge*.

¹ PAKH. 1. 12. c. 3.² Ibid. 1. 12. c. 14. 22, & seqq.(B) Under *Alifuras*, we presume.

A. D. 1307. to the sword, excepting some whom they reserved to exchange for those who were at *Adrianople*. The emperor, on this news, sent some troops to besiege the fort of *Kallipoli*; but the *Catalans* were so far from apprehending any danger, that they passed over into *Asia*, and put to the sword all the grown-up people in *Perinthus*, and the neighbouring country. Those who escaped fled to *Constantinople*, which was now, as it were, the only asylum left for the inhabitants of the provinces to retire to, from the general desolation caused by the *Turks*, and other enemies of the *Romans*^h.

The emperor
Mikhael

A. D.
1307.

THE young emperor was the more intent on relieving *Kallipoli* (C), which was besieged by the *Amogavares*, as he was informed they expected succours, and had invited over the *Turks*; and sent three commanders with troops sufficient to defeat them: but the enemy having drawn them into an ambuscade, by leaving droves of cattle without the town, to allure them forward, they were defeated themselves, and many slain in the pursuit. *Michael*, to efface the shame of this defeat, left *Adrianople* with his army; and being arrived at a place called *Imeri*, ranged them in order of battle; the van consisted of the *Alans* and *Turks*, called *Turkopoli*; the main body of the *Macedonians* and troops of the East; the rear was composed of the *Walakkians* and volunteers. The *Roman* army consisted of five legions, and that of the enemy of four, whereof one was *Turks* (D).

defeated by
them.

THE *Alans* and *Turkopoli* (E) began the battle; but after the first attack on the *Catalans*, who stood like rocks, they turned their backs and fled; which discouraging the rest, they began to retreat. The young emperor endeavouring, by his example, to make them stand their ground, was in the utmost hazard of being killed or taken, for he stood firm in the midst of danger; and could hardly be brought off by the persuasions of those about him, shedding tears, and tearing his hair for vexation. The consequence of this defeat must have been

^h PAKH. c. 14, & seq.

(C) To reconcile this with what is said a little above, it must be supposed that the fort of *Callipoli* was in the hands of the *Catalans*, but not the city.

(D) We have before this several instances of the *Turks* passing into *Europe*: so that when authors tell us they first passed

into *Europe*, under *Or Khân*, it must be understood of the *Othmân Turks* only.

(E) The *Turkopoli* were *Turks* left in *Thrace*, by *Soltân Az-zo'ddin*, the 12 *Seljukians* of *Rûm*, when he fled from *Aynum*; and becoming Christians, were enrolled among the *Greek* soldiers.

very

very bad, if the enemy had not been hindered from pursuing the *Romans*, under the imagination that they wanted to draw them into an ambuscade. The *Alans*, to make the emperor amends for losing him the battle, began to scour the country, and pillage his subjects, as other strangers had done.

ALTHOUGH the troops which guarded the straits of *Thür al-Avido* hindered the *Turks* to approach it, yet they were as much masters of the other side: but *Zakaria Manuel*, by the reputation of the valour of the *Italians* who were under his command, kept them at a distance from *Endromit* and *Phoecea*¹.

SOON after (F) the *Turks* differing with the *Italians* about the division of the plunder, part of them took ship, with a design to pass the strait of *Kallipoli*; but meeting with *Andrew Muresk*, who was pay-master of the navy, they were all cut to pieces, which made the rest continue with the *Italians*, and ravage *Thrace*.

MEAN time the fort of *Kubukleum*, in *Myfia*, being hard pressed by the *Turks* (G), *Makrenus*, governor of *Lupadion*, sent thither 60 *Amogavares*; who having treated secretly with the enemy, as soon as they got into the place, slew the remainder of the garrison, drove out the inhabitants, and delivered it up to the *Turks*; after which they were conducted to *Lampsakus*, and from thence crossed the *Hellefpont* into *Europe*.

MURESK was made admiral for the exploit above-mentioned; but having only two ships left of his fleet, was soon after met by the enemy, commanded by one *Philip*, whom but a little before he had fought, and taken: but now fortune changing sides, *Philip* took him, after killing all his men; and in return of generosity, ransomed him for 3000 crowns.

THE *Amogavares*, grown more bold by this advantage, treated with the *Turks* commanded by *Atin* (H), and brought over 2000 into *Europe*, with some *Romans*, who had joined them in *Asia*: by this means grown formidable, they did a world of mischief in the open country.

¹ PARH. C. 29, 30. 32.

(F) This was in the 23d year of the reign of *Andronicus*, and 12th of *Mikhael's*.

(G) Perhaps under *Kalamis*, or his son *Karez*, who had Ly-

dia to his share.

(H) Or *Aydin*, who gained a sovereignty about *Abidos*, at the entrance of the straits of *Kallipoli*.

A. D.
1308.Catalan
knavery.

THE *Turks* having seized the fort of *Examiles*, the emperor sent *Marulus* with what little troops could be gathered, to prevent their farther progress: on his approach to *Apros*, *Rocafort*, the *Catalan*, who was at the fort, sent to tell him he intended to go over to the emperor with 200 men; and that in case they would give him 5000 crowns, he would kill all the *Turks* who were in *Europe*. *Marulus* desiring to know in what manner he could destroy such a prodigious multitude as there was of them, answered, that he would separate them into small bodies, and so destroy them one after the other; and that, as an earnest of his performance, he had sent him the heads of several whom he had already killed. *Marulus* believed this an argument of the *Catalan's* sincerity, and would have been his dupe for the money, if a woman had not known one of the heads to have been that of her husband, slain in the last rencounter.

Sayfan
takes
Ephesus.

THE emperor, to remedy the affairs of the East, sent over corn to the garrisons, and demanded of *Karbaga* (I), *Khân* of the *Tatars*, the same favour which he had desired of *Kazân Khân*, his predecessor. His ambassador brought word that the *Khân* (K) was very willing to grant his request; that he had actually raised an army of 40,000 men; and that his nephew was already advanced, at the head of 20,000, as far as *Kogni*, with orders to follow in all things the emperor's directions: but while he was busy to prepare presents, and instruct his ambassadors, news came of the taking of *Ephesus* by *Soltân Sayfan*; who having thrown off his allegiance to his uncle *Karamân Mantakhia*, was become very powerful. The inhabitants, to avoid the extremities of war, surrendered, upon articles, which were not well kept: for most of them were sent to the fort of *Tyreum*, for fear of insurrections; and some were massacred.

Ishak Ma-
lek's offer.

IN the mean time, a *Turk*, named *Isbak Malek*, sent privately to offer to join the emperor: who, ready to catch at every appearance of advantage to his affairs, promised him the daughter of another *Malek* (L) in marriage, with considerable presents on that occasion. Among the services which *Malek* proposed to do, one was, to engage the *Turkopoli* to quit the interest of the *Catalans*, provided their wives and

(I) This was *Mohammed*, son of *Argun*, who succeeded his brother *Kazân*, in 703 of the *Hijra*, of Christ 1103. He was surnamed *Gayathoddin Khodâ-bendûh*. *Abulfidâh* writes *Khoû-benda*; of which *Korbaga*, and

Korbagath, seem to be corruptions.

(K) In the original *Cam*, or *Kam*.

(L) A son of *Soltân Azzo'ddin*, and afterwards *Soltân*, the same with *Massûd*. See before, vol. iv. p. 271. This happened in 1308.

children were restored them. This negotiation having been discovered, *Rocafort* accused *Malek*, and some of his associates, with treason. They said in their defence, that they had nothing in view but to serve the *Turkopoli*, by drawing their families out of the emperor's hands. However, *Malek* found means to cross over into *Asia*, while the *Catalans* scoured the sea in ships, and carried their ravages, by land, to the very gates of *Constantinople* *.

THE *Genoese* were at length prevailed on to attack *Callipoli*, *Genoese* and burned a market without the town: but some of the cowardice. chief among them being slain, and *Murest*, the *Roman* admiral, wounded; apprehending likewise, by the motions of the besieged, that they intended to make a sally, they were so astonished, that they hastened to their ships, and returned to their own country, without doing any thing more. This retreat encouraged the *Catalans* to such a degree, that they refused to make peace with the emperor, unless upon their own terms. They were farther animated by the arrival of 400 *Turks* from *Asia*, who took the fortress on mount *Gana*, and made incursions as far as *Rodesto* and *Bizya*, or *Biza*; wherefore the emperor, to prevent their advancing nearer *Constantinople*, ordered all the stock which was upon the ground to be burned, as far as *Selivrea*, and beyond it.

ISHAK MALEK, after this, sent to renew his proposal *The Turks* with the emperor *Andronicus*, demanding the daughter of *Malek*, who had been promised him. He likewise required *with-* draw. that the emperor would confer on *Malek*, his uncle, and father of that princess (M), the dignity of *Soltân*. *Andronicus*, not thinking it proper to agree to this demand, only sent *Malek* with his daughter to *Piga*, and gave him the government of that city: in the mean time, ships were getting ready to carry into *Asia* the *Turks* whom *Isbak Malek* had engaged to draw off. As the *Catalans* and *Turks* were before *Rodesto*, eager to take it, because it hindered their incursions into *Thrace*, the emperor sent two vessels to carry off the useless people; which the *Turks*, by pretending to fly, gave an opportunity of doing: and the besieged resuming courage, made the *Catalans* withdraw. However, it was taken soon after by *Rocafort*; and retaken by *Dukas*, the grand heteriarch.

* PAKH. 1. 13, c. 3, 9—15.

(M) There must be some great mistake here; one *Malek* (which is only a title) being confounded with another. She was daughter

of *Malek Masur*, or *Masud*, afterwards *Soltân*, who was slain, or died, in 1288.

D.

ISHAK

A. D.

1308.

Malek
slain.

ISHAK MALEK, pursuant to his agreement, crossed the *Hellefpont* with the most considerable among the *Turks*. As it was no difficult matter for him to persuade those people to separate from the *Catalans*, they boldly attacked the *Italians* who commanded them; and having slain them, ran to the shore, in order to get aboard the ships sent thither to carry them over into *Asia*. The news of this murder, and their flight, coming quickly to the ears of the *Catalans*, they pursued them immediately, and obliged them to submit, after killing above 200. The *Turks*, reduced in this manner, offered to serve them as before; but the *Catalans* refused to trust them, unless they delivered up *Ishak Malek*, his brother, and *Takantziaris*, commander of the *Turkopoli*, who they suspected as the authors of their revolt. When those three persons were put into their hands (N), they cut off the heads of the two brothers; and on stripping them, found under the arm of *Ishak* a letter of the emperor's, inviting the *Turks* to embrace his party.

The Tur-
kopoli de-
part.

MATTERS being thus agreed, it was proposed to besiege *Khorli*; but the *Turkopoli* refused to march, till their chief was released. This done, they all seemed united in the same design; but soon separated again. The *Catalans* attacked the city, and were repulsed by the garrison. *Takantziaris* retired with the *Turkopoli* to the fort of *Apros*; and the *Turks*, who remained before *Khorli*, understanding that there were *Catalan* ships on the coast, had a mind to seize them, in order to pass over into *Asia*: but the men on board drove them off.

Othmân's
advances.

WHILE the *Catalans* were continuing their ravages in *Europe*, *Othmân* made no less havock in *Asia Minor*; in resentment that *Mary*, the emperor's sister, and queen of the *Mughuls* (O), had treated him with contempt, and threatened to complain of him to *Karbaga* (or *Khorbanda*). This *Khân* had detached 30,000 men from *Persia*; who being arrived on the eastern frontiers of the empire, *Andronicus* sent them rich presents. But their arrival, instead of abating *Othmân's* courage, the more inflamed it; for he took the fort of *Trikokkia*, and ravaged the country about *Nice* and *Pithia*, to the very sea¹.

! ПАХ. l. 13, c 21—29.

(N) They seem by this to have been with the *Turks*; for they could not have been in their power if they had been over in *Asia*.

(O) So called, we presume, because she was to have been married to *Hûlakû Khân*. She seems to have resided at *Nice*. See *Pakhamir*, l. 13. c. 25.

FROM

FROM *Ducas* we learn the state of *Asia Minor*, in the 30th year of the reign of *Andronicus Paleologus* (P). The city of *Epheſus*, capital of *Asia*, with the province of *Karia*, were reduced under the power of *Montakbia*. *Atin* (by others called *Aydın*) had subdued *Lydia*, as far as *Smyrna*; *Sarkhân* conquered *Maniſſa* (or *Magneſia*), and the country round, as far as *Pergamus*, with all the province of *Magedon*; *Karmion* (by others named *Karamân*) ſeized *Phrygia*; *Karaſe* (or *Kurâz*) subdued the *Greater Phrygia*, which extended from the city of *Aſſo* to the *Helleſpont*; and *Othmân* reduced all *Bithynia*, with part of *Paphlagonia*^m.

A. D.
1308.State of
Asia Mi-
nor.

THUS far the *Greek* hiſtorians; let us now return to the *Niko-Turkiſh*. *Othmân* having ſpent ſome time in regulating his media domeſtic affairs, to prevent the ſoldiers from being corrupted with luxury and eaſe, he inveſts *Iznikmid* (Q) (or *Nikomedia*); but being repulſed, after a tedious leaguer, he raiſes the ſiege, and builds over againſt it, on a high mountain, towards *Jenghiſbahri*, a ſtrong caſtle (R); which he commits to the care of the famous *Targan*, and then retires into winter-quarters.

ABOUT this time the governors of the *Greek* provinces, *Kutahia* among whom *Ornûs*, or *Honorius*, governor of *Pruſa*, was the chief, alarmed at the progreſs of *Othmân*'s arms, agreed to meet, with their forces, at *Koyûnhifſar*, in order to march and ſurpriſe him: but *Othmân*, diſcovering their deſign by his ſcouts, on a ſudden draws together his troops; and unexpectedly coming, routs them. The governor of the city *Koſtel*, and many others, were ſlain; *Ornûs*, and the governor of *Kutahi*, eſcape by flight. *Othmân* purſues; but unable to overtake them, beſieges that city (lateſt recovered from the *Turks* by the *Greeks*) and takes it. Here he loſt his grandſon *Dogris*, who, with ſome ſoldiers, was drowned, by the breaking of a timber bridge, over which the army paſſed, under the walls of the town. The body being found, was buried in the ſuburbs of *Koyûnhifſar*.

^m DUKAS. C. 2.

(P) Called the elder; which them here, as poſterior to the answers to the year of Chriſt, others in time.

1313.

(Q) This and the following caſtle, called *Targan*, from its facts not being dated, nor mentioned in the foregoing *Greek* captain, to be built not by *Othmân*, but *Or Khân*.

A. D. 1318. Most of *Bithynia* being conquered, *Othmān* at length, in 717, besieged *Prusa* (S), the capital of *Bithynia*: but the city being so strongly fortified and garrisoned, that *Othmān* despaired of taking it, he builds over-against it two strong castles, to prevent any supplies getting in; and appoints his nephew *Artimūr*, and the famous *Balanjik*, governors, with order not to molest the inhabitants; who by that means retired to those castles as sanctuaries, and submitted to *Othmān*.

Prusa besieged
Hej. 717.
1318.

It was *Othmān*'s custom, after the conquest of a certain number of cities, to rest a while, and strengthen his new acquisitions. Having spent some years in this employment, his soldiers, impatient to be in action, petitioned to be led out to new conquests on the *Greek* empire. *Othmān* likes the proposal: but tells them, that by the *Mohammedan* law the Christians ought first to be invited to embrace it; and in case of refusal, were to be declared enemies of God and truth; and as such, to be chastised with fire and sword. Accordingly an edict is carried by his *Chausb* (T) to all the Christian governors (U) of *Asia Minor*, notifying; that they must either embrace *Mohammedism*, pay tribute, or be subdued by the sword. The first who submitted to this thundering edict, and turned *Mohammedan*, was *Mikhael Kosa*, lord of *Bilejik* (X); while those of the cities *Loblehijî*, *Lefka*, and *Chadarli*, became tributary.

Several cities, &c. ABOUT the same time the cities of *Mortuni*, *Goynik*, *Tarakli*, *Enghijesi*, *Kaya hissar*, *Hejeji*, *Ak hissar*, *Kara chin*, *Tekkurbanari*, and some others, being weakened by the frequent incursions of *Chausbi* beg, formerly *Ertogrul*'s servant, he at length takes them all, and annexes them to the *Othmānik* dominions (Y). Whilst these conquests were going forward, a nation of *Tatars*, called *Chaudar*, coming from the kingdom of *Kermian* (Z), suddenly invade *Othmān*'s territories, destroy-

(S) Now called *Bursab*, the ancient seat of the kings of *Bithynia*.

(T) The *Chausb*, or *Chavsb*, are messengers of state.

(U) Princes in the original.

(X) Before *Baliad* is said to have been made governor of this city.

(Y) Some Christian writers ascribe many more victories to *Othmān*; as the taking of *Nice*, in *Bithynia*; *Ancyra*, in *Phrygia*; and other cities of *Anatolia*; also *Neapolis*, in *Thrace*.

But since the *Turkish* annals ascribe those conquests to his successors, we ought to submit to their authority. *Cont.*

(Z) *Kermian*, in the margin, is said to be *Phrygia*: but perhaps we are to understand by it, the east part of that province, wherein *Ikonium* is situated; which, according to *Khalkondylas*, *Kermian* had seized, on the dissolution of the *Seljukian* monarchy. Yet afterwards we find *Karaman* at *Kogni*, and *Kermian* at *Kotyæum*, now *Kutayeb*.

ing

ing it with fire and sword, to the walls of *Karak hissar*. Upon this news, *Othmân*, who then resided at *Jenghishari*, assembling his forces, attacks the enemy near *Oynasb* (a town then in ruins near *Karak hissar*) and routs them, killing great numbers, and taking more prisoners; who, on their embracing the faith, were restored to liberty, and settled in the jurisdiction of *Karak hissar*. A. D. 1327.

ORKHAN, who excelled all the sons of *Othmân* in virtue and bravery, subdued the cities of *Karacbebesb*, *Alebsui*, *Pir-gos*, and *Tektin hissari*. After this, leaving the command of the army to *Kognuzalbem*, that general takes by storm the castles of *Ahari* and *Tuz bazâri*; then lays waste the territory of *Iznigmid*, to the very walls of that city. The Greek emperor, being informed of this danger, sent some thousands of well-armed forces to the governor's relief: but *Abdo'lrabmân* (A), another of *Othmân's* commanders, coming on them suddenly in the field of *Taylazova*, defeated them, killing or taking almost all of them in the pursuit. Castles taken.

ALTHOUGH *Othmân*, exhausted with continual expeditions, and old-age, was seized with the gout; yet preserving the vigour of his mind, and desirous to pursue his good fortune, sent *Or Khân*, with numerous forces, to subdue *Bithynia*, governed by *Ornûs*; and, if possible, to take *Prusa*, the metropolis. *Ornûs*, not strong enough to meet the enemy in the field, shut himself up in the city, which was very strong, and stored with eight years provisions; so that *Or Khân*, who set down before it, met with a gallant resistance. But after a long and obstinate siege, *Mikhael Kofa*, who was now *Or Khân's* chief counsellor, artfully persuaded *Ornûs* to surrender, upon capitulation; the lives of the inhabitants being spared, on paying 30,000 gold crowns. Thus *Prusa* was delivered up (B) in the year 726, without the effusion of one drop of *Turkish blood*. Othmân dies

A. D.
1327.

(A) Or as it is pronounced, *Abdo'rrabmân*.

(B) *Kbalkondylas*, and after him most Christian historians, say that *Othmân* took this city, and was buried there. Others relate, that the castle holding out after the town was surrendered, he ordered it to be reported that he was dead; and had desired to be buried in the Greek convent in the castle, at-

tended by about 40 persons; in which case his army was to retire. The credulous monks readily complied; and a coffin, full of arms, with *Othmân* himself, in disguise, and 39 others, being admitted, they seized the gate; and letting in more troops, took the castle. This story is told by *Paul Lucas*, in his *Travels*.

AT

A. D.

1327.

At the same time *Or Khân*, receiving a message from his father to repair to him in haste, set out with a few attendants for *Jenghisbari*, where he found him almost expiring. *Othmân* having given him his blessing, and appointed him his successor, died in the month of *Ramadân* (C), in the sixty-ninth year of his age; after a reign of twenty-six years (D), three months, and ten days^a.

C H A P. III.

Reign of *Or Khân*.2. *Soltân*,
Or Khân.

OR KHAN (A) was saluted emperor the 10th of the same month and year in which his father died, being then himself thirty-six years of age. There is a great disagreement not only between the Christian and *Turkish* historians, but also among the Christian historians themselves, both with regard to the circumstances of facts relating to the *Othmân Soltâns* (especially the first of them), and the time when they happened, of which we are going to produce some instances. The *Turkish* historian or historians, followed by prince *Cantemir*, mention nothing of the transactions of *Or Khân*'s reign before the taking of *Nikomedia*, which they place in his second year; that is, in 1328. The *Greek* historians relate some matters of consequence which passed before that event, but differ much from the *Turkish* in point of time.

Emperor
Androni-
cus

KANTAKUZENUS informs us, that the young emperor *Andronicus* having made peace with *Tamer Khân*, son of *Giaxe*, prince of *Phrygia*, who used to ravage the cities on the *Hellepont*; next year (B) resolved to attack the *Turks*, who inhabited *Bithynia* under tents, in the middle of spring: but they, hearing of his design, quickly retired into the mountains. *Or Khân*, their *Soltân*, understanding that the emperor advanced through *Mesothynia*, the avenues to which are of difficult access, raised what forces he could, and seized the hills. The *Romans* being come to *Pelekana* (C), *Or Khân*

^a CANT. Hist. Othm. p. 15—19.

(C) Which is the Seventh month of the *Mohammedan* year.

(D) These make but 25 solar years five months and 17 days; yet *Lonicerus*, and other Christian writers, give him a reign of 28 years.

(A) Or *Ur Khân*. *Gregoras* calls him *Hyrkanus*.

(B) This, according to the computation of the *Greeks*, was in 1329.

(C) A fort on the *Sangarius*.

sent

sent down part of his army to attack them. Being repulsed in several rencounters, the *Soltân* ordered his brother *Parzale* to fall on with all his troops, and descended himself to observe the battle: but they were defeated at the first charge; the *Romans*, with the emperor at their head, pursuing them to the foot of the hills, where *Or Khân* had stood. However, very few men fell in all these attacks; and the emperor, seeing the *Turks* had no mind to come to blows, returned. The *Soltân*, by the advice of *Kaulauze* and *Kateghiale Paku-ture*, two of *Othmân's* old commanders, followed them as far as *Philokrene*, the *Romans* retreating in great disorder: but there, uniting again, marched back to *Skutarion* in the face of the enemy^a.

AFTER this, the emperor, having visited *Scio*, went to *Phoceæ*, where *Sârkhân*, *Soltân* of *Ionia*, came and concluded a treaty with him (D). *Aytin*, *Soltân* of *Karia*, being sick, could not visit him, but sent several rich presents. At his return he defeated an army of *Turks*, coming in seventy ships, who had landed in *Europe*, and ravaged the country about *Trajanople* and *Vera*, killing a great number, and forcing the rest to reembark. Two years after, he obliged others to return, who had crossed over in the same manner^b.

AND NOW *Or Khân* besieged *Nikomedie* (E), a great and populous city on the gulf of *Astakena*: but while the emperor was at sea, hastening to its relief, the *Soltân* sent to tell him, he was ready either to lay down his arms, or give him battle. This overture being improved into a peace, *Or Khân* sent the emperor horses, hounds, carpets, and furs; and *Andronicus*, in return, presented him with plate, cloth, silks, and a vest, which pleased the *Soltân* most of all. However, the same or next year the *Turks* came and blocked up the avenues to that city, which they found too strong to attack, and prevented the supply of provisions. This brought the emperor over again; but the enemy did not wait his coming^c. It seems strange that *Kantakuzenus*, who speaks of these attempts of *Or Khân* against *Nikomedie*, and is so exact to mark all the little invasions and ravages of the *Turks* in *Europe*, should not mention the taking either of that city, or of *Nicea*, by the same prince, which happened not long after. According to the *Turkish* historians, that *Soltân*, in

^a KANTAKUZENUS, lib. ii. c. 6, & seqq.
21.

^c Ibid. c. 24. 26.

^b Ibid. c. 13.

(D) This event is placed in the same year with the former. (E) This action is referred to the year of Christ 1331.

the

A. D.

1328.

the second year of his reign (F), at once over-ran the whole province of *Semendura*, extending from the city *Ayos* (G) to *Iznigmid*, or *Nikamedia*, which he then lays siege to. On the approach of his army, *Kalojan*, the governor, flies by night to the castle of *Koyun Hisar*. *Or Khân*, being informed hereof by some captives, sends part of his forces to attack it. The place being easily taken, and *Kalojan* slain with an arrow, he ordered his head to be fixed on a pole, and shewn to the *Nikomediens*; who, terrified at the sight, on obtaining liberty to retire with their effects to *Constantinople*, surrender the city.

Alterations made

Hej. 728.

A. D.

1328.

IN 728, *Alibeg* took by capitulation the city of *Herkia* (called afterwards *Kara Musjeké*), capital of the province of *Semendura*. *Or Khân*, having now subdued all the fortified places of *Bithynia*, excepting *Iznik* or *Nicea*, removes his seat from *Jenghi Shahri* to *Prusa*: and, by his brother *Alao'ddin's* advice, abolishing the *Seljukian* money, coins other in his own name, called *Nikra* (H). He orders the inhabitants of cities to be distinguished from those of villages by different habits; and his soldiers, who before went clad like the Christians, to wear a different dress. He likewise established a militia of foot, and taught them to make engines for taking towns, which before they were intirely ignorant of. Lastly, he made his brother *Alao'ddin* general of his armies; and set him over the public affairs, with the title of *Prime Wazir* or *Vizier*.

in the army.

NEXT year *Or Khân* first assigned the soldiers (who before were all volunteers) regular pay of a *Nikra per diem*, when upon duty; but when not, they were to live on their own possessions, free from all taxes. As this infantry, being taken from the dregs of the peasants, was given to mutiny, he abolishes it; and substitutes in the room another, composed of such Christian youths as could be procured, who were first instructed in the *Mohammedan* faith, and then inrolled. However, any *Turkish* peasants, who, contented with subsisting themselves, were willing to be inrolled, were permitted to serve among the horse, under the *Sanjak Begs* and *Baluk Bashis*, by the name of *Musellem*; that is, *free*.

Iznik, or Nicea, taken.

THE number of *Or Khân's* forces being thus greatly increased, he the same year besieges *Iznik*; which, at two years end, being almost wholly destroyed by the war, famine,

(F) That is, in 1328: but this does by no means agree with the chronology of the Greeks.

(G) *Or Aydos*.

(H) In value about the fourth part of a drachm of silver, which is the eighth part of an ounce.

and

and pestilence, surrenders (I). The inhabitants having only desired leave to retire to *Constantinople*, the conqueror permits them also to carry what effects they could with them: which generosity so affected them, that they chose to stay and become tributary. Or Khân, in the year 730, enters the city; and when the *Greek* women, whose husbands had been killed in the war, bewailed themselves in his presence, he commands his courtiers and nobles to marry them. The fame of his clemency spreading through the country, not only the inhabitants, who had fled to avoid the siege, return; but those of other *Greek* cities and towns flock thither: so that in the space of one year *Iznik* seemed to rival *Constantinople* itself in the number of inhabitants.

IN 734, Or Khân takes by capitulation the castle of *Kem-Prusa* *lâk*, fortified both by nature and art, after a whole year's siege. It had been often in vain attempted by *Othmân*. Two years after he adorns *Prusa* with a magnificent *Mesku* or molk, hospital, and academy; which last was founded in a monastery, and became so famous for professors in the sciences, that many flocked thither out of *Arabia* and *Perfia* (before looked on as the grand nurseries of learning), to pursue their studies under *Othmânîk* masters.

OR KHÂN, grown powerful by his conquests from the *Greeks*, and for the present satisfied with what he had taken from them; next year forms a design to unite to his dominions the other *Asiatic* provinces, which were subject to some *Musselmân* princes, the remains of the *Seljukian* empire (K). He begins with *Kasbîm Beg*, a minor, son of *Ajilân Beg*; whom, under pretence of being his guardian, he places near his person and then seizes his province. *Turfon Beg*, another young prince, gives up the cities of *Aydîn-jik* (L), *Minas*, *Bakîhesra*, *Bergama* (M), and *Ermid*. *Ulu-bâd* (N), *Kubleus*, and *Ebleus*, *Greek* cities in the neighbourhood of the former, were taken by force of arms. *Muchalche*, to avoid the same extremity, delivers-up his possessions (from

(I) The *Greeks* say, the emperor (*Andronicus* the younger) passed into *Asia* to succour *Nicea*: that Or Khân immediately hastened and gave him battle, near *Philokrena*, on the sea-coast: that the emperor, being wounded in the leg, and many of his troops killed, retired into the city; and that Or Khân, not having vessels to block up the

port, returned to the siege of *Nice*. *Khalkond.* lib. i. c. 6.

(K) That is, those, or their descendants, who had divided with *Othmân* the country by lot.

(L) Hence, probably, *Turfon* was the son of *Aydin*, or *Atin*, a *Seljuk* commander, often mentioned before.

(M) Or *Pergamus*.

(N) *Lopadion*.

A. D.

1335-

Hej. 730.

A. D.

1330.

Prusa

adorned.

Hej. 734-

A. D.

1334-

Some Sel-

juk princes

Hej. 735-

A. D.

1335-

him

A. D. him still called by the *Turks Muchalich*), to be held of *Or*
 1338. *Khân* in vassalage.

MEAN time, *Turson Beg* having offered to surrender his whole principality to that prince, his brother *Hajil Beg* refused to give his consent, and took up arms: but, being obliged to quit the field, fled to *Bergama*. *Or Khân*, interposing in the quarrel, orders them to meet under the walls of that city, and divide the possessions. They met, and *Hejil Beg*, under colour of embracing his brother, stabbed him, and then fled into the city, intending to stand out against *Or Khân*: but the inhabitants, both detesting the murder, and fearing the *Othmân's* power, deliver-up to him both the city and their prince; who died after two years imprisonment at *Bûrsah*. The prince of *Ulubâd* also, being falsely accused of a revolt, is put to death. Hereupon the whole province of *Karâsus* submits to *Or Khân*: and, in the year 738, *Anakhôr* and *Emrûd*, two maritime towns of the *Greeks*, hearing that he was preparing to attack them, surrendered to him, as did several others, after their example^d.

Hej. 738.

A. D.

1338.

Amir ravages

Thrace.

A. D.

1332.

THERE is hereabout a chasm in the *Turkish* history, of more than twenty years; which luckily the *Greek* writers furnish us with materials to fill up. *Aytin* (or *Aydın*), before-mentioned, being dead, his son and successor *Amîr, Soltân* of *Smyrna*, *Ephefus*, and some other cities of *Ionîa* (O), crossing the *Egean* sea, with seventy-five vessels, landed at *Samothrace*, and then at *Poros* in *Thrace*. There the emperor *Andronicus* met them, but would not venture to fight, the *Turks* being ten times more numerous; and the enemy, not liking the ground where they were, chose, after a short parley, to retire to their ships.

He and Sarkhân

A. D.

1333.

AFTER this *Andronicus* sent an embassy to *Sarkhân*, who commanded about *Phoea* (P), and made a treaty with him; by which the *Soltân* was obliged to aid him both by sea and land. The emperor in return was to set at liberty his son *Soleymân*, with the other *Turkish* youth, detained as hostages at *Phoea*. But the *Genoese*, having seized that place, refused

^d CANT, Hist. Othm. p. 24—27.

(O) *Dukas* relates, that *Amir* having succeeded his father *Atin* (or *Aytin*) in the sovereignty of *Smyrna* and some places round it, subdued, with incredible bravery and application, several ports of *Ionîa*, and a thick forest; which, enabling

him to build gallies, he ruined the cities and islands in those parts, *Mitylene*, *Kbio*, *Samos*, *Naxos*, and several others. *Dukas*, cap. 7.

(P) Before he is called *Soltân* of *Ionîa*, and a little below *Soltân* of *Lydia*.

to

to deliver them. While the emperor lay before it, he was visited by the three sons of *Ayttin*, *Soltân of Ionia* (Q), whose names were *Thefeus*, *Amir* (who had invaded *Thrace*), and *Sulaymasas*. The siege having lasted five months, news was brought that a *Genoese* fleet was coming from *Mytilene*, to relieve the place. Hereupon *Sarkhân* furnished the emperor with twenty-four ships, besides many troops both horse and foot. *Amir* brought thither thirty vessels, at the request of *John Kantakuzenus*, the grand domestic, who had contracted an intimacy with him long before. But after all these preparations no enemy appeared^c.

TOWARDS the end of summer news came, that an army *The Turks* of *Turkish* infantry, belonging to *Or Khân*, were sailed aboard thirty vessels towards *Constantinople*. They landed in two bodies near *Ennakofsa*. The grand domestic cut one all to pieces, and the emperor destroyed most of the other, there remaining only enough to fill one ship. Putting out of these eight men aboard a second, and ten more in a third, they returned home with a fair wind (R). After this, the *Romans* took eight vessels out of nine, full of *Turks*, some of the most wealthy in the nation; whose friends paid considerable sums for their ransom^d.

NEWS arriving, that *Sarkhân Soltân*, of *Lydia*, and *Ghiaxe* on several (prince of *Phrygia*) were ready to cross over into *Thrace*, to ravage the country; *John Kantakuzenus*, the grand domestic, first sent ambassadors to make peace with *Or Khân*, *Soltân of Eastern Bithynia* (S), and then prepared to go meet the enemy. At the same time that he arrived in the *Khersonesus*, the *Turkish* infantry from *Pergamus* landed there, and were defeated without making resistance. Some time after they

A. D.
1341.assist the
emperor.A. D.
1334.A. D.
1341.A. D.
1342.^c KANTAK. lib. ii. c. 28—30.^d Ibid. c. 34.

(Q) Though we are told before, that *Ayttin* was dead, yet he is spoken of here as if he was then living. He was only *Soltân of Karia*. It is *Amir* who is called *Soltân of Ionia*; doubtless from the conquest which he made of part of it, according to *Dukas*, in the former note.

(R) Our author considers it as an astonishing order, or course of providence, which provided them a safe retreat after a shameful defeat. But his weakness to

attribute inconsistencies to providence, betrayed him into that profane expression.

(S) It appears by this, that *Or Khân* had been for many years at war with the *Greeks*; in which space he must have taken *Nicea*, *Nikomedia*, and the other cities mentioned by the *Turkish* historians; though not a word is spoken of them by *Kantakuzenus*, ready enough to report the Greek disgraces in other respects.

returned

A. D. returned from *Asia*, to retrieve their honour ; but received
 1344. their disgrace by a second defeat ; which obliged *Ghiaxe* to
 make peace.

MEAN time *Sennakherim* with the *Roman* gallies, surprising the *Turks*, routed them, and ravaged the province of *Sarkhân*, took a little sea-port town, and returned with many prisoners &c.

Unpa- OUR author *Kantakuzenus*, after he had assumed the title of
 ralleled emperor (in opposition to *Paleologus*), was reduced to such dis-
 friends/hip stress, that he was obliged to fly to the *Král* of *Servia* ; while
 A. D. his wife *Irene* and children were besieged in *Didymotikum*, the
 1344. only place of refuge left them. *Amír*, son of *Aytín*, hearing of this, with all haste gathered forces, and entered the mouth of the *Hebrus* with 380 vessels great and small, on board of which were 29,000 men. As soon as the *Bulgarians*, who had long besieged the town, received notice hereof by their spies, they fled with the greatest precipitation, to the astonishment of the besieged ; who knew not the cause, till advice came from *Amír* of his arrival, to the empress *Irene*. That prince sent the nobles and the garrison to meet him. On hearing that the emperor was living, he shed tears of joy, and gave thanks to god, who, he said, had inspired him to come to the aid of his dear friend.

of Soltân HE then marched at the head of 2000 men on foot to
 Amír *Didymotikum* ; nor would ride himself, since, as he said, there were not horses enough for his soldiers. After he had staid there a while, he set out with 21,000 men to seek the emperor ; but, pursuant to the request of a letter forged by the inhabitants of *Phera*, as coming from *Kantakuzenus*, desiring him to retire, he, not suspecting the falsity of it, returned to *Asia* with his troops^a. He had scarce laid up his ships in port, when a genuine letter came from *Kantakuzenus*, desiring his assistance. *Amír* hereupon fitted out 200 sail ; and, though *Apokaukus*, chief minister to *Paleologus*, sent to divert his coming, by presents, he frankly told the ambassadors, that he was resolved to aid *Kantakuzenus* with all his power, and refused the gifts ; saying, *It would be base to receive presents as a friend, and presently after make war like an enemy*.

to Kanta- ACCORDINGLY, setting sail from *Smyrna*, he came to
 kuzenus. *Eubea* ; where, understanding that *Apokaukus* was marched from *Thefolonika* to *Berea* ; and judging the emperor, his friend, must be thereabouts, this generous *Turk* directed his course

^a KANTAK. lib. iii. cap. 9, & seqq.
 & seq.

^b Ibid. c. 56.

to the first place, in order to find him out. The emperor, being informed of his arrival, set forward from *Berea*. Upon his approach *Amir* went to meet him, with his principal officers; and, when near alighting, fell prostrate to salute him, and marched a-foot, nor would remount but with much importunity. Afterwards they went to the *Morea*, where *Amir* fell sick. On their return to *Didymotikum* they met with and defeated the enemy under *Franzes*. In this encounter *Amir*, who, though not yet recovered, was among the foremost in the fight, received three thrusts with a pike, which his cuirass warded-off. He had mounted his horse without his armour; but, remembering the emperor's advice a few days before, alighted again to put it on, and thus escaped being slain.

THE enemy strove in vain by large promises to detach *His noble Amir* from the interest of *Kantakuzenus*: but what they *fidelity* could not do by the prince they did by his mercenary officers; who, having been ten months from home, were the more easily induced, by hopes of rewards, to importune their chief to return. This, to his great regret, he was forced to do, after having sent an ambassador to advise the empress *Ann* to peace; but to no effect. At their audience *Apokaukus* threw out several reproachful expressions against *Amir*: among the rest, that though he was raised to the dignity of *Soltân*, yet he was so mean-spirited as to follow *Kantakuzenus* like a slave in a foreign country, and to stand as a guard at his tent-door. The ambassador, taking occasion from this insult offered to the *Soltân* his master, to set forth the bad qualities of his accusers, returned an answer which quite surprised them; and for its masterly strokes should have had a place here, if our intended brevity would admit of it.

AMIR at parting promised *Kantakuzenus* to send him *endangers the state.* forces in fifteen days, to return himself as soon as possible, and stay with him till he had finished the war. Although his departure gave the emperor much uneasiness, it proved lucky for *Amir* himself. Twenty-four galleys of *Rhodes* and other countries of the *Latins* landing at *Smirna*, took a fort (T) in the port, and burnt some ships, notwithstanding all

(T) *Dukas* says, they built a fort, named *St. Peter's*, to receive fugitives, which *Amir* on his return vigorously attacked; and, having passed the foss, ordered ladders to be fixed to the walls, which he mounted first

himself: but that, being half-way up, he opened his cask a little, to see how many battlements there were upon the walls, and at the same time received an arrow between his eyes, which struck him dead.

A. D.

1345.

all the care *Amir* took to prevent it: and had he not arrived as he did, the city itself might possibly have fallen into their hands ^h.

*Or Khân
sends aid.*

A. D.

1345.

THE emperor *Kantakuzenus*, being informed that the empress *Ann* had sent to desire succours of *Or Khân*, sent also to that prince; intreating, that he would grant him a supply, rather than the faction at *Constantinople*; which *Or Khân* agreed to. His territories being so very near, the emperor received succours from him as often as he would; for he commanded in the maritime parts of *Paphlagonia*, and as far as *Phrygia*: but that proximity contributed not a little to ruin the lands belonging to the empire: for the *Turks* often crossed the sea unsent for, and attacked the cities which refused to submit to *Kantakuzenus*.

*Amir's
magnani-
mity:*

A. D.

1345.

AMIR, *Soltân* of *Ionia*, was hindered, by the burning of his ships, to succour *Kantakuzenus*, as soon as he intended; nor was it easy for him to march by land, on account of a dispute which he had with *Sarkân*, *Soltân* of *Lydia*, about their limits: but, being impatient to perform his promise, he offered to give up the country in question for liberty of passage. *Sarkân* not only readily agreed to *Amir's* proposal, but sent with him his son *Soleymân*, to serve the emperor. The *Soltân* then set forward at the head of 20,000 men; and, crossing the *Hellepont*, joined *Kantakuzenus* at *Didymotikum*. From whence marching to *Peritheorion* against *Momitzilus*, who had only 4000 men, a fierce battle was fought; but their general at length being killed, all the rest were either slain or taken.

*assists in
council;*

THE *Král* of *Servia* having raised the siege of *Pherus* on the first report of the march of the *Turks* to relieve it, it was agreed in a council of the principal officers, at which *Amir* and *Soleymân* assisted, to go and besiege *Constantinople*, on a supposition that they would find no difficulty to take it, in the confusion things were in by the death of *Apokaukus*, who was slain in a tumult at the public prison: but when they came there, they found that his executioners had been massacred by the mob, and that all things were again quiet.

^h KANTAK. c. 63. 66. 68.

Dukas, cap. 7. But this cannot be fact; for it appears from *Kantakuzenus* that *Amir* sent him several succours after that, and came himself twice in person. Whereas, according to *Dukas*, he never made but one expedi-

tion, or saw *Kantakuzenus*; for he connects the affair of the *Italians* at *Smyrna* and the *Soltân's* death with his first expedition to *Didymotikum*, when the emperor was absent.

IN their return to Macedonia *Soleymân* was attacked at *A. D.*
Apamea with a violent fever. Those who attended him ^{1345.}
gave him cold remedies, which chilled the blood about his
heart, and brought on deadly faintings. *Amîr*, who dis- ^{returns to}
covered the cause of those dangerous symptoms, ordered him *Smyrna*;
to take treacle and old wine, which brought back the fever :
but the others applying their first medicines, froze his blood
to such a degree that he died immediately. Those who had
the care of *Soleymân* accused *Amîr* of being the cause of his
death, and that he had given him poison in giving him
wine (U). *Amîr*, apprehending that *Sarkân* might give credit
to those calumnies, and take up arms against him, resolved
to return before the report should gain ground. And indeed
he found it no easy matter to clear himself from the charge
in the eyes of *Sarkân*, although he was intirely innocent of
the matter ¹.

SOME time after he arrived at *Smirna*, twelve gallies put *slays a*
in there, commanded by one *Martin*, with a patriarch of *patriarch.*
Constantinople on board, sent by the pope. This presumptu- *A. D.*
ous prelate would needs enter the cathedral of *Smirna*, and ^{1346.}
ordered the army to follow him ; contrary to the advice of all
the sea-officers, who represented the danger and rashness of
such a proceeding. Accordingly, while he was celebrating
mass, *Amîr* came with his army, and slew him at the altar,
with *Martin* and some others, whom he found in the church :
for as soon as the *Italians* saw the *Turks* approach, they fled
to the citadel. At the same time thirty-two noble *Genoese*,
having equipped some gallies at their expence, went and took
Khio.

THE same year *Or Khân* sent to the emperor *Kantakuzenus*, *The em-*
to demand one of his daughters in marriage ; offering in that *perer's*
case to serve him against all his enemies, not as his friend and *daughter*
ally, but as his son and subject. After the ambassadors were
returned, he consulted his principal officers of the army, who
all advised him to embrace the proposal. He sent likewise to
desire the advice of *Amîr* ; who made answer, " that the
" friendship and alliance of that prince (X) would be very

¹ KANTAK. c. 81. 86. 89.

(U) Because the *Mohammedans* are forbidden to drink wine.

(X) It is, of that barbarian, in the original ; which shews the excessive vanity of the *Greeks*,

when an emperor himself could not forbear giving that name of reproach to the very prince with whom he was going to make an affinity, by the marriage of his daughter.

A. D.
1346.

“ useful to the empire : that although he had no occasion
 “ for his succours against the domestic enemy, which was
 “ already almost quite humbled, yet they would be of ser-
 “ vice against the foreign enemies, who had done him many
 “ injuries ; that he was assured *Or Khân* had not a more
 “ sincere and strong desire than himself to serve the emperor ;
 “ but was sensible he had a better opportunity of doing it,
 “ because his territories lay opposite to *Thrace*. He added,
 “ that the emperor ought not to make any difficulty in con-
 “ tracting this alliance, since many of his predecessors had
 “ not disdained, for the advantage of their affairs, to give
 “ their daughters to *Scythians* and other strangers (Y) ”.

granted in
marriage

THE emperor admired the modesty of *Amîr*, in acknow-
 leging that the succours of *Or Khân* would be more advan-
 tageous to him than his own : and, following his advice,
 sent an ambassy to that prince, to let him know, that he
 would grant his request ; and to desire him to send troops
 to conduct his daughter to him. *Or Khân* forthwith dis-
 patched thirty ships, with a great number of cavalry, and
 the chief men of his nation. Hereupon *Kantakuzenus*, re-
 pairing with his army to *Selivrea*, ordered a throne to be
 erected without the town, and a tent near it, where the
 empress passed with her daughters. Next day *Theodora*, the
 bride, mounted the throne, to be viewed by the people, ac-
 cording to a custom observed by the emperors when they
 married their daughters to foreign princes. The empress
 with the rest remained in the tent, and the emperor appeared
 alone on horseback. The silk curtains, adorned with gold,
 which shut up the throne, being drawn, the princess appeared
 sitting, surrounded with torches, held by eunuchs, on their
 knees. This ceremony was accompanied by music, and
 verses made by the best poets in praise of the bride. After
 this the emperor having feasted his army, and the most con-
 siderable persons among the *Turks*, for several days, sent her
 to her husband, who received her with transports of joy.
 The emperor her father takes care to inform us, that altho'
 she married a *Barbarian*, she lost nothing of the splendor of
 her birth ; and, instead of being converted herself, converted
 several to her own religion, by the strength of her reasons.

to Or
Khân.Amîr's
passion to

THE empress *Ann*, finding that she had nothing to expect
 on the side of *Or Khân*, sent to *Sarkan*, *Soltân* (Z) of *Lydia*,

(Y) And even to *Turks*, of
 which the reader will find in-
 stances in the history of the *Sel-
 jukians*.

(Z) He is called governor
 here ; so little exactness there is
 among the *Greek* writers.

who

who readily assisted her with troops. *Amir*, vexed to see *A. D.*
 forces march against the emperor his friend, and resolving to 1350
 serve him the best he could, got 2000 of his own troops to
 join *Sarkan's*, as is usual in the *Turkish* expeditions; but gave
 their commanders private orders to go over to *Kantakuzenus*,
 in case *Sarkan's* soldiers could not be gained to his interest.
 These latter stood wavering till they saw the emperor ready *serve his*
 to give them battle, and then sent to offer him their service; *friend.*
 but desired first, that they might go to *Constantinople*, and
 receive the money which the empress *Ann* had promised their
 master. They did so; and, at their return, the emperor
 having no farther occasion for them, dismissed them; but
 as they could not leave the country without committing ra-
 vages, according to custom, they made an incursion into
Bulgaria, and then loaden with spoils returned home ^k.

Soon after, peace being made between the two parties, and *Or Khân*
Kantakuzenus acknowledged emperor jointly with *John Pale-*
ologus, then but fifteen years of age, *Or Khân* with all his fa- *visits*
 mily came to *Skutarion* (A), to felicitate him on that occa- *Kantaku-*
 sion. The emperor crossed over to meet him there, where *zenus:*
 they feasted for several days, and took the diversion of hunt- *A. D.*
 ing. The emperor and *Or Khân* sat at the same table, and 1350.
 the four sons which the *Soltân* had by his former wives at
 another. The principal *Romans* and *Turks* sat on carpets.
 When these diversions were over, *Or Khân* remained aboard
 his ships; and *Theodora*, with her four brothers-in-law, went
 with the emperor her father to *Constantinople*; where having
 staid three days, they returned to *Bithynia*.

Soon after this, the *Král* of *Servia* having invaded the *sends him*
 empire, *Kantakuzenus* sent to desire succours of *Or Khân*, his *aid.*
 son-in-law; who immediately sent him 10,000 men, com-
 manded by his four sons and by *Soleymân*. The emperor
 joined with them his son *Mathew*, with a small body of *Ro-*
mans, and forbade them to commit any disorder in the terri-
 tories of the empire: but when they were come to *Mygdonia*,
 and understood that the circumjacent country belonged to
 the *Král*, they fell to ravage it, in spite of all their com-
 manders could do. They slew a great number of the inha-
 bitants, and took a great number prisoners; after which they
 returned home by way of the *Hellefpont*, loaden with booty:
 and this was all the service the emperor had from them.

^k KANTAK. lib. iii. c. 95, & seq.

(A) Commonly called *Skutari*, on the *Bosphorus*, opposite to
Constantinople.

A. D.

1352.

Invading
Turks
slain.

A. D.

1352.

SOME time after 2000 *Turks* having passed the *Hellepont*, and plundered *Thrace*, were met, returning with their booty, by the emperor, who cut to pieces most of one party, with their leader *Kara Mahemet*; the rest, commanded by *Maratuman*, surrendered, and were sent home. These were *Turks*, who, having served in the late wars between the two emperors, were acquainted with the country. At the same time *Mathew*, the emperor's eldest son, who was governor of the cities of *Khalcidica* in *Macedonia*, defeated another troop of *Turks* who had landed in that part of the country, not one escaping either the sword or captivity.

Or Khân

assists him,

A. D.

1353.

THE SALONICA being besieged by the *Kral* of *Servia*, *Kantakuzenus* sent for succour to *Or Khân*, who sent him 20,000 men, under his son *Soleymân*: but, being come as far as *Anaktaropolis* in *Thrace*, he received a letter from his father to return as secretly as possible; because he stood in need of his troops, to defend himself against the most powerful princes his neighbours, who had attacked him. For all *Or Khân* was in such haste, *Soleymân* staid to plunder *Bulgaria* before he went¹.

and his
enemies.

A. D.

1354.

IN the war begun between the *Venetians* and *Genoese*, about a difference which happened in the *Tanais* between a *Tartar* and a *Venetian*, the emperor declared war against the *Genoese*, then inhabiting *Galata*, a suburbs of *Constantinople*; and *Or Khân* assisted the *Genoese*, not only on account of the money he was to have, but also because he was offended that the *Venetians* should come into his neighbourhood with a numerous fleet, without paying him the least compliment. Accordingly he sent an army of both horse and foot, who encamped on the continent opposite to *Constantinople*, and were of great service to the *Genoese*.

Sends more
aid,

A. D.

1355.

IN the war which broke out soon after, between the two emperors *Kantakuzenus* and his son-in-law *Paleologus*, *Or Khân* sent some troops to his assistance; with which he went and relieved *Andrianople*, where the young emperor had besieged his son *Mathew*. *Paleologus* having obtained forces from the *Servians* and *Bulgarians*, *Kantakuzenus* applied again to his son-in-law *Or Khân*, who sent 10,000 horse, under the command of his eldest son *Soleymân*; who, crossing the *Hellepont*, encamped next day on the *Hebrus*, where the *Servians* and *Bulgarians* lay, without either party knowing they were so near each other. The day after, in their march they met the enemy, who were quickly defeated, and all slain or taken, except their commander and a few fol-

under So-
leyman.

lovers. The *Turks* halted to *Adrianople* to salute *Kantakuzenus*. While they were in that neighbourhood, *Paleologus* sent a letter, with presents, to draw *Soleymân* over to his interest. *Soleymân* received the ambassadors civilly, and refused their master's presents; but promised not to act against him. Nevertheless he sent the letter to *Kantakuzenus*, as it were to let him see the incivility of the writer, who had not given him the title of emperor: after which he returned to *Asia* with his troops ^m.

A. D.

1355.

THE *Turks*, in their late expeditions to serve *Kantakuzenus*, *Places in* having seized on several places in *Thrace*, and among the rest *Thrace* the fort of *Zimpe*, that emperor was exceedingly offended; and, not having forces sufficient to drive them out, wrote to *Or Khân*, his son-in-law, desiring him to surrender them, and not disturb their friendship by detaining them. However, *Soleymân* refusing to deliver *Zimpe* without a consideration, *Kantakuzenus* sent him 10,000 crowns in gold. At this time an earthquake overturned almost all the maritime cities of *Thrace*, the walls as well as houses, and especially *Kallipolis*, the most famous city of that country, then in the hands of the *Turks*; who, on this occasion, made captives great numbers of those *Romans* who had escaped the explosion.

A. D.

1355.

SOLEYMAN, who was then at *Pega*, a city beyond the *seized by* *Hellepont*, being informed of the havock which that accident *the Turks*; had made, forgot the treaty which he had so lately made with *Kantakuzenus*; and, crossing into *Thrace*, repaired the cities, and peopled them with new inhabitants. He took particular care to rebuild *Kallipolis*, filling it with his principal subjects. After which he made incursions into *Bulgaria*, ravaged the country, and carried-off the inhabitants. The emperor had no other remedy left, but to intreat *Or Khân* to order his son to give-up the towns which he had seized, without any colour, *demand-d* during the peace; representing it as the highest injustice in *of Soley-* him, to keep the fort of *Zimpe* after receiving the price of it. *mân*: *Soleymân* alleged, that he had not taken them by force of arms; but found them deserted, and therefore resolved to keep them. *Or Khân*, though an accomplice in the affair, yet willing to preserve the favour of the emperor, his father-in-law, desired a little time to dispose his son to a compliance. In short, upon an offer of 40,000 crowns, *Soleymân* consented to restore them. *Kantakuzenus*, on this occasion, crossed the sea to *Nikomedia*, to confer with *Or Khân*; but, the latter being out of order, could not then settle matters.

^m KANTAK. lib. iv. c. 26. 31, & seqq.

A. D. 1355. *promise to restore them.* Soon after, *Soleymân* marched at the head of a powerful army against the *Galates* of eastern *Scythia* (B); and took, during the summer, two of their most famous cities, *Ancyra* and *Kratea*. At his return, in autumn, he sent, jointly with his father, an embassy to acquaint *Kantakuzenus*, that he was ready to restore the cities of *Thrace*, whenever he was pleased to receive them. Accordingly a day was appointed for that purpose; but it does not appear, that the places were restored, although it is said the peace was concluded.

PRESENTLY after this, a peace taking place between the two emperors, *Kantakuzenus* and *Paleologus*, the former renounced the world, and went into a monastery; after having conditioned with *Paleologus*, that his son *Mathew* should enjoy that part of the empire which had been assigned him, with the title of emperor: but the two young emperors did not long continue in amityⁿ.

Or Khân *dupes Paleologus:* In the mean time, a pirate-ship of *Old Phoea*, where *Kalothetes* commanded, sailing into the gulf of *Astakena* (C), to carry-off people, happened to take *Khalil*, the son of *Or Khân*; whom they brought back to *Phoea*. *Or Khân*, not being able to attack the place by sea, for want of ships, nor by land, for want of troops sufficient to open a way thither through the country, applied to *Paleologus*; who promised to procure the release of *Khalil*, provided he forbore any longer to assist *Mathew* with forces.

OR KHAN consenting, *Paleologus* sends immediately to *Kalothetes*, thinking that he would give-up *Khalil* at the first demand: but, finding that he could prevail neither by promises nor threats, was forced to buy his deliverance at the rate of 100,000 crowns of gold, with the dignity of *Panhypersebastes* into the bargain.

and assists Mathew. *MATHEW*, being informed, that the governor of *Pherus* was disposed to deliver up to him that important place, with the widow of the *Kral* of *Servia*, lately dead, and the treasure she had in possession, promised to be there a month after. Mean time he sends for a reinforcement to his brother-in-law

* KANTAK. C. 38, & seqq.

(B) This can only be understood of the people of *Galatia* (subject then to the *Tatars*), to which *Ancyra* and *Kratea* belonged: for at that time the territories of the *Othmân Turks* did

not extend far eastward in *Asia Minor*. But the *Turkish* historians do not speak of these conquests.

(C) At the end of which *Nicomedia*, now *Ismid*, stands.

Or Khân (D) ; who being then at *Avido* (or *Abidos*), let him have 5000 *Turks* (E) : but these being bent more on plundering than fighting, behaved in so disorderly and cowardly a manner, that they not only ruined the design for which he had demanded them, but, flying first from a party of their own troops whom they took for *Servians*, and afterwards from the *Servians* themselves, *Mathew*, who was thus deserted by them, was taken prisoner near *Philippi*; and, to obtain his liberty, was obliged to lay aside the title of emperor °.

A. D.

1355.

HAVING thus, from the *Greek* historians, supplied the vacancy found in the *Turkish* history, down to the year 1355, we shall return to the *Turkish* writers ; by whom we are told, that *Or Khân's* ambition encreasing with his successes, he sends his son *Soleymân* (F) to attempt a passage into *Europe* ; joining with him his three most famous captains, *Ache Beg*, *Gâzi Fazîl*, and *Ornus Beg*. Other writers name them *Gâzi Farîl*, *Yakûbje Beg*, and *Mikhal Beg* (G). *Soleymân*, taking with him eighty select men, under pretence of hunting, enters the country of *Aydınjîk*, and surveys the coast : but, as the *Greek* emperor had made it death for any person to pass either into or out of *Asia*, even in a boat, he, by the help of two rafts, laid upon bladders tied together by the necks, crossed over with his company to the castle of *Hamni*, in *Europe* (H). On

Soleymân
invades
Thrace :

• KANTAK. l. iv. c. 44, & seq.

(D) It is remarkable, that *Kantakuzenus* seems to affect mentioning the relationship between him and *Or Khân*, as often as he mentions him ; yet never gives him the title of *Soltân*, that we remember, since the marriage of his daughter.

(E) It seems a great argument of *Or Khân's* friendship for his wife's family to assist *Mathew*, after he had promised *Paleologus* not to assist him. He also forbore attacking the *Roman* empire in *Europe*, while his father-in-law and brother-in-law were upon the throne : presently after their abdication, he began to invade *Thrace*.

(F) This seems to be the *Trojan* leader of *Gregoras*, l. xiv. c. 11.

(G) He was, according to the

Turkish historians, descended from the emperors of *Trapszond* ; and so beloved by *Or Khân*, that he would do nothing without his advice. There is a very beautiful bridge at *Adrianople* over the river *Arta*, called *Mikhal Oglî Kuprîsî*, that is, the bridge of *Mikhael's son* ; who built it. *Cant.*

(H) This expedition is dated, according to *Cantemir*, in the year 738 ; but that must be a mistake for 758, as the *Turkish* annals of *Gaudier*, and those employed by *Leunclavius* in his *Historia Musulmanorum*, put it ; otherwise there will be 22 years between *Soleymân's* passing into *Europe* and his taking *Gallipoli* ; which yet from the history itself appear to have happened in the same year.

their

A. D. 1355. their landing, they seized a peasant; who, by a passage under ground, brought them into the town by night (I). *Soleymân*, treating the inhabitants gently, prevailed on them to conduct the ships, which lay in the harbours of *Balayr* and *Akchilimân*, into *Asia*; from whence, in a few hours, they carried back 3000 *Turks*, with whom next day he surprised the castle of *Hyafobonia*; which he committed to the care of *Ache Beg*: from whom that territory bears the name of *Acheovasi*.

takes Galiboli: *KALLAKONIAS*, governor of *Galibolij*, or *Kallipolis*, assembling what force he could in haste, sets forward to attack *Soleymân*; but being inferior to the enemy, both in number and courage, they are obliged, after a long dispute, to retreat into the city, which they bravely defended for a long time: till being weakened by frequent assaults, and destitute of provisions, they at length, in the year 760, delivered up, by capitulation, *Kallipolis*, with the whole province of *Khayreboli*, or *Kharipolis* (K). When the emperor heard of the taking of that city, which was esteemed not only the key of *Constantinople*, but the bulwark of *Europe*, he is reported to have said, that the *Turks* had only taken a hog-slye (L) and a pottle of wine.

killed by a fall. NEXT year, *Soltân Or Khân* sends a second army into *Europe*, under the conduct of his second son *Morâd*; who, while *Soleymân* subdues *Malgara* and *Ibsalam*, takes the castle of *Epibatos*, about 10 hours (M) from *Constantinople*. He then lays siege to *Chorlu* (N), a strong city between that capi-

(I) This romantic passage of the straits seems to be a fiction to magnify the courage and address of *Soleymân*; nor was it the first-time by many, that the *Othmân Turks* passed into *Europe*, as their historians pretend: many large bodies of them, some under the command of *Soleymân* himself, having been over several years before. *Dukas* says, chap. 2. that they first passed in the first year of *John Paleologus*; which was in 1341.

(K) It seems to be *Khrisopolis*, not *Yanboli*, as *Johan. Duns.* would have it: for *Yanboli* is in *Thrace*, about 70 miles from *Philippopolis*, under Mount *Hemus*, and situate on the river *Tunje. Cant.*

(L) This was not spoken of *Galipoli*, but in allusion to *Koyridokastron*, or *hogs-castle*, called by the *Turks* *Hamni*, as above. *Leunclavius* writes *Zemenik*, or *Zembenik*; the same, we presume, that *Kantakuzenus* names *Zimpa*.

(M) The *Turks* reckon commonly by hours, not miles, or leagues.

(N) *Chorlu*, *Chiurli*, or *Tzurli*, as it is written by authors of different nations, is the ancient *Tyrullum*, or *Turullum*, miscalled by some *Tyriolos*, *Izbrallon*, *Iziralla*, and *Tirallum*.

tal and *Adrianople*; before which he was several times repulsed, and lost a great number of men: but, being overpowered with numbers, the inhabitants were at length all slain, and the town quite demolished. The people of *Pirgos*, between *Chortu* and *Adrianople*, frightened with this severity, abandoned the place to *Morâd*; who presently returns to *Asia*, leaving *Soleymân*. Not long after, as this prince was exercising his troops, by darting their spears and shooting their arrows, his unruly horse ran away with him; and, breaking his leg against a tree, he fell to the ground with such violence that he instantly died (O).

A. D.

1359.

THE death of his beloved son struck *Or Khân* to the heart; *Death of* yet, still intent on conquests, he sends *Ache Beg*, with an *Or Khân*: army, to besiege *Dydimothykon*. This general, approaching the city before he was expected, accidentally seizes the governor, who was taking a walk. The governor, who was of the imperial race, to gain his liberty, surrenders the city; which, however, *Or Khân* restored, to oblige the *Grecian* prince (P), his friend: but the illness, contracted by the death of his son, increasing, he died himself two months after; having lived 70 years, and reigned 35, according to *Saadi's* computation. He was buried in the monastery (Q) of *Prusa*, or *Bursah*, and left the kingdom to his son *Morâd*.

THE *Turks* greatly extol this *Soltân's* clemency, valour, and his character. justice, as well as his liberality to the poor. They say, he daily conversed with the learned, and would undertake nothing of moment without their advice: that he was the first of their monarchs, who founded *Mesku's* (R), *Jami* (S), *Madrasah*,

(O) According to *Khalkondylas*, he fell sick and died. But *Dukas* relates, that, as he ravaged the *Kherfonesus*, the *Despot*, *Mathew Kantakuz mis*, came up with him near *Hexamilion*, and slew him, with a great number of his men. *Dukas*, cap. 10. But this cannot be the case: for *Soleymân* was alive in 1355, when *Katakuzenus* went into a monastery; and *Dukas* places *Soleymân's* death before that event. Besides, it appears that *Or Khân* was in friendship afterwards with *Mathew*, who received succours from him; which could

not well be supposed, in case he had killed *Soleymân*, whose death did not happen till the year 1359.

(P) This was *John Kantakuzenus*. Cant.

(Q) It is now turned into a *Jami*, or temple, though still retaining the name *Manastir*.

(R) So the *Turks* call their common temples, or churches, after the *Persians*; which word *Europeans* have corrupted into *mosk*. The *Arabs* name a temple *Masjed*.

(S) *Jami* is a temple privileged for the devotions of *Friday*

A. D.

1359.



Madraseh (T), or schools, and *Imarets* (U), or hospitals : that he had a red face, blue eyes, yellowish hair, and was of a middle stature, though corpulent, appears from his picture (X) in the *farây*, or *seraglio* ^P.

C H A P. IV.

The Reign of Morâd Khân I.

3. *Soltân*
Morâd I.

MORAD, or *Amurat*, as our historians name him, ascended the throne in the 41st year of his age, and assumed the title of *Khoda Vendikar* (Y), or *God's labourer*, to shew his religious disposition. In the first year of his reign, he took the strong city of *Angâri*, or *Ancyra*, with several castles in those parts. Quickly after he sent his prime *Wazîr*, *Atabeki Shabîn Lala* (Z), a brave and wise general, with some light

^P CANT. Hist. Othm. p. 28, & seqq.

day (which is the *Mohammedan* sabbath, called *Juma Namâzi*, which it is not lawful to perform in the lesser mosks. Those built by the *Soltân* are called *Selatîn*, or *royal*. Cant.

(T) *Madraseh*, or *Medreseh*, are academies, or great schools; which, if not in the court of the *Jami*, are always very near it. The common schools are called *Mekteh*. The persons set over these academies are called *Muderis*; that is, *school-masters*; who have salaries proportioned to the revenue of the *Jami*. Hence it is, that some have 300 aspers a day, while others have but 70. Out of these schools are taken the judges of the principal cities and towns, called *Molla*; who is a sort of archbishop, or metropolitan. Cant.

(U) *Imaret* is a house near the *Jami*, for the relief of the poor and reception of travellers, like an inn. Cant.

(X) Prince *Cantemir* has em-

bellished his history with the pictures of all the *Soltâns*, copied from those in the *seraglio*, by *Leuni Chelebi*, the *Soltân's* painter.

(Y) Or addicted to divine things. It is a *Persian* word.

(Z) *Lala* signifies *tutor*, or *foster-father*. It belongs to those who are preceptors, and governors, to the young princes, and was first given to this *Wazîr*. The *Soltâns* since then, both in speaking and writing, are accustomed to give it to all other *Wazîrs*, as *Lalam Ali Pâshâ*, and *Mi Lala Ali Pashâ*. The *Agâsi*, or *general of the Janizaries*, and *Bostanji Bâshâ*, have the same title. The first, because it is his business to guard the sons of the *Soltâns* from being killed by fathers or brothers: the second, because he has the care of the *Soltân's* palace, especially in his absence; being the *Greek Europalatis*. Cant.

troops,

troops, to cross the *Straits of Kallipolis*, and besiege *Adrianople*, while he followed with a more powerful army : but, hearing on the way that his *Wazîr* had taken the city (A) at the first assault, he returns to *Prusa*, and orders him to march into the bowels of *Thrace* ; appointing *Haji Ornâs Beg* to be *Begler Beg* (B) of *Rûm eli* (C), or his *European* conquests. The *Wazîr* executed his orders so speedily, that *Felibe* (D), *Esli*, *Zaghena*, and other neighbouring places, fell into his hands.

A. D.
1359.
Adrianople
taken.

NEXT year, *Morâd* built a spacious *Jami* at *Adrianople*, Hej. 762. still called *Morâdiyeh*, or *Morâd's* temple, on this occasion. A. D. 1361. One time going before the *Mufti*, who then discharged the office of judge, to give in his evidence, he was rejected, as not worthy of credit. The *Soltân* wondering at this strange proceeding, and asking the reason, the *Mufti* answered, " that " he reckoned his testimony true and unexceptionable, as being imperial ; but of no validity in judicial matters, because he never joined in common prayers with the rest of " the *Musulmâns* (E)." *Morâd*, upon this, reformed his conduct, and built the *Jami*, as an atonement for his former misconduct.

IN 763, *Ornâs*, *Begler Beg* of *Rûm eli*, takes *Ipsala* and Hej. 763. *Malgara*, ravages the country, and carries-off infinite captives. A. D. 1362. From hence, *Kara Halil Pasha*, the prime *Wazîr*, takes occasion to say merrily, " that although all spoils were " said to belong to the emperor, yet if the number of captives were ever so great, they were all engrossed by private " persons ; so that none fell to his majesty's share : he therefore thought it but reason, that some of the *Soltân's* *Agavat* (F) should be appointed at the *Straits of Kallipolis* to

Order of
Janizaries

(A) *Kbalkondylas* says, it was taken by *Soleymân* ; whom he makes to succeed *Or Khân*.

(B) *Beglerbeg* signifies prince of princes. A title belonging to all *Wazîrs* of three horse tails ; but especially three ; viz. those of *Rûm eli*, *Anadoli*, and *Shâm*, or *Syria*. Cant.

(C) By *Rûm eli*, the *Turks* understand all the countries of the *Romans*, or *Europe* in general, as well as that part of it under them in particular. Cant. The term may be extended to that part of their empire in *Asia*, which was formerly under the

Roman or *Greek* emperors.

(D) Or *Philippi*.

(E) It is a corruption of *Mosliman*, *Misleman*, or *Musluman* : as is also *Musurman*, from whence *Busurman*.

(F) *Agawat*, vulgarly *Agalar*, is the plural of *Aga* ; which signifies lord or master, and is applied to any person out of respect ; but principally to the officers of the court, or *Port* ; and some of the army, as the *Janizar Agasi*, *Spahilar Agasi*, and *Silabrad Agasi* ; that is, the generals of the *Janizaries*, *Spahi*, and *Infantry*.

" seize

A. D. 1362. "seize every fifth captive; of whom the most personable and robust might serve at court, and in the army." *Morād*

liking the proposal, an edict was published for that purpose and, a great number of captives being brought together, the *Soltān* sends his new army to *Haji Bektāsh* (G), a religious Turk, famous for his miracles and prophecies, desiring him to give them a banner, pray for their success, and appoint them a name. The *Sheykh* (H), putting the sleeve of his gown on one of their heads, said, *Let them be called Yenghicheri* (I) : *Let their countenance be ever bright, their hand victorious, and their sword keen : let their spear always hang over the heads of their enemy ; and where-ever they go, may they return with a white face* (K). From this time, those soldiers retained that name, and covering for the head (L).

Farther acquisitions.

By means of this new infantry, in 766, *Batha*, in *Asia*, and, in *Europe*, *Zagara* and *Gumürjina*, are reduced. Next year, *Andronicus Paleologus* (M), the Greek emperor, desires *Morād's* aid against the king of *Bulgaria*. The *Soltān*, pursuant to his request, sends an army into *Europe*, under *Lala Shahrin*; who, coming upon the enemy unexpectedly, in a place called *Zermen*, easily put them to flight. The same year, he orders to be built at *Prusa*, in the street *Kapluje*, a large *Jami*, or temple; a *Madrasah*, or college; and an *Imaret*, or hospital.

Hej. 766. A. D. 1365.

MORAD, to divide, and gain over to his interest, the other princes (N) of *Asia Minor*, in 783 marries his son *Bay*

(G) He was founder of the order of *Darwishes*, or *Dervises*, a kind of Turkish monks, called from him *Bektāshi*. His tomb is held in great veneration at a village called *Besiktāsh*, on the *Bosphorus*, not far from *Galata*, one of the suburbs of *Constantinople*. Cant.

(H) *Sheykh*, corruptly written *Shak*, &c. signifies *prelate*, and is like an abbot. The title is given to the superiors of the great *Jami*, and of the *Darwishes*. Hence the *Musti* also is called *Sheykh al Islām*; that is, *prelate of the sacred*, and high priest. Cant.

(I) Compounded of *Engbi*,

new, and *Cheri*, *soldiers*. By us called *Janizaries*. Their usual number is 40,000; and they have precedence of all the other soldiery. Cant.

(K) That is, with praise, or honour; as *black face* is a term of disgrace. Cant.

(L) Which is a white cap, or covering, called *Kiche*, in form of a sleeve. In which only they differ in dress from the rest of the infantry.

(M) *Andronicus* for a while usurped the throne from his father *John*.

(N) Called petty princes in *Cantemir's* authors.

yezid

yeûd (or *Bajezet*) to a daughter of *Ghermian Oglî* (O); with whom he receives as a portion *Kutahia*, *Egrigoz*, and *Tausb-anîk*. By his address, *Hamid Oglî* (P) offered to hold in fee of the *Othmân* empire the cities of *Elvadz*, *Enisbahr*, *Arferib*, *Karagais*, and *Seydisbahri*; which example others followed.

Hej. 783.
A. D.
1381.

THE affairs of *Asia* being thus settled, next year *Morâd* passes the *Straits of Kallipolis* with a great army, and besieges the strong castle of *Bolina*: but, meeting with great opposition, is said to have implored the assistance of heaven, and that the same night part of the wall falling down (Q), the *Othmâns* entered by the breach, and put all the garrison to the sword. A great number of red hats (R) being found in the magazine, *Morâd* distributed them among his soldiers, and ordered others of the same colour to be made for the rest of his army. The same year, *Iskanderta*, *Darme*, and the strong town of *Kavalla*, with almost all *Arnaud* (or *Albania*) were subdued: as in the year 788, were the towns of *Zikhne*, *Karaferia*, and *Monastir*.

Mohamedan
miracle.
Hej. 784.
A. D.
1382.

The neighbouring states being alarmed at the great increase of the *Othmân* power under this *Soltân*, a league was formed against it by the *Walakhians*, *Hungarians*, *Dalmatians*, and *Triballians* (S), with those of *Arnaud* not yet subdued, under the conduct of *Lazarus*, prince of *Servia*. *Morâd*, having prepared to meet this storm, attacks the Christian army in the plain of *Kassova*, in *Servia*; where a fierce and doubtful battle is fought: but at length the confederates are put to flight, *Lazarus* himself is taken, his nobles are slain, and the

Morâd
invades
Servia:
Hej. 791.
A. D.
1389.

(O) Prince of *Phrygia Major*, one of the *Persian* governors, who revolted at the time of *Jenghiz Khân's* expedition. *Cantimir*. He was rather the son or grandson of *Ghermian*, or *Kermian*, who resided at *Kutahia* (the *Kotyæum* of the *Greeks*); which it is strange he should give away to so formidable a neighbour as the *Othmân Soltân* was become.

(P) He was one also of the *Persian* governors (so he calls the *Seljukian Turks*), who gave his name to the province called in the maps *Hamida*, as is customary with the *Turks*. *Cant. Hamid Oglî* was the son or de-

scendant of *Hamid*, as the name imports.

(Q) The *Mohammedans*, as well as *Christians*, believe that God espouses their cause, and works miracles for the destruction of their enemies.

(R) *Ilkuf* seems to have been formerly a covering for the head; but is at present disused by the *Turks*, who use neither helmet nor breast-plate, nor any other armour; in a belief, that if a man was made of adamant he could not escape the fate which is decreed for him. *Cant.*

(S) The people of *Bulgaria* and *Servia*.

A. D. 1389. run-aways long pursued by light-horse. The *Soltân*, walking over the field of battle and viewing the dead, told the *Wazîr* he thought it strange, that among the enemy's slain he saw none but beardless youths. The *Wazîr* made an answer proper to flatter his prince. The latter, continuing his discourse said, *it is still more strange how I should be deceived by a vision last night in my sleep: for methought I saw myself slain by the hand of an enemy.* At that instant, a Christian soldier, who concealed himself among the dead (T), perceiving it to be the *Soltân* by his talk, animated by thoughts of revenging his country, suddenly starts up, and plunges a dagger in his belly. The *Triballian* is instantly cut in pieces; and *Morâd* dying within two hours, his body is carried by the *Wazîr* and *Basbas* to the royal tent, and embalmed. After this, the great men assembling about the choice of a new emperor, *Ilderîm Bay yezîd*, his eldest son, is declared *Soltân*.

is slain:

his character:

THE Turks greatly extol *Morâd*, as a mirror of justice, a prince of invincible fortitude of mind, very regular in his devotions, and a lover of no conversation so much as of the learned. He is also praised for his remarkable abstinence; so that he was never seen clothed in any thing but *Sof* (U). He lived 71 years, and reigned 30^a.

WE find but little relating to this *Soltân* in the Greek writers, and that delivered without order. The first enterprize of *Morâd*, or *Amûrat*, according to *Khalkondylas*, was against the *Triballians*; in which he defeated *Sufman*, *Despot* of *Servia*,

* CANT. Hist. Othm. p. 36—45.

(T) Most Christian writers say, this was a servant of *Lazarus*, *Despot* of *Servia*, and call him *Milash Kobilovitz*. *Khalkondylas* makes him a *Triballian*. *Orbinus Raguzens* pretends, that *Morâd* was slain in his own tent by *Lazarus*, which is highly improbable. *Cantemir*. What *Dukas* relates is more likely: that a young *Servian*, when the attack began, ran from the Christian army to the *Turkish*; and that, being seized, said he came to discover to their *Soltân* a sure way of coming-off victorious in the war: that *A-*

murat having made a sign with his hand for the soldier to advance, he approached; and, having plunged his sword into the *Soltân's* breast, was immediately cut in pieces. *Dukas*, c. 3.

(U) *Sof*, or *Sûf*, is a fine cloth made of wool, as fine and light as may be. It is chiefly worn by ecclesiastics, who are forbidden by their law the use of silk. The person, who wears a garment of *Sof*, is called *Sofi*. *Cantemir*. And hence *Shâh Ismael*, of *Persia*, was called *Sofi Ismael*, his father having been a religious person.

and

and took the very opulent city of *Pherres*. The same authors say, that *Amurat* began this war for love of *Safman's* beautiful daughter; which by that means he hoped to have obtained. After this, he obliged *Dragas*, son of *Zarkhus*, lord of *Mafia*; and *Bogdân*, or *Pogdân*, who commanded the country about *Mount Rhodope*, to become tributary, and to attend him in his wars. He subdued other princes, who were *Triballians*, *Kœats*, or *Albanians*. A. D. 1389. defeats the Triballians.

A REBELLION rising in *Asia*, he passed over, and quelled it. Upon this, he received advice, that his eldest son *Sauz* (X) of *Sauz* had joined in a conspiracy with *Andronikus*, eldest son of *John Paleologus*, to dethrone their fathers, and make perpetual peace. *Morâd* hastens back to *Europe*, and complains to the emperor, that *Andronikus* had corrupted his son. Then marching with his forces to *Apikridium*, the place where the princes were encamped, not far from *Constantinople*, he went to listen at their tent; and having heard their discourse, called to the officers, who were about them, by their names, and by an artful speech drew part of them over. The rest fled with the princes to *Didymotikum*; where *Amurat* followed; and, seizing *Sauz*, had his eyes put out. *Andronikus* was served in the same manner by his father; who durst not refuse to do what *Amurat* required. Boiling hot vinegar was made use of on that occasion. Rebellion of Sauz and Andronicus.

AFTER this, *Manuel*, the emperor's second son, who had the government of *Thesolonica*, formed a design to seize the city of *Pherres*; which *Amurat* hearing of, sent *Kharatin Basba* (Y) to take his city, and bring him bound to him. *Manuel*, unable to resist, fled: but his father not daring to receive him, he took a resolution to go and ask pardon of the *Soltân* himself; who, pleased with his behaviour, received him with embraces, and sent him back loaded with presents to *Constantinople*. Attempt of Manuel.

JOHN Paleologus, to put a stop to the growing power of the *Turks*, passed into *Italy*, and applied to the *Venetians* for aid; but met with nothing but fair words. Having borrowed a large sum there, he visited, to as little purpose, the other *Italian* princes, and then went to *France*; whose king (Z), by reason of the intestine broils, was in no condition to assist him. At his return to *Venice*, he was arrested for the money The emperor Palco- arrested in Italy.

(X) *Dukas* calls him *Kuntuz*.

(Y) Or *Hayraddin*.

(Z) At the end of the chapter, the author says, these affairs happened before *Andronikus* and

Sauz rebelled, as in fact they did. For want of chronology, the events are ranged out of order, and sometimes twice repeated.

A. D. 1389. he had taken-up when there before. Hereupon he sent to his son *Andronikus*, whom he had left regent, to raise the sum out of the revenues of the clergy, and by other means. *Andronikus*, not caring to part with his authority, sent word, that the people were averse to the proposal; but *Manuel*, raising all the money he possibly could, in haste set sail for *Italy*, with design to remain in his father's stead, in case that sum was not sufficient. This got him his father's love and his brother's hatred.

PRESENTLY after, *Amurat*, having discovered that *Manuel* was forming designs against him, *Kharatin* deprived him of his city and government: and as the emperor had forbidden him to retire within his territories, he fled to *Lesbos*; whence being ordered to depart, he passed by sea to *Treas*, and thence by post to *Prusa*.

Amurat's death: THE *Soltân* delayed no longer to march against the *Triballians*, and their prince *Eleazer* (or *Lazarus*), who was joined by the *Hongarians*. He gave one daughter to *Sufman* (A), lord of the *Odrysians*, or *Moldavians*. The other to *Bulkus*, son of *Brankas*, son of *Plandikas*, who held *Kastoria*, and that part of *Macedonia* called *Okhrida*, formerly belonging to *Nikholas*, son of *Zuppan*. Thus strengthened, he thought himself sure of victory. He had also, after the death of *Ungleses* and *Khrates*, conquered *Pistrinum* and *Niftra*; and extended his borders as far as the river *Save*. He was encamped in the plain of *Kosoba*; where *Amurat* attacked him, and gained the victory, but lost his life.

variously reported. His death is variously reported. The *Turks* say, that, as he followed *Eleazer*, who fled, a *Triballian* foot-soldier met and ran him through with a pike. The *Greeks* pretend, that before the battle, one *Milo*, having proposed to *Eleazer* to kill *Amurat*, rode up armed to the first ranks of the *Turks*, just going to give the charge; and desiring to speak with the *Soltân*, who was in the midst of his *Janizaries*, ran him through the body, and was then cut in pieces^a.

Andronikus blind- THE account, which *Dukas* gives of these affairs, is as follows. When *Or Khân* died, *John Paleologus* (B), (who, after

^a KHALKONDYLAS, l. i. c. 8—13.

(A) The same mentioned before perhaps.

(B) *Kantakuzenus* speaks of this emperor when fifteen, as a youth of great hopes, fine parts, and

courage; yet *Gregoras*, *Dukas*, and *Khalkondylas*, represent him as extremely debauched. *Dukas* imputes his going to *Italy* to the mild reproof given him by his colleague

after his return from *Italy*, had obliged *Kantakuzenus* to retire into a monastery), was 25 years of age. He had three sons, *Andronikus*, *Manuel*, and *Theodorus*. *Andronikus* surpassed all those of his time for stature, strength, and majesty of person. *Amurat* had the same number, *Yakub*, *Kuntuz*, and *Bajazet*. *Andronikus* and *Kuntuz*, who were of the same age, one day conspired against their fathers; which coming to the knowledge of *Amurat*, he ordered his son's eyes to be put out, and threatened to declare war against *Paleologus*, if he did not do the same by his. The emperor, through fear, or some other weakness, did more than was required of him: for he caused the eyes, not only of *Andronikus*, but of his infant son, to be put out; and then imprisoned him, with his wife, in the tower of *Anema*. From thence they escaped two years after by means of the *Genoese* of *Galata*; who, glad of the occasion, assisted him with forces against his father. After a few days *Andronikus* was admitted on certain conditions into the city: but, being entered, he, contrary to his oath, confined his father and brothers in the same prison.

A. D.
1389.A. D.
1387.destrones
his father:

Two years after, they having in their turn made their escape to *Skutari*, *Andronikus*, unwilling to involve the sinking state in a civil war, resigned the throne to his father, and obtained his pardon. He still saw with one eye, and his son with both. The emperor gave to *Andronikus* *Selivrea*, *Dancion*, *Heraklea*, *Rodesto*, and *Panide*; in the first of which he resided. Then he ordered *Manuel* to be crowned, and proclaimed emperor.

restores
him.

To return to *Amurat*. This prince, having reduced most of the cities of *Thrace*, besieged *Adrianople*; which he took, with all *Thessaly*, except *Thessalonika*. When he had conquered almost all the *Roman* dominions, he turned his arms against the *Servians*, ruined many of their towns, and carried-off a multitude of prisoners. Hereupon *Lazarus*, son of *Stephen*, their *Krâl*, raising all his forces, fought a battle; in which great numbers fell on both sides. During the engagement, a young *Servian* ran towards the *Turkish* army;

A. D.
1389.

colleague on that occasion. After two years rambling there and in *Germany*, he returned (with the money gathered to recover the throne) to *Tenedos*. There meeting with *Gateluzzio*, a noble *Genoese*, who had two galleys, they failed to *Constantinople*. The wind blowing hard, and the *Ge-*

noeses pretending to be in great distress, the soldiers in garrison, with design to assist them, opened a door; through which 500 of *Paleologus's* men entering let in 2000 more who were at hand, and thus took the city, which *Kantakuzenus* forthwith resigned.

A. D.
1589.

by a Ser-
vian.

and, being seized, pretended he came to put the *Soltân* in a way how to gain the victory. *Amurat* making a sign with his hand to advance, he drew near; and, plunging his dagger in that prince's breast, was immediately cut in pieces. The *Turks*, though astonished at the accident, yet did not lose their discretion. They erected his tent in the middle of the army, put him in it, and renewed the fight with extreme fury. The *Servians*, who knew nothing of what had happened, soon gave way; and the *Král* being taken, with the chief men of the nation, were carried to the tent, and sacrificed at the feet of the expiring *Amurat*. All this was done without either of the two wings of their army knowing any thing of the matter. The right was commanded by *Yakúb* the elder, and the left by *Bajazet* the younger brother ^c.

We have chosen to give separate extracts from these two authors, that our readers may the better judge of their completeness or deficiency, as well as of their agreement or disagreement with themselves and the *Turkish* historians; and from thence form a judgment of them in general.

CHAP. V.

The Reign of Ilderim Bâ-yezîd (A).

4. Soltân
Bâ-ye-
zîd.

YAKUB *Chelebi* (B), the younger brother of *Bâ-yezîd*, not being pleased with his advancement to the throne, attempts to raise a sedition; but the thing being seasonably discovered, he is, by the command of the *Soltân*, and consent of the chief men, strangled with a bow-string (C). *Lazarus* also, prince of *Servia*, being considered as the occasion of *Morâd's* death, was, by *Bâ-yezîd's* order, brought before him, and beheaded. After this, dismissing the army, he sends his fa-

^c DUKAS, c. 3, & 12.

(A) Or *Yilderim Bâ-yezîd*, vulgarly called *Abu Yazid*, as Dr. Pocock writes. *Sup. to Abulfaraj*, p. 45. *Arabshâh*, in his history of *Timûr*, uses *Abû Yezid* for *Ba-yezîd*; which is by Europeans vulgarly spelled *Bajazet*.

(B) *Chelebi*, signifying nobly descended [or a gentleman], was formerly the title of the *Soltâns* sons before they came to the empire: but this, not seeming lofty

enough, was changed to that of *Effendi*, from the Greek *Αυθεις*. *Cant.*

(C) This death is the most honourable among the *Turks*, and only indulged to the great; but beheading is infamous. *Cant.* *Dukas* says, that *Bajazet*, whom he makes the younger brother, seizing the throne, ordered *Yakub's* eyes to be put out.

ther's

her's body to be buried at *Prusa*, or *Bârsah*, in the royal *A. D.*
Yeni; and, following himself, erects to his memory a most 1390.
 elegant marble *Kubbeh* (D), or monument.

THE next year, pursuing his father's conquests, he takes, Seljûk
 in *Europe*, *Karatova* and *Isfeib*; and, in *Asia*, adds *Aydîn*, princes re-
Sari Khân, *Kars* (E), and *Montesba* (F), to his dominions (G). duced:
 After this, a dispute arising between him and his father-in-law
Gherman Ogli (H), he vanquishes; and, banishing him to *Is-
 fala*, seizes his kingdom (I). The prince of *Karamania* (who
 had married the *Soltân's* sister) would have shared the same
 fate, had he not resolved on the war against *Moldavia*; in-
 tending to revenge in person the defeat, which his army, un-
 der *Surasker Soleymân Basbâ*, received two years before at
Hierafus. With this view, halting back to *Europe*, he lays a *defeats the*
 bridge over the *Danube*, ravages all *Moldavia*, and encamps *Moldavi-*
 at *Razhõe*, a village on the river *Siretus*. Soon after *Istefan* (K) ans:

(D) It is a monument with a tower, placed over the graves of *Wazirs* and other great men.

(E) The same with *Karaz*, or *Karafia*.

(F) These countries bear the names of their first princes, who were *Seljûks*, as before mentioned.

(G) *Dukas* relates, cap. 4, that *Ba-yezîd* first reduced the *Servians*, and then *Karmian*, prince of *Kotiakum* (or *Kotiaion*); next he made himself master of *Ionia*, and *Yesse*, son of *Atin* (or *Aytin*), and banished him to *Ni-
 cia*; where he died. He then seized *Karia* and *Lycia*, whose governor, *Eli*, fled to the *Per-
 sians*. In his way from *Sardes* to *Manissa* (or *Magnesia*), near Mount *Sypulus*, *Kbeder*, son of *Sarkan*, prince of *Lydia* and *Æolia*, came to submit to him. *Ba-yezîd*, after giving him his daughter in marriage, sent him to *Prusa*, and soon after dis-
 patched him by poison. This done, he marched to *Philadel-
 phia*, which had hitherto singly flood out; but wanting provi-
 sions was forced to capitulate. Returning to *Europe*, he rebuilt

the fort of *Kallipolis*, which the *Turks* and *Catalans* had demo-
 lished; built a port for the gal-
 lies, and a tower for security of
 the port.

(H) Rather *Gherman*, or *Kermian Ogli*; that is, the son
 or descendant of *Kermian*.

(I) *Dukas* says, c. 4, that af-
 ter taking him, with *Kotiakum*,
 the capital of *Phrygia*, he sent
 him to *Prusa*; but that, instead
 of going, he fled into *Persia*.

(K) He was the greatest hero
 of his age, made great conquests
 from the *Hungarians* and *Poles*,
 subdued *Walakkia* as far as *Bu-
 kurest* (the capital); *Basbarabia*,
 now *Bujak*; the city *Kili*, at
 the mouth of the *Danube*, and
Ak Kermân, the *Alba Græca*, or
Oxia of the antients. He reigned
 47 years. His son, *Bogdân*,
 made *Moldavia* tributary to the
Turks, who now call the inha-
 bitants, from him, *Bogdâni*;
 whom before they named *Ak
 Isflak* (or vulgarly *Ak Vlakk*),
 that is, the *White Walakbians*,
 as they still call the *Walakbians*
Kara Isflak, or *Black Walakbians*.
 Cant.

A. D.
1390.

over-
thrown by
them.

(or *Stephen*); prince of that country, arriving with his army, fights a fierce battle; but is overthrown. On this, he fled to *Nemz*; where, with a strong garrison, he had left his mother; who, from the walls, denies him entrance, and bids him return, and retrieve his honour: saying, "she would rather see him perish by the hand of an enemy, than branded with the infamy of being saved by a woman." *Istefan*, stung with his mother's reproaches, departs from the city; and by a trumpet, whom he met, gathers 12,000 *Moldavians*, who had escaped the sword. With these, falling on the enemy, dispersed over the field, and intent on spoil, he put them to flight. Then, at *Vasblui*, twenty miles from *Jassi* (capital of *Moldavia*) routs the *Turkish* army (L), takes the royal tents, and obliges the *Soltân*, who was before the terror of the world, to fly with a few attendants to *Adrianople*.

Karamân
Ogli slain.

MEAN while, *Karaman Ogli* hearing of this great overthrow, and believing he had now a fair opportunity of crushing his power, besieges *Kutahia*, and ravages the *Othmân* dominions in *Asia*. *Bâ-yezîd*, more enraged at this than discouraged, with his usual speed (M) raises an army in *Europe*, and before his arrival in *Asia* was suspected, meets the enemy divided into many parties, and defeats them at the first onset. *Karamân Ogli* (N), flying with his sons to *Akhjami*, is taken by the pursuers; and, being brought before the *Soltân*, is, by his orders, beheaded, and his two sons condemned to perpetual imprisonment at *Prusa*. Thus all *Karamania* fell under the victor's power.

Farther
conquests.

IN *Europe*, he takes *Nigheboli*, *Silistra*, and *Uruschik*, towns on the *Danube*; and next year, in *Asia*, reduces *Amasia*, *To-*

(L) In this second battle he made a memorable slaughter; which seven vast piles of *Turkish* bodies, erected after the battle, witnessed, by the confession of *Hexarsen* himself, the faithful *Turkish* historian. *Cant*.

(M) The *Turkish* historians, to extol this *Soltân's* expedition in assembling troops, marching and attacking his enemies, represent the natural speed of the *Tatars*, when compared with his, as the creeping of a snail. He appeared in *Asia*, when thought to be in *Europe* and the country, his coming preventing report; whence they called him *Ulderim*, or

lightning. He acquainted no person with his designs, and executed all matters of difficulty himself. *Cant*.

(N) *Cantemir* says, pref. p. 10, that the *Karamanian* princes are falsely reckoned *Ogúzians*, the founder being one of the *Persian* governors, who revolted on *Jenghîz Khân's* invasion. Not considering, or knowing, that those he calls *Persians* were *Seljûkians*, and that the *Seljûkians* derived their pedigree from *Ogúz*: and in all probability the *Othmâns* did it in imitation of them.

kâd,

kk, Niksar, Samfun, and Janîk (O); which had been sub-
 ject to *Soltân Burhan Elledin* (P). A. D. 1391.

AFTER this, he returned to *Europe*. But had no sooner passed the *Straits of Kallipolis*, than he was informed, that *Kutrum* (Q) *Bâ-yezîd*, prince of *Kastamoni*, taking advantage of his absence, laid waste his provinces in *Asia Minor*. The *Soltân*, leaving *Europe* to his generals, with the greater part of his army repasses the straits: but before he came, *Kutrum* was dead, and his son *Isfindar Beg* (R) sent ambassadors to beg pardon for his father's offence, and promised submission. *Bâ-yezîd* hereupon receives him into favour; and, placing garrisons in the cities of *Kastamoni*, *Tarakli Borli*, and *Othmanjik* (S), hastes back to *Europe*, and in the same campaign takes *Selanîk*, or *Theffalonika*.

THIS

(O) He should have added *Siwâs*, or *Sebasté*, which fell into his possession, either this time or very soon after; for, according to the *Turkish* annals of *Gaudîr*, *Bâ-yezîd* marching to that city, in 797, A. D. 1394, the *Kâdi Burhân* surrendered it to him, and he left his son *Soleymân* governor of it.

(P) He seems to have been one of the *Persian* governors before-mentioned; his principality was part of *Armenia Major*. Cant. According to *Arab Shâh's Hist. Tim.* l. 4, his name was *Kadi Burbano'ddîn Abûl Abbâs Ahmed*. He was lord of *Kayfaria*, *Tukat*, and *Siwâs*, in *Asia Minor*; his father was chancellor to *Soltân Artatas*, lord of *Kayfariyah*, and certain countries of *Karamân*. *Artatas* dying, he was made one of the regents during the minority of his son; who dying, he seized the *Soltânat*. He was learned, courageous, and a friend to *Bâ-yezîd*; having put to death *Timûr's* ambassadors, who had summoned him to submit. But before *Timûr* invaded *Bâ-yezîd*, the *Kadi* was slain by *Othmân*,

the *Turkmân*. *Sharîf'oddîn Ali*, in his *Persian* history of *Timûr*, l. v. c. 13. says, he was put to death by *Timûr*: but we prefer *Arab Shâh's* account, who gives the particulars of his death; and, being a mortal enemy to *Timûr*, would gladly have had that prince's death to lay to his charge.

(Q) His name intimates his being lame in his feet or joints, or weakened by some nervous or paralytic disorder. He was perhaps one of the *Persian* governors also. Cant. Very probably; for, on the fall of the *Seljukian* monarchy, the whole dominion came to be divided into lesser states, especially when the *Tatars* were withdrawn; whereof the *Greek* and *Turkish* historians only mention those which lay most westward.

(R) Or *Isfindar Beg*.

(S) A city, according to *Busbekius*, in *Bithynia*, beyond *Mount Olympus*, founded by *Othmân*, and therefore famous. Nor is there any other city in the whole *Turkish* empire besides this, which bears its founder's name, though many were built

A. D. 1394. *Christian princes defeated.* This expedition over, he returns to *Prusa*; where news is presently brought, that *Sigismund*, king of *Hungary*, in conjunction with other Christian princes, having raised an army of 100,000 men, had entered the borders of the *Turkish* empire, and laid siege to *Nikopolis*. *Ba-yezid* in haste assembles his forces, not exceeding 60,000 men; and, passing into *Europe*, attacks the confederates with such fury, that they were defeated at the first charge with great slaughter. All *Sigismund's* partners in this expedition were taken or slain; himself only escaping first to *Constantinople* (T), and thence by water into his own territories. There were found in his camp many warlike engines, and a large treasure; with which the *Soltân* built both at *Adrianople* and at *Prusa* a noble *Jami*, with a *Madreseh* and a *Darush-shifa* (U), or hospital for the sick.

Guzelhissar built. *BA-YEZID*, having now nothing to fear from the western princes, turns all his forces against *Thrace*; where he takes a castle situate on the *Euxine* sea, about 60 miles from *Constantinople*; and, to deprive the Europeans of the means to pass into *Asia*, builds a new city in a place called *Bogâz Keffen*. This he very strongly fortifies, and names *Guzelhissar* (X), or the beautiful castle. The same year, he encamps with a great army under the walls of *Constantinople*, without opposition: but, when preparations were made for an assault, the prime *Wazir* dissuades him from the siege; representing the danger of a revolt in the new conquered cities, not yet settled, and of alarming the Christian princes into a confederacy. On these considerations, although he did not despair of taking the city, yet he advises that the siege should be deferred, lest, by grasping too much, all should be lost; and that ambassadors should be sent to the *Istambol Yekkuri* (Y),

by order of the *Soltâns*. Cant. But there is another *Othmânjîk* on the river *Kezil Ermak*, between *Tosia* and *Amasia*, not far from the *Black Sea*; if *Bursabius* has not mistaken the situation of the place.

(T) This is the common opinion of the Christian writers.

(U) That is the gate of health, from *dâr*, a gate, and *shifa*, a remedy.

(X) At present called *Bogâz-ghiebid*, or the passage of the straits, between the *Propontis* and the *Isnid Dâglari*, that is

mountains of *Nicea*; from whence *Constantinople* is supplied with materials for building and shipping. Cant.

(Y) *Istambol* seems to be a corruption of *Constantinople*; for the more learned *Turks*, and the emperor in his mandates writes *Constantaniyeh*. *Tekkür* (or *Teg-gür*) signifies governor: but they sometimes call the emperor *Kayser*, or *Cesar*. It is their intolerance to call him only governor of *Constantinople*, though at that time he had nothing left without the walls of the city.

upon

upon a presumption, that, as he could have no hopes of saving the city, he would gladly submit to any terms that were imposed on him.

A. D.

1394.

HEREUPON Bâ-yezîd sends his ambassadors to *Paleologus* (Z) with a letter, requiring him to deliver up the city to him; telling him, he had subdued the rest of his dominions, and that beyond the walls he had nothing left: but the ambassadors had orders, in case they found the *Greeks* averse to surrender the city, to conclude a peace on their paying a yearly tribute. This contrivance had the effect; and a truce is made for ten years, on condition, that *Paleologus* pay annually 10,000 *Filuri Altun* (A); that the *Othmâns* be allowed to build a *Jamî* (B) and *Mekieme* (C) in *Constantinople*; also to appoint a *Kâdi*, or judge, who was to decide between *Mohammedans*: but when the dispute was between a Christian and a *Mohammedan*, then the patriarch was to determine it. The same regulation was to take place also at *Adrianople* ^a.

Emperor
becomes
tributary.

Kâdi at
Constantinople.

THIS is the account given by the *Turkish* historians relating to the *Greek* affairs. Let us now see what the *Greeks* themselves say upon the subject. According to *Dukas* (D), after Bâ-yezîd had made himself master of *Bithynia*, *Phrygia*, *Bulgaria*, and *Karia* (E), he sent to require the emperor *John Paleologus* to pay tribute, and order his son *Manuel* with 100 men to follow him in his war against the *Turks* of *Pamphilia*. *John*, who had no expectation of succours from any state whatever, was obliged to comply. After this the *Solţân* prohibited the exportation of corn; which was annually made from *Asia* to the isles of *Lesbos*, *Khio*, *Lemnos*, and *Rhodes*. Having also fitted out a fleet, he sent 60 great vessels to *Khio*, burned the city, and towns about it, ravaged

The isles
ravaged.

A. D.

1391.

^a CANTEMIR's *Othm. Hist.* p. 47, & seqq.

(Z) This was *Manuel*, who began his reign in 1384.

Mehemet Pasha. Cant.

(A) It is a peculiar appellation of the *Turkish* rups, or the *Venetian* golden crown, in value 300 aspers. Cant.

(D) What *Khalkondylas* has written with regard to Bâ-yezîd and his wars looks more like a romance than a history; being made up chiefly of framed speeches, letters and answers, to supply the want of good materials: very few facts being mentioned by him, nor are those related with any accuracy or order.

(B) The *Jamî* of *Dawud Pasha* was built on this occasion. Cant.

(C) This is the hall of judgment, where causes were heard and determined. There are more than 20 *Mekieme* in *Constantinople*; the chief that of

(E) Of which *Melassus* was the capital. *Dukas*, cap. 17.

the

A. D. 1394. the isles of the *Archipelago*, *Eubœe*, and part of *Attika*. The emperor, still more alarmed at these proceedings, resolved to fortify the city on the south side along the shore, and built two towers on the side of the *Golden Gate* with the stones of a church, which he had pulled down for that purpose.

Manuel, emperor. BUT, as soon as the war in *Pamphilia* was finished, *Bâ-yezîd* having sent to tell him, that, if he did not demolish those fortifications, he would put out the eyes of his son *Manuel*, the emperor was forced to do what was required; and soon after died, as much of grief for the bad state of his affairs, as of his distemper. *Manuel*, being informed of his father's death, escaped from *Prusa*, and got to *Constantinople*. When this news came to the ears of *Bâ-yezîd*, who had a design to slay him, he sent to make several unjust demands; and, among the rest, to have a *Kadi* established in that city, to decide the differences between the *Musulmans* settled there on account of trade; adding this threat: *If you will not obey my commands, shut yourselves up within the walls of your city; for I am in possession of all without.*

Theffalonia taken. THE tyrant, after this, passing from *Bithynia* into *Thrace*, ruined all the villages between *Panida* and *Constantinople*, carrying-off all the inhabitants. Next, he took *Theffalonia*, and all the neighbouring places. He sent *Abranesus* into the *Morea* to ravage *Akhaia* and *Lacedemon*; while *Tarkan* was detached towards the *Euxine* sea, to put every thing on that side to fire and sword. He likewise shut up all the avenues to *Constantinople*, that the inhabitants might neither go in or out, nor be supplied with provisions; which soon produced such a scarcity, that they were forced to pull down the houses for wood to make fires.

Christian princes join: THE emperor hereupon wrote to the pope, the king of *France*, and *Král* of *Hungary*, to let them know the extremity he was reduced to; and the danger which the city was in of falling into the hands of the enemies of the cross, unless immediately assisted. The princes of the west, touched with *Manuel's* letter, arm in his defence; and, in the beginning of spring, the duke of *Burgundy*, besides several *English*, *French*, and *Italians*, met in *Hungary*; where being joined by *Sigismond*, *Král* of that country, and king of the *Romans*, they passed the *Danube* at *Nikopolis*. *Bâ-yezîd*, having drawn all the forces of his empire together, not omitting those which guarded *Constantinople*, marched along by *Philippopolis*, and the mountains near the marshes; where he waited for them.

their forces defeated. NEXT day, the Christians appeared; and, having made the *Tortoise*, broke the main body of the enemy, and penetrated to their rear. When the *Flemmings* saw that the *Turks* (who fought

fought with slings or bows) began to fly, they pursued them in disorder, and made a great slaughter. Then the guards of the palace (F), gathered out of several Christian nations, issued forth of their ambuscade; and, falling impetuously, with a great cry, upon the *French* and *Hungarians*, enclosed them; and, having cut them in pieces, put the rest to flight. The *Flemings*, seeing their friends defeated, fled themselves, and were pursued to the *Danube*; where such as escaped the sword were drowned. Several lords of great quality were taken; among the rest the duke of *Burgundy*, count of *Flanders*; whom *Bâ-yezîd* sent to *Prusa*, and afterwards released for a great ransom.

A. D.

1394.

THE *Soltân*, elated with this success, sent to summon the emperor to surrender *Constantinople*; who did not vouchsafe to send him an answer. Hereupon *Bâ-yezîd*, affecting to support the right which *John*, the son of *Andronikus* (G) had to the empire, told him, that, in case he would yield the throne to the lawful heir, he would lay down his arms, and maintain peace with the city. *Manuel*, being a very wise prince, and fearing the people, who began to divide in parties on this occasion, might be constrained by the scarcity, which increased every day, to renounce their religion, and give-up their country, sent to his nephew *John*, who was then in the neighbourhood of *Constantinople* with 10,000 *Turks*; offering to yield the city to him, provided he would only let him take the galleys, which were then in the port, and retire with them whither he pleased. This being agreed on, *Manuel* put *John* in possession of the palace; and, going on board with his wife and children, departed.

Manuel

refuses

A. D.

1393.

MANUEL, arriving in the *Morea*, left his wife, and two young children, *John* and *Theodorus*, at *Modon*. Then, sending back the galleys, went on board a large ship for *Venice*. From thence, passing through *Italy*, he went to *France* and *Germany*. The princes received him every-where with great honour, and made him rich presents. He afterwards returned to *Venice*, and from thence to *Modon*; where he abode, expecting to see the ruin of the empire.

to his son
John.

BÂ-YEZÎD imagined that *John* would have surrendered *Constantinople* to him, as had been agreed on, in consideration of the *Morea*, and a treaty of peace. But *John* found means to compound the matter by delivering up *Selivrea*, and ad-

A. D.

1394.

(F) This is to be understood of the *Janizaries*, who guarded the palace; which our author calls the *Port*.

and brother of *Manuel*, who had *Selivrea*, the only place which his son *John* had left at his father's death.

(G) A son of *John Paleologus*,

mitting

A. D.
1397.

mitting a judge into the city, to which his empire was confined.

Timûr's
invasion :

WHILE *Bâ-yezîd* proposed, after so many conquests, to take a little rest, news came that *Timûr Bek*, or *Tamerlan* (H), was advancing to invade his dominions. Some authors pretend, that *Paleologus* had in his distress written to this *Tatar* prince; promising for his assistance to hold his empire of him: but that he refused to accept thereof, though at the same time he engaged to succour him; and this is thought to be one reason of *Timûr's* expedition^b. But *Dukas*, the *Greek* historian, who has written best of these affairs, far from assigning any such reason for it, writes that *Timûr* made this war in behalf of the *Mohammedan* princes, whom *Bâ-yezîd* had stripped of their dominions; and that he commended the *Soltân* for spoiling the Christians, at the same time he condemned him for invading the *Musulmans*^c; which we find is nearly the truth of the case, as delivered by the oriental historians.

occasion of
it.

ACCORDING to the *Turkish* writers, *Ahmed Halamîr* (I), *Khân* of *Baghdâd*, having, in the year 800, revolted from the *Soltân* of *Egypt* to *Bâ-yezîd*. This latter by his means wrests A. D. from the *Egyptians* *Ilbistân*, *Malatia*, *Diyurghe* (K), and 1397. *Nebbi*. In his return, he enters the province of *Arzingân* (L),

^b CANTEMIR'S Othm. Hist. p. 53.

^c DUKAS, cap. 15.

(H) As the *Europeans* call him. It is a corruption of *Timûr leng* (or *Timûr lenk*) which, in *Persian*, signifies one lame in his thigh. Cant. *Timûr lenk* signifies lame *Timûr*, a nickname given him by the *Persians* and *Turks*. *Timûr*, which was his proper name, signifies *iron*. His empire began in *Mawarâ'nâbr*, or *Great Bukhâria*, the capital whereof was *Samarkând*; which he usurped from the successors of *Jagatay*, or *Zagatay Khân*, son of *Janghiz Khân*, and whose limits he extended over *Tartary*, part of *India*, *Persia*, and the countries westward as far as the *Archipelago*. See his history, vol. v. p. 208.

(I) *Halamîr* imports, in the *Arabio*, present, or perpetual, lord. He was one of those princes who set up for themselves

in *Persia*, after the death of *Abusaid Khân*, from whom he descended. He was the son of *Sheykh Awis*, or *Weis*; who became *Soltân* of *Baghdâd* by usurpation, and fled to *Malik al Nasser*, son of *Barkok*, *Mamlûk Soltân* of *Egypt*, on the approach of *Timûr*; after whose death he was released, and returned to *Bâghdâd*, the seat of his kingdom. See D'Herb. p. 149. art. *Awis Ahmed ben Awis*. *Shari-fo'ddin's Hist. Timûr*, l. iii. c. 30, & seqq. Also before, Vol. V. p. 202.

(K) Rather *Dicorighi*.

(L) Prince *Cantemir*, propagating an error before taken notice of, reads *Azerbijân*, which is the ancient *Media Atropatia*; whereas *Arzingân* is a city on the *Euphrates*, towards *Arzerûm*.

subject

subject to *Tabrin Beg*; and, defeating the governors thereof, imposes on him a heavy tribute. Shortly after, suspecting his fidelity, he carries his wife and two sons in hostage to *Prusa*. Some historians of less authority say, that the motive to this action was his being enamoured with the lady; whom he forced from her husband. *Tabrin Beg* (M), not brooking the injury, puts himself under *Timûr's* protection, and excites him to make war on *Bâ-yezîd*.

A. D.
1401.

ACCORDINGLY, in 804, that conqueror moves against *Bâ-yezîd* him; and, being met by *Ilderim* near *Prusa*, a fierce battle is fought, in which there fell on both sides more than 340,000 men. At length the *Turks* are defeated; *Mustâfa*, *Bâ-yezîd's* eldest son, is slain, fighting gallantly; and the *Soltân* himself, being taken prisoner, is shut up in an iron cage, where he ends his days. *Timûr* hereupon enters *Prusa*, and forces the rest of the *Asiatic* countries to submit to his yoke^d.

Hej. 804.

A. D.
1401.

THE foregoing account of this war is so very short, as well as inaccurate (for neither the time nor the place of the battle, nor the treatment *Bâ-yezîd* met with, are truly related), that one would imagine the *Turks* have no good memoirs among them concerning it. The place of battle indeed seems to have been inserted by Prince *Cantemir* by conjecture: for, in a note, after telling us, that most Christian writers (N) say the battle was fought on the banks of the *Euphrates*, he alleges, that, as all the *Turkish* writers affirm, that *Timûr* immediately after the battle entered *Prusa*, it is a clear proof, that it was fought on the plains of that city. But this is contradicted by the oriental (O), as well as *Greek*, historians; and even by the *Turkish* author of the annals of *Gaudier*^e (which he so much runs down); who all agree to make the field of battle, the plain of *Enguri*, or *Ancyra*.

Turkish
account
censured.

^d CANT. ubi supr. p. 54, & seqq.

^e P. 23.

(M) He is called *Tabarten* in *Sharîf'uddin's History of Timûr*, who, in 1387, sent to *Arzenjân* (or *Arzengan*) of which he was prince, to summon him to become tributary; which he did. Thereupon *Timûr* sent him the patents of investiture. *Hist. Timûr*, l. ii. c. 58, 59. About the year 1400, *Bâ-yezîd* sent to order *Tabarten* to repair to his court, and remit him the tributes of *Arzenjân*, *Arzerum*, and

their dependencies. *Taharten* gave notice to *Timûr* of this summons; which, according to *Sharîf'uddin*, was the chief cause of the war. *Ibid.* l. v. c. 13, & seq.

(N) He must have consulted very bad writers then; for the best say, it was fought near *Ancyra*, or *Enguri*.

(O) As *Arab Shâh* and *Sharîf'uddin*. See also *D'Herb. art. Timûr*.

How-

A. D.

1401.

Timūr's
motive :

HOWEVER that be, we presume it will not be unacceptable to our readers, to add a relation of that memorable event, extracted from an oriental author, who has written the life of *Timūr Bek* (P) with great minuteness, judgment, and accuracy.

THE occasion of war between *Timūr* and *Bā-yezīd*, according to *Sharīfo'ddīn alī Yezdī*, was this. *Bā-yezīd* having, after the death of the *Kadi Burhano'ddīn*, made himself master of *Siwās* (or *Sebastē*) and *Malatīyah*; sent in very haughty terms to summon *Taharten* (Q), prince of *Arzenjān*, to come to his court, and remit the tributes of that city, *Arzerūm*, and their dependencies, to his treasury. *Taharten* immediately sent advice of this to *Timūr* (R): who was surprised at the boldness of the *Othmān*, knowing that *Taharten* was under his protection; and sent him a very mortifying letter (S), in which he calls him a *pismire*, a little prince; and (what doubtless gave most offence of all), a *Turkmān*. *Bā-yezīd* answers the ambassadors, that he wanted to be at war with their master; and that if *Timūr* did not come to seek him, he would go seek *Timūr* into the very heart of *Persia*. At the return of the ambassadors, *Timūr*, who was then in *Georgia*, set forward towards *Asia Minor*, which he entered the first of *Moharram*, 803; and, marching to *Siwās* (or *Sebastē*), sent in pursuit of *Mehemed Chelebi*, surnamed *Kerīshchi*; whose troops, being overtaken, were cut in pieces. He then besieged the city, the walls of which were so ruined

he takes
Siwās :1st Sept.
N.S. 1400

(P) Two authors, who have written the history of *Timūr*, or *Tamerlan*, have come to our hands. The first, *Ahmed ebn Arab Shāb*, who published it in *Arabic*. He was a famous doctor of the *Mohammedan* law, a native of *Damaskus*, and died, *Hej.* 854, A.D. 1450. It is translated into *French* by *M. Vatier*. The other is *Mulla Sbarīfo'ddīn Ali*, a native of *Yezd*, in *Proper Persia*. He wrote in *Persian*, and published his work at *Sbirāz*, capital of the same country, by order of *Ibrāhīm Soltān*, grandson of *Timūr*, in the year 1424; that is, 19 years after that conqueror's death. It was translated into *French* by *M. Pe-*

tis de la Croix, junior, interpreter to *Lewis XIV.* of *France*; and from thence into *English*, and published, in 1723, in two volumes, octavo.

(Q) The same with *Tebrīn Beg*, in the *Turkish* history. The difference is doubtless owing to some mistake in pointing the characters.

(R) According to the annals of the *Othmān Soltāns*, translated by *Gaudier*, *Germian*, *Duxinon Beg*, prince of *Aydin*, and *Mentakbia*, joined with *Tebrīn Beg* in sending an embassy to *Timūr*. *Annal. Turc.* p. 22.

(S) It was directed to the *Pādīshāh*, or emperor, of *Rūm*, *Bā-yezīd*, the thunderer.

by

by battering and sapping in eighteen days, that the inhabitants, driving out *Moṣṭafa*, the governor, implored the mercy of *Timûr*; who granted it to the *Musulmans*, but made slaves of the Christians. He ordered also 4000 *Armenian* cavalry of the garrison to be thrown into pits, dug for the purpose, and covered with earth; razing at the same time the walls (T) of *Sirwâs* *.

TIMUR, after this (loth perhaps to crush *Bâ-yezîd*, for *offers peace* the reason hereafter given) instead of penetrating farther into *Râm*, turned-off towards *Syria*; which he conquered from the *Soltân of Egypt*, in revenge for giving refuge to *Soltân Ahmed Jelayr* (U), and *Kara Yusuf*, the *Turkmân* (X); after which he went and subdued *Bâghdâd*. While *Timûr* was thus employed, *Bâ-yezîd*, at the instigation of those two princes to revenge the ruin of *Sirwâs*, went and took *Arzenjân*, after routing *Taharten*; and sent that prince's wife and children prisoners to *Brusâ*, or *Prusa*. *Timûr*, on this news, detached a large body of troops, under the command of his son, the *Mirza Shâh Rukh*, to attack *Bâ-yezîd*. But this *Soltân* having sent ambassadors to *Timûr*, with a letter full of submission, and prevailed on *Taharten* himself, on promise of releasing his family, to intercede for him in person, the *on easy terms* *Tatar* monarch was appeased. However, he told the ambassador, that he expected two things of his master, if he intended to remove the cause of quarrel between them: one was, to deliver to him the fortress of *Kemak* (Y), which he said belonged to the countries under his obedience; the other was, either to put *Kara Yusuf* to death, to send that robber and murderer of merchants, the worst of villains, in chains to him, or at least to expel him out of his dominions. He promised, in case of his compliance, not only to make peace with him, but also to send him powerful succours against the infidels, whom he was at war with; on account

* *SHARIF'ODDIN'S Hist. Timûr*, l. v. c. 13, & seqq.

(T) *Dukas* gives nearly the same account; only he says, the walls, being undermined quite round, fell down at once, when the props or shorings came to be burned; and that the principal inhabitants were thus buried alive, tied neck and heels. *Dukas*, c. 15. *Timûr* conferred the government of the city on *Kara Ozmân*, son of the *Kadi Burhâw'eddin*, before-mentioned. *Hist.*

Timûr, l. v. c. 64. in a note.

(U) The same with *Ahmed Halamîr*.

(X) He was the first of the dynasty of the *Kara Kuyunlu*, or *black sheep*.

(Y) *Kamah*, or *Kamkh*, a very strong castle, situated on a high rock, on the west side of the *Euphrates*, 21 miles south of *Arzinjân*.

of

A. D. 1402. of which wars, he said, it was that he had forborn so long to invade his territories.

TIMUR, having treated the *Othmān* ambassadors with great honour, sent one of his own in their company, with letter to *Bā-yezīd*; and afterwards another.

Hej. 804. WHEN two months beyond the time agreed on for their return were passed, he grew impatient, and marched toward *Anatolia*. Being arrived at the castle of *Kemak*, he besieged it and, having taken it, gave the government thereof to Prince *Taharten*.

FROM thence he marched to *Siwās*, where one of his ambassadors met him with fresh ambassadors from *Bā-yezīd*, and an answer to his letter, conceived in very haughty terms which provoked *Timūr*. However, at dismissing those officers he told them, that, considering their master employed his whole strength against the infidels, he was sorry to be constrained to invade his dominions; and that he was still willing to live at peace with him, provided he only restored the officer belonging to Prince *Taharten*; and sent him one of his sons who should be treated with as much regard as his own.

Comes to Angori.

TIMUR, having reviewed his troops in the plain of *Siwās* was informed that *Bā-yezīd* was arrived at *Tokat*: but because the road thither was full of forests, he took that of *Kaysariyah* from whence he marched towards *Ankora* (Y); which he vigorously attacked. There advice being brought that *Bā-yezīd* was advanced within four leagues, to relieve the place, he raised the siege; and halting after a short march, caused his camp to be inclosed by a trench fortified with bucklers and palisades. He had the river which waters the city behind him (Z); and as the *Othmāns* had no water, but that of a little spring at the foot of a hill near the passage of their army, he sent to destroy it^f.

^f SHARIFO'D. Hist. Tim. l. 5. c. 34—46.

(Y) *Anguri*, or *Enguri*, the ancient *Ancyra* (rather *Ankūra*.) The *Greek* historians also make this the place of battle.

(Z) *Dukas* tells us, that *Bayezīd* had encamped in a plain, by a river, while *Timūr's* army was posted on a dry spot of ground; but that the *Saltān*

leaving his commodious station to take the diversion of hunting with his troops, *Timūr* went and took possession of it. Near time the heat being so extreme, that 5000 *Turks* died with thirst he was obliged to give the *Tatar* battle the next day. *Duk.* c. 15.

TIMUR

TIMUR having spent the night in prayer to God for victory, in the morning ranged his army (A) in order of battle. The three bodies into which it was divided were commanded by the *Mirzas*, his sons and grandchildren (B), assisted by his most experienced captains, who acted as lieutenants-general under them. The *Mirzas Shâh Rukh* and *Kalâl Soltân* were at the head of the left wing; the van whereof was led by the *Mirza Soltân Huseyn*. The right wing was under the command of the *Mirza Mirân Shâh*; and its van, of the *Mirza Abubekr*. The main body consisted of a vast number of the greatest lords of *Asia*. Forty colonels were at the head of their regiments on the right, and as many on the left. The *Mirza Mehemed Soltân* was general of the whole body; and before him was carried the great staff, on whose top was a red horse-tail, and on that a half-moon (C). He had for his lieutenants-general the *Mirzas Pîr Mehemed, Omar Sheykh, Eshânder*, and other princes, his brothers (D). *Timûr* himself commanded the body of reserve, composed of forty complete companies. He ordered several ranks of elephants, with splendid trappings and towers on their backs filled with archers, to be posted at the head of the whole army; as well to intimidate the enemy, as to serve for trophies of his *Indian* victories.

BÂ-YEZÎD also took care to draw up his army in order. The right wing was commanded by *Pasir Laus*, an *European* (E), his wife's brother, with 20,000 cavalry of *Europe*, all armed in steel from head to foot; so that nothing could be seen but their eyes. Their armour was fastened below the foot by a padlock, which was to be opened before their cuirass or helmet could be taken off. The left was conducted by *Musulmân* (F) *Chelebi*, son of *Bâ-yezîd*, and composed of the Troops of *Anatolia*. The main body was commanded by *Bâ-yezîd* himself, having for his lieutenants-general his three sons, *Musa*,

A. D.
1402.
Order of
Timûr's,

and Bay-
ezîd's
wings.

(A) *Kbalkondylas* makes the army of *Temûr* 800,000, and of *Bâ-yezîd* only 120,000: but *Schilperger*, who was in the battle, says the first had 1,600,000, and the latter 400,000. *Kbalk.* l. 3. c. 10.

(B) *Dukas* says, c. 15. That he gave the right wing to his son, the left to his grandson, and commanded the rear himself.

(C) The ensigns of the *Othmâns* themselves.

(D) *Timûr* had four sons, and 32 grandsons, living when he died, all denoted by the title of *Mirza*.

(E) This was *Stephen*, son of *Lazarus*, *Bâ-yezîd*'s brother-in-law; according to *Dukas*.

(F) *Cantemir* supposes him to be the same with *Soleymân*. *Le-unclavius Pandect*, No. 59, endeavours to prove it.

A. D. 1402. *Ayfa* (G), and *Moſtafa*. *Mehemed Chelebi*, ſurnamed *Kiriſſchibi* the moſt ſkilful of his five ſons, was at the head of the rear and had for his lieutenants ſix *Pâſhâs*, with a great number of other brave officers.

The battle begins. ABOUT ten in the morning (H) the *Tatar* infantry, with their bucklers before them, poſted themſelves on the neighbouring hills; and while the *Othmâns* advanced in good order, and full of ſpirits, the drum was beaten for the battle to begin, and the great cry, *Sûrûn*, made (I) at the ſound of the huge trumpet *Kerrenay*. In this interval *Timûr* got off his horſe to go to prayers; then remounting, gave orders for attacking the enemy.

THE *Mirza Abû bekr*, at the head of the van-guard of the right wing, began the battle, by a diſcharge of arrows on the *Turk's* left wing, commanded by *Muſulman Chelebi*, *Bâ-yezîd's* eldeſt ſon (K), who performed noble actions: but not being able to withſtand the ſtrength and intrepidity of the *Tatar* troops, was forced to fly. The *Mirza Soltân Hâſſeyn*, who commanded the van of *Timûr's* left wing, fell on the enemy's right, and made a cruel ſlaughter: but *Timûr* perceiving that he had advanced too far, ſent the *Mirza Mehemed Soltân*, at the head of all the *Behâdrs*, (or forlorn hope) to ſupport him.

The Turks give way. THESE ruſhing full ſpeed into the *Othmân* army, broke the ranks, and put them into great diſorder. The *Europeans*, on the other hand, gave marks of a prodigious valour, each party repulſing its adverſary by turns: but at length the *Tatars* gained the advantage, by the death of *Peſſr Laus* (L), and the ſlaughter of the infantry of the *Turk's* right wing. The

(G) By others written *Iſſa*.

(H) This battle was fought on Friday the 19th of *Zilkadeh* (or *Dbulkadeh*); which answers to the 1ſt of July, N. S. The year of the *Hejrah* 804, answers to the *Mogol* year of the horſe; which is the 7th of their cycle of 12 years.

(I) *Dukas* ſays they began the fight with profound ſilence.

(K) The *Turkiſh* hiſtorians make *Muſaſa* the eldeſt, according to *Cantemir*.

(L) *Dukas* relates, that *Stephen*, ſon of *Lazarus*, *Bâ-yezîd's* ſon-in-law, enraged at the treachery of the deſerters, at the

head of 5000 *Serpians*, ruſhed firſt on the enemy; who opened their ranks to let them paſs, and then diſcharged their arrows, which did them no harm, their armour being proof. Thus they were treated on a ſecond attack; whence *Stephen* perceiving no good could be done againſt them, whiſpered *Bâ-yezîd* to retire. Finding the *Soltân* deaf to his advice, he ſet *Muſulmân*, that prince's eldeſt ſon, in the middle of his troops; and breaking thro' the thick ranks of the *Scythians*, with his ſword opened himſelf a paſſage to go to *Prufa*.

Mirzas

Mirzas Pîr Mehemed, Omar Sheykh, and Eskânder, who were lieutenants to their brother *Mirza Mehemed Soltân*, chased the *Othmân* infantry from the hills where they were posted. *Timûr* perceiving the enemy began to give way, ordered the *Mirzas* and *Amîrs* (M) to fall upon them with the whole army. These generals accordingly advanced, sword in hand; and having made a terrible slaughter of part of them, the rest fled.

A. D.
1402.

WHILE the *Mirza Mehemed Soltân* routed the right wing, *Are quite* six companies of his soldiers ascended a hill (N), which properly was their post. *Bâ-yezîd* observing their small number, *over-* attacked them, at the head of his main body; and having driven them from thence, drew up his own men there. The six companies having joined the *Mirza*, rallied; and being reinforced with several regiments, returned, with design to attack *Bâ-yezîd's* main body. The *Othmân* emperor having from the hill carefully examined the disposition of his army, and perceiving the disorder, or rather defeat, of his two Wings (O), whose soldiers fled to join him, he was seized with fear. Mean while *Timûr* having advanced with the *Mirza Shâh Rukh*, entered into the midst of the enemy. The *Mirzas* and *Amîrs* of the right and left wings hastened thither likewise; and being come up, all the troops falling upon *Bâ-yezîd*, surrounded him, with his army; like beasts inclosed in the circle of a chace (P).

(M) These were the great commanders who served as lieutenants-general under the *Mirzas*, or princes, sons of *Timûr*.

(N) *Dukas* also takes notice of this: he says, that *Bayezet* ascended a hill with 10,000 *Janizaries*, the rest of his army, who fled, being slain: that the *Scythians*, seeing the *Soltân* taken as in a net, agreed to send the soldiers home naked; according to an ancient custom among the *Romans*, *Persians*, *Servians*, and *Scythians*, not to kill their enemies, on account of religion, nor keep them prisoners, but only to strip them, and send them back: but the *Janizaries* falling on them like lions, and being not above one to ten, were all cut in pieces: then the enemy

calling to *Bâ-yezîd* to dismount, and come speak to *Tamerlan*, who called for him, he alighted; and being set on a little horse, for the purpose, was carried to the victor's tent.

(O) *Dukas*, c. 15, imputes the overthrow of *Bâ-yezîd* to the desertion of some of the conquered princes. He says, that one of the chief commanders, who had formerly served *Atin*, hearing that he was in *Tamerlan's* army, went over to it with 500 horse; whose example was followed by the troops of *Sarkan*, *Mantakbia*, and *Karmian*, moved thereto by the voice and gesture of their princes: after which the *Tatars* surrounded the *Turks*.

(P) Alluding to the *Tatar* way of hunting.

A. D.

1402.

Bâ-yezîd
flies,and is
taken.

THE *Soltân*, notwithstanding the miserable state to which he was reduced, maintained his ground all day, like a brave hero, and skilful warrior; and when night came on, he descended from the hill, and fled (Q): but being vigorously pursued, he was at last overtaken and seized by *Soltân Mahmûd Khân* (R); and, at sun-set, presented by the *Great Amîrs* to *Timûr*: who, moved to see so great a prince in that condition, ordered him to be unbound, and brought before him with respect (S). He went to receive him at the door of his tent with great ceremony; and making him sit down by him, in mild terms accused him with being the cause of his own misfortune, by refusing to comply with his reasonable demands. *Bâ-yezîd* having confessed the charge, and asked pardon, the conqueror gave him a splendid vest, promised to use neither him nor his friends ill; and treated him as a great emperor. The captive *Soltân* perceiving *Timûr*'s generosity, besought him to order search to be made for his sons *Musa* and *Mostafa* (T), who were with him in the battle. Search was accordingly made, but only *Musa* found (U). This prince, *Timûr*,

(Q) The weather was so hot, that most of the soldiers who fled died for thirst, they having no water in the place where they went to rest themselves. *Dukas* says, 500 Turks died of thirst. See before note—.

(R) The *Great Khân* of *Jagatay*, now called *Great Bukharia*, who had the title of *Khân*, while *Timûr* possessed all the power.

(S) *Dukas* says, that *Tamerlan* kept him a long time standing at his tent door; while he played at chess with his son *Siacruc* (*Shâh Rukh*), the soldiers shouting for joy; and saying, *Here is Bâ-yezîd, general of the Turks, reduced under your power, and loaded with chains.* At last, *Tamerlan* breaking off the game, and looking at his prisoner, said, *Is this he who ordered us to separate ourselves from our wives,*

if we did not make war upon him? *Bâ-yezîd* answered he was the person; but that the victor ought not to insult the vanquished. The conqueror then made him sit opposite to him, and comforted him; promising not to put him to death, or treat him with the same cruelty as he had done others.

(T) According to *Dukas*, *Bâ-yezîd* had with him in the battle four sons, *Musulman*, *Efles* (or *Iffa*), *Mahomet*, and *Moses* (or *Musa*), besides *Mostafa* and *Orkhân*, who were left at home, being children. *Dukas*, c. 17, *Musulman* seems to be *Soleyman*.

(U) Nor did he ever afterwards appear; which procured him the epithet of *Nabedid*, or, *The lost*. Some Christian authors call him *Erdogul*. *Can-temir*.

after

after presenting him a vest, sent to his father; for whom he ordered a royal pavilion (X) to be erected, near his own ^a.

A. D.
1402.

AFTER this victory, *Yakûb*, governor of *Siwâs*, delivered the city and castle to *Timûr*, who then sent out several detachments to scour the country on every side, and ravage all *Anatolia*; where the *Tâtars* found such store of wealth, that every man became rich with his share of the plunder.

THE *Mirza Mehemed Soltân* was sent to *Prusa* to seize the treasures of *Bâ-yezîd*; but *Musulmân Cbelebi* had got thither before him, and carried them off. However, he seized the *Soltân's* wife and two daughters, who had hidden themselves at *Yenibahr* (Y); with the daughters of *Soltân Ahmed Jelayr*, king of *Bâghdâd*, whom *Bâ-yezîd* had demanded in marriage for his son *Mostafa*: but *Kâra Yûsuf* had fled before the battle into *Arabia*.

PRUSA was burned, *Nicea* pillaged, and the country ravaged, as far as the *Thracian Bosphorus*, over which *Musulmân Cbelebi* fled; leaving his wife and effects a prey to his pursuers. *Timûr* was then at *Kyutahiyeh* (Z), a delightful city, two days journey from *Prusa*, where he staid a month; during that time, he sent *Bâ-yezîd* his wife *Destina* (A), daughter of *Laus* (before mentioned), with his daughter, and all his domestics: but was desirous that princess, who till then had been tolerated in the Christian religion, even in the saray (or seraglio), should embrace *Mohammedism*. On the other hand, *Amîr Mehemed*, son of *Karâmân*, who had for 12 years been kept in chains by *Bâ-yezîd*, being brought to court, *Timûr* honoured him with a vest and belt, and gave him the government of the whole province of *Karâmania*, with *Koniyah*, *Laranda*, *Ak Saray*, *Anzarya*, *Alaya*, and their dependencies ^b.

^a SHARIFO'D. l. 5. c. 47-49. ^b Ibid. l. 5. c. 50-52. *Dukas*, c. 16, & seq.

(X) *Dukas* relates, that his son *Mahammed* attempted to deliver him, by a passage made underground to the tent; which was discovered by the guards, who observed the earth to move. But neither he nor *Kbalkondylas* mention any thing of the iron cage, which appears to be a Turkish fiction, to dishonour *Timûr*, by dishonouring their emperor. However, some of those who relate that fact, whether true or

spurious, own it was done, upon *Bâ-yezîd's* telling *Timûr*, that he would have served him in the same manner, had he fallen into his hands. See *Annual Soltan. Othm.* p. 25.

(Y) A city four leagues from *Prusa*.

(Z) *Dukas* calls it *Kotiayon*.

(A) European romancers call her *Roxana*, and pretend *Timûr* kept her for his own use.

A. D.
1402.

Greek em-
peror sub-
mits.

Christian
Smyrna
ruined.

TIMUR, marching from *Kyutahiyeh* to *Tangûrlik*, made feasts and balls, to which *Bâ-yezîd* was invited for his entertainment. *Timûr* did every thing to please him; and even bestowed on him the kingdom of *Anatolia*, which he possessed before, by placing the crown on his head, and granting him the patents usual on those occasions.

TIMUR from hence sent ambassadors to *Constantinople*, to summon the *Tekkûr*, or Greek emperor, to pay the tribute and customs; also two messengers to *Musulmân Chelebi*, *Bâ-yezîd*'s son (who resided at *Guzelhissar*, built by his father, opposite to *Constantinople*), to tell him that he must either repair to court, or send *Timûr* some money; and that otherwise he would cross the *Straits* in quest of him. Some time after the ambassadors returned, with two from the Greek *Tekkûr*, to notify their master's submission. The messengers likewise arrived with *Sheykh Ramadân*, prime minister to *Bâ-yezîd*, and Grand Kâdi of the *Empire*, who brought a letter from *Musulmân Chelebi*, signifying his obligations for the favours shewn his father; and his readiness to wait on *Timûr*, if it was his pleasure.

AFTER this, *Timûr* understanding that there were on the sea-coast two strong fortresses, named *Ezmîr* (or *Smyrna*) one inhabited by *Musulmâns*, the other by Christians; he, out of zeal to religion, went and besieged the latter (B), which he took in 14 days, not without great opposition: for it was built so strongly with free-stone and mortar, that *Soltân Morâd* had several times attempted it, and *Bâ-yezîd* besieged it seven years in vain. To attack the place on the side of the sea, as well as land, they built in the midst of the water great scaffolds, near one another, each supported by three feet. From thence, to the two sides of the castle, they made an even way, which they secured on each side; so that the *Musulmâns*, armed with their bucklers, fought on those scaffolds, and made their attacks as securely as on land: besides, the passage to the sea being by this means shut up (C), there was no possibility of bringing any succour to the place. Mean time, they at once battered and undermined the walls and towers: when the sapping was finished, they set fire to the props, and, of a sud-

(B) *Dukas* calls it a little city, which the knights of *Rhodes* had fortified in the time of *Amir*; and says, the inhabitants thought it impregnable, because *Bâ-yezîd* had been obliged to turn the siege into a blockade.

(C) *Dukas* says, *Tamerlan* shut up the port, by ordering

part of his army to throw every man a stone into the mouth of it: that this was effectually done in an hour or two; and that if the besieged had not gotten out their ships to sea before-hand, they would all have been destroyed.

den,

den, the bastions and curtains fell down. The *Musulmâns* then entering the town, put the inhabitants to the sword, after they had made a most brave defence; never ceasing to throw pots of naphtha and wild-fire, arrows and stones, on the besiegers: a few escaped, by swimming to the ships (D). Their houses were all demolished. Those of *Feja* (or *Phœœa*) avoided the same misfortune, by submitting to pay tribute (E). At the same time *Sheykh Ramadân* having come a second time from *Musulmân Chelebi*, with rich presents, and humble submissions; *Timûr* confirmed him in the principality of *Isra Yaka* (F), by patents sealed with his red hand, and sent him a vest woven with gold, a crown and a belt. An ambassador from *Issa Chelebi* (G), another of *Bâ-yezîd's* sons, was soon after received with honour.

TIMUR, before he left *Ezmir*, furnished the inhabitants of the *Mohammedan* fortresses with arms; and ordered them to build a strong citadel near the place where the Christian town stood, in order to hinder the *Europeans* from ever settling there any more. Being come to *Soltân Hissar*, he gave the cities of *Kyutabiyeh*, *Tangûzlik*, and *Kara Shahr*, with the province of *Ghermianeyli*, to *Yakûb Chelebi*, to whom they belonged by right of succession. Then he went and took the town of *Egridur* (H), situate on the lake *Falak Abâl* (I), in the country of *Hamîd Eyli*. Afterwards he marched on to *Ak Shahr*. At this place *Bâ-yezîd*, who had fallen ill at *Egridur*, died of an apoplexy the 14th of *Shaban* 805; which misfortune *Timûr*

A. D.

1403.

Death of
Bâ-yezîd.March 23,
N. S.

1403.

(D) The knights of *Rhodes* fled first into the castle, and then into the galleys, which were near it. The Christians, who had taken refuge in the place, followed into the sea, with their wives and children; some laid hold of the rudder, others of the oars, praying to, and crying to be taken on board: but the compassionate knights thrust them off with forks, leaving them half-dead, and put to sea. Being seized by the *Scythians*, to the number of 1000, *Tamerlan* ordered their heads to be cut off, and a tower to be built with them and stones mixed. *Dukas*, c. 17.

(E) Of these two *Phœœas*, the old and new, the latter belong-

ing to the *Genoeses*, the first to the prince of *Lesbos*, they sent early to *Tamerlan*, who received their presents, and made peace with them. After that, having sent his grandson to observe the strength of those places, the prince of *Lesbos* went in a galley to receive him; entertained him magnificently; and, having shewed him all sorts of diversions, sent him back with very rich presents. *Dukas*, c. 17.

(F) That is, *Turky* in *Europe*.

(G) He is mentioned by *Dukas* in a former note.

(H) Or *Igridi*.

(I) This lake is five leagues long and four broad, with two isles in it, called *Ghulîstân* and *Nafîlîn*.

A. D. 1402. *bewailed with tears; having resolved, after the conquest of Anatolia, to restore him. He gave largesses to Bâ-yezîd's officers; and dismissed Musa Chelebi, with a royal vest, a belt, a sword, and a quiver inlaid with precious stones, a load of gold, and 30 horses; telling him, that his father's corps should be conveyed to Prusa (K), with pomp becoming the greatest king, to be interred in the mausoleum built there by himself.*

His pompous funeral.

TIMUR, in leaving *Anatolia*, the conquest of which he atchieved in one year, carried with him the *Kara Tatars*, settled about *Kaysariyab* and *Amasia*, in order to re-people some lands in *Tartary* ^c.

Reign and character. *BA-YEZID* reigned 14 years three months, and lived 58. He was famous for firmness of mind, and quickness of action; subject to anger, but soon softened into clemency: so great a lover of architecture, that temples, academies, and hospitals, were erected by him every year. He was the first of the *Othmân* race, who waged naval wars; having built about 300 long vessels for that purpose.

CONCERNING his sons, under the corrupted names of *Erdogul*, *Issa*, *Kalepin*, *Cyricelebis*, and *Cibelin*, many things are related by the Christian writers (L); which appear to be fictitious, both from the course of the history, and testimony of the *Turkish* authors. These latter unanimously ascribe to *Bâ-yezid* four sons, *Mosstafa*, who fell in the battle, *Solcymân*, *Musa*, and *Mohammed*. Altho' the three last swayed the *Turkish* sceptre, yet *Mohammed* only is reckoned among the *Othmân* emperors: because he enjoyed the whole empire, which neither of the other two did; one governing in *Europe*, while the other reigned in *Asia* ^d.

^c SHARIFOD, l. 5. c. 53-63. & seq.

^d CANT. Othm. Hist. p. 56.

(K) *Dukas* says, that *Bâ-yezid* died in *Phrygia Salutaris*, called by the *Turks* *Karafâr*: that it was reported he poisoned himself, to avoid being led in triumph: that, when near his death, he sent to desire of *Tamerlan*, that his body might be buried in the tomb which he had built at *Prusa*; which request was granted.

(L) *Khalkondylas* mentions

Orthobules, who, he says, was taken in *Sebaste*, or *Siwâs*, and put to death by *Timûr*'s order. *Issa* is mentioned by *Dukas*, and is the *Yosua* of the former. The third and fifth seem to be corruptions of *Chelebi*, the title formerly of the *Othmân* princes; and *Cyricelebis* is, doubtless, *Kirischi Chelebi*, the surname of *Mebemet*. *George Phranza*, l. 1. c. 82, calls him *Cyritzis*.

Interregnum

Interregnum under Soleymân Chelebi (A).



SOLEYMAN, second son of *Bâ-yezîd*, having escaped out of the battle with his father's Prime Wazîr, *Ali Bâsbâ*, fled first to *Nicea*; from whence, shortly after, he repaired to *Adrianople*, where he was saluted emperor by the remains of the European army^a. Soleymân Chelebi

THE Greek writer *Dukas* relates this matter after another manner, and with circumstances which make his account credible. According to him, *Musulmân* (who is the *Soleymân* of the *Turkish* historians) passing over from *Asia* to *Constantinople*, implores the protection of the emperor *Manuel* (who, on the defeat of *Bâ-yezîd*, resumed the sovereign power (B), with the consent of the great officers): and desiring only the government of *Thrace*, with some other provinces, agreed to give up *Theffalonika*; the cities along the *Strymon*, as far as *Zetunion*, together with the *Morea*; the places from *Panida* to the sacred entrance, and the forts on the *Euxine* sea, as far as *Varna*. After matters were concluded, the emperor sent him to *Adrianople*, and dispatched proper persons to receive the above-mentioned cities in his name, and drive out the *Turks*. Thus far *Dukas*^b.

A. D.

1402.

TIMUR, on his arrival at *Prusa*, sends ambassadors to *disoblige* that prince, with a letter, importing, "That he was sorry for *Timûr*. " his father's unexpected death; and that provided *Bâyezîd*'s family would only acknowledge his clemency, he would, instead of an enemy, be a friend, nay, a father to them." *Soleymân*, instead of complying with the conqueror's proposal, treats his ambassadors injuriously; and returns him a proud answer (C). Hereupon *Timûr* sends for his brother *Musa Chelebi*, and confers the empire on him; saying, *Receive thy father's inheritance, for it is not kingdoms, but a kingly mind, I seek*^c.

HERE we shall break off the thread of the *Othmân* history *State of* again, as delivered by the *Turkish* historians, to connect with *Anatolia*.

^a CANT. Othm. Hist. p. 58, & seq.^b DUKAS, c. 18.^c CANT. p. 59.

(A) This *Soleymân Chelebi* is the same whom others call *Musulman Chelebi*, and some, *Calapin*, which is a corruption of *Chelebi*.

(B) Banishing *John* to *Lesbos*.

(C) The tenor of these letters is not given by the *Turkish* writers; but they own *Timûr* was justly offended with them.

Soleymân it that of the *Greeks*: which yet we shall do, without con-
 Chelebi. founding one with the other; and in such a manner, that the
 reader may peruse the account on each side, without interrup-
 tion. According to *Dukas*, after the *Scythian* (or *Tâtar*) in-
 vasion, while *Thrace* enjoyed a profound peace, the provinces
 of *Asia* were in great confusion, as well as afflicted with the
 plague and famine. *Karmian*, surnamed *Alisâr*, by consen-
 of *Tamerlan*, took possession of the countries which belonged
 to his ancestors. *Sarkân* re-entered *Lydia*; *Or Khân*, and the
 two sons of *Atin* (or *Aydin*), *Amir*, and *Isa*, had *Ionia*; while
Eli, son of *Mantakhia*, enjoyed *Karia* and *Lycia*.

Moham- MOHAMMED (son of *Bâ-yezîd*), remained at *Ancyra*,
 med de- with *Musa*, his youngest brother, in a private condition, with-
 feats Isa. out any sovereign power; nor was *Mostafa* in a better state.
 However, *Mohammed* sent *Temirta*, who had been one of his
 father's generals, to attack *Isa*, whom he took, and slew;
 which raised both the reputation and power of his master in
Galatia.

Exploits of MEAN time one *Cineis* (D), whose father, *Kara Su Basbâ*,
 Chuneid having been for a long time governor of *Smyrna*, was highly
 beg. esteemed by the people of *Ionia*, made war against the two
 sons of *Atin* (or *Aydin*), who possessed *Ephesus*, which he
 took in a few days; and then sends to tell *Musulmân*, it was for
 him that he had conquered the principality of *Atin*. At the
 same time he demanded succours to make head against his ene-
 mies; which being sent him from *Kallipolis*, the sons of *Atin*
 were quite driven out of the country.

His father IN the spring, two years after the *Scythian* invasion, *Amir*,
 taken. whose brother was dead, retired to the court of *Mantakhia*
Blis beg, prince of *Karia*, his uncle; who, at his request,
 marched with him, at the head of 6000 men, towards *Ephesus*,
 where *Karâsu* commanded with 3000 men, and made a stout
 defence. But the enemy having fired the city, the inhabitants
 surrendered it; and *Kara Su Basbâ* retired into the citadel,
 where he held out till autumn, expecting relief from his son
Cineis, who was at *Smyrna*. He then yielded the place to
 the conqueror, who carried him into his dominions; and im-
 prisoned him with others in the fort of *Mamala*.

Set at li- ALTHOUGH *Cineis* could not succour his father by land,
 berty. he did by sea: for arriving at the fort in a galley, he gave
 notice to the prisoners; who, making their guards drunk, let
 themselves down by ropes in the night, and escaped to *Smyrna*.

(D) This is the same with read, *Chuneid*, whereof *Cineis*
Tzuncit, or *Tzuncites beg*, in is a corruption.
Leunclavius; which may be

Towards

Towards winter, *Cineis* marched to attack *Ephesus*; which, on *Amir*'s retiring into the citadel, he plundered, and committed unheard-of cruelties. At length, on promise of his daughter in marriage, *Amir* came forth, and embraced *Cineis*; who proclaimed him lieutenant-general of the country of *Atin* (or *Aydın*), and shook off *Musulmân*'s yoke.

Soleymân
Chelebi.
Agrees
with A-
mîr.

CINEIS afterwards, accompanied by *Amir*, visited his territories, and drew over to his interest the cities situated on the *Menander*, with those of *Philadelphia*, *Sardes*, and *Nymphaea*, as far as the river *Hermon*; making his relations and friends governors. In short, while he was at *Ephesus* with his future son-in-law, it was reported of a sudden that the duke (E) was dead; and next morning his corpse was carried to *Fort Pirgion*, near *Mount Tmolus*, there to be buried in the sepulchre of his ancestors.

Seizes Ay-
din.

THEN *Cineis*, taking on him the government as an inheritance, set up for a sovereign prince in *Asia*: but *Musulman* not being able to bear this, resolved to humble him; and crossing over to *Prusa*, was received with great joy. While he was raising forces for that purpose, in the beginning of spring, *Cineis* hastes first to *Karamân*, at *Kogni* (or *Ikonium*), and then to *Karmian*, at *Kotiayon* (or *Kotiaum*); whom, after putting them in mind of what they had suffered from *Bâ-yezîd*, he advised not to wait till the serpent he had left behind swallowed them all up, but to crush him before he grew any bigger.

Excites the
Seljuk
princes

INDUCED by these reasons, they accompanied him to *Ephesus*, with their forces. *Karamân* brought 30,000 men, *Karmian* 10,000, and *Cineis* had 5,000. Mean time, *Musulmân*, with 25,000 troops, marched by *Lopadion*, and the field of *Monomene*, to *Smyrna*. Being somewhat disturbed at the junction of those two princes, he proceeded to *Mesaulion*, near *Ephesus*, where he intrenched himself, for fear of the enemy; and kept in the midst of his camp. The two armies were but six leagues asunder, yet durst not venture to approach nearer one another.

against
Musul-
mân.

DURING this suspension, *Cineis* was informed by an intimate friend, that *Karamân* and *Karmian* intended to seize him that night, and make their peace with *Musulmân*, by delivering him up. *Cineis*, on this advice, orders candles to be lighted in his tent, and rides post-haste to the citadel, of which his brother *Bâ-yezîd* was governor; and exhorts him to defend the place till next day: then in the night repairs to the camp of *Musulmân*, with a cord about his neck, and confessing his guilt, submits to his mercy. *Musulmân* forgives, and presents

Flies to
Musul-
mân.

(E) That is, *Amir*.

him

Soleymân him with a rich vest; then marches towards *Ephefus*. The **Chelebi**. two princes having been to look for *Cineis* at midnight, in his tent, and not finding him, were in fear of being surprised. The army, in confusion, began to pack up their baggage; and, at sun-rise, while they forded the *Menander* on one side, *Musulmân* crossed it with his army over a bridge near *Mount Galefus*, and entered *Ephefus*. *Cineis* would have had him pursue the enemy; but not caring to trust him, would not follow his advice. In short, he encamped thereabout, and stayed four months, wholly plunged in debauchery and pleasures, to which he was strangely addicted^d.

**Defeats
Musa.**

LET us now return to the *Turkish* historians. *Soleymân*, upon the news that *Timûr* had advanced his brother *Musa* to the throne (F), passes into *Asia* with the *European* forces, and marches directly to *Prusa* (G). From thence *Musa*, being much inferior in strength (as the *Asiatic* troops could not be so soon recruited) fled to *Karamân oğlu* (H): but not thinking himself safe there, resolved to retire to *Isfendar beg* (I); from which he was diverted by the ambassadors of that prince, who apprehended *Soleymân*'s resentment. Nor did he judge amiss, for *Soleymân* presently advanced towards *Isfendar beg*'s domi-

^d DUKAS, c. 18.

(F) *Dukas* mentions nothing of *Timûr*'s setting up *Musa*; but says, he fled from *Ancyra*, where he dwelt, with *Mabomet*, to *Spintiar* (that is *Isfandiar*) a *Turkmân*, who possessed *Sinope*; and that *Spintiar* permitted him to cross the *Euxine* sea, to go into *Walakkia*; where he gathered forces. The rest of his relation agrees very well with the *Turkish* account, excepting in a few passages, inserted in the notes.

(G) This we conceive was at the same time, when, as hath been before related, he was on his expedition against *Cineis*; against whom he marched, finding *Musa* fled from *Prusa*.

(H) The *Turkish* writers make the *Karamânian* kingdom more ancient than the *Othmân*; and even coeval with that of *Iko-*

nium, under *Aladin*. Hence *Cantemir* censures the *Greek* writers, who refer the division of the *Persian* provinces to the time of *Othmân*: but he runs upon a false scheme, for want of being acquainted with the *Seljukian* history; from whence it appears, that the division happened at the time of *Othmân*'s appearance, or not long before. The same author says, *Karamania* contains the greater part of the *Old Kapadocia* and *Galatia*: he might have added part of *Phrygia* and *Cilicia*; which last alone is considered by most *Christian* authors as the kingdom of *Karamân*.

(I) Or *Isfandiar beg*. He was son of *Kutrum Bayezid*, prince of *Kastamona*, before mentioned. *Pbranza* writes, *Sfentiar*.

nions:

nions: but being made sensible that his brother was not there, Soleymân he returns to *Prusa*; where, despising *Musa's* attempts, he *Chelebi*. gives himself wholly up to gluttony and drunkenness (K). His brother *Mohammed*, prince of *Amasia*, having sent ambassadors to salute him emperor, and offer presents, he speaks very sharply to them, and dismisses them without any answer; which imprudent conduct alienated *Mohammed's* affection from him, and proved extremely prejudicial to his affairs.

MEAN while, *Musa Chelebi*, who, after *Isfandiar beg's* repulse, crossed into *Europe* in a little boat, which he found near *Nicea*, wandered thro' several countries, and at last stopped in *Walakhia*. There assembling a great number of soldiers, who were in his interest; and being assisted by *Walakhian* troops, he re-enters the *Turkish* empire, and becomes master of *Adrianople*. This news awaking *Soleymân* from his dream of luxury (L), he, in 809, assembles the *Asiatic* army, and passes into *Europe*. But *Musa*, either thro' natural timorousness, or distrust of his strength, not daring to stand a battle, returns to *Walakhia*: while *Soleymân*, ascribing his successes wholly to his own bravery and prudence, returns to his former vices (M). Military discipline is neglected; honours are conferred on wine-sellers and pimps; in a word, the court has the appearance of a brothel-house rather than a school of virtue.

MUSA CHELEBI, thinking he might turn his brother's luxury to his advantage, applies secretly, by letters, to the generals and great men (N); who, offended with *Soleymân's* excesses, are easily persuaded to revolt. In effect, *Musa* re-assembling an army, by long marches arrives at *Adrianople*, before his brother knew any thing of the matter; who being wholly unprepared to oppose him, left the city, in order to fly to *Constantinople*: but loitering by the way, to get drunk at every house, he is taken in a bath at a certain village, and slain by one of the soldiers of *Musa*; who ordered the body

(K) All the *Turkish* emperors were perfectly sober men, and religious observers of their law, excepting this *Soleymân Soltân Selim*, called *Mesî*, or drunkard; and *Morâd*, who took *Baghdâd*. They reckon only two others, who have been remarkably addicted to vice, *Mosfâsa I.* who, unfit to govern, was twice deposed; and *Ibra-*

him, boundless in his lust, and for that reason strangled. *Cant.* p. 61, note 9; and p. 63, note 14.

(L) *Dukas* uses nearly the same expression.

(M) *Dukas* takes notice of the luxury of *Musulman*, or *Soleyman*; and says, he would sit whole days at the table.

(N) *Dukas* says the same.

His luxury:

Hej. 809.
A. D.
1406.

He is killed,

Musa Chelebi. to be buried in the sepulchre of his grandfather *Morâd*, called *Khodavendikar*^d.

On what occasion.

DUKAS relates the death of *Masulman*, or *Soleymân*, in a different manner. According to him, that prince departing from *Adrianople* to go to *Constantinople*, with only a few horse, they deserted him on the road, to join *Musa's* party; so that entering alone into a small town, whose inhabitants, from the richness of his habit, judged him to be a prince, five young men ran to meet him with their bows. At this being surprised, he shot two of them dead: hereupon, the other three making a stand, to revenge the loss of their brothers, shot at him all together; and having brought him off his horse, cut off his head.

MUSA, who was received with acclamations at *Adrianople*, bewailed his brother's death, and had his body pompously buried at *Prasa*. He likewise caused the three young men, who had killed him, to be apprehended; and having assembled the inhabitants of the place, commanded them to be bound, and burnt in their respective houses, with their wives and children^e.

His Character.

SOLEYMAN ruled affairs seven years and 10 months. He was a young man, far exceeding the rest of his brothers both in good and bad qualities; a valiant and most fortunate general; a prince of great clemency and generosity (O); but ruined by his luxury^f.

Interregnum under Musa Chelebi.

Musa Chelebi.

WHILE *Musa* reaped the reward of his labours at *Adrianople*, by being saluted emperor by the *European* army, *Mohammed*, lord of *Amasia*, raising what forces he was able, in order to revenge the murder of *Soleymân*, who was his brother by the same venter, goes and seizes *Prasa*; where he is created emperor by his army. But thinking it prudent to settle the affairs of *Asia* before he published his resolution to depose *Musa*, he marches against the plundering *Tatars* (not yet quite expelled), and other bands of robbers, who,

^d CANT. ubi supr. p. 60-63. ubi supr. p. 63.

^e *DUKAS*, c. 19. ^f CANT.

(O) *Dukas* says he gained the affections of the people of every town he came to, if he stayed there ever so short a time, by the

wealth he distributed among the poor and indigent; raising many from beggary into a condition of living comfortably.

since

since *Timûr's* invasion, infested *Anatolia*; these he extirpates ^{Musa} in the first year of his reign, in which he surprises, takes, ^{Chelebi.} and beheads *Karadewlet Shâh*, the only surviving leader of those *Tatars*; who, in his absence, was destroying the country about *Amasia*: so that in a short time peace is restored to the land, which gained him much reputation*.

MUSA CHELEBI, alarmed at *Mohammed's* successes, ^{defeats} to divert him from any attempts against the western part of ^{the Hun-} the empire, offers to resign to him all the east; and, to shew ^{garians;} that his proposal was sincere, in 814, turns his arms against ^{Hej. 814.} the Christians. Fortune proving favourable to him, he, that ^{A. D.} year, took the towns of *Peraverd* and *Matruna*, in the *Morea*. Elated with this success, he, the next year, attempts greater things; and, assembling a stronger army, attacks the *Hungarians*, under their king *Sigismond* (A), near the city of *Samandria*, not far from the *Danube*, and defeats them with such a slaughter, that scarce a man is left to carry back the news. It is said, that nothing incumbered the enemy so much as the immense quantity of riches they brought with them, so that the *Janizaries* measured the gold and silver, which was found in their tents, in bowls and hats. The rest of the spoil supplied the charge of building a large temple called *Jami Atik*, or *the old Jami*, which is inscribed with *Musâ's* name. ^{1411.}

BUT this great honour gained to the *Turkish* arms could ^{betrayed by} not secure *Musa Chelebi*, otherwise a prince of an excellent ^{his officers;} disposition, great justice, and moderation, from the frowns of fortune: for, about this time, *Korshâh Muluk* (B), and the famous general *Ornûs Beg* (C), without any provocation, revolt to *Mohammed*; signifying to him by letters, that the *Othmân* empire, weakened by two civil dissensions, would not bear to be governed by two heads; and that the whole army, observing *Musa's* timorous nature, were of opinion the empire should be conferred on him alone. They therefore desired him to hasten over, promising to put the whole into his possession.

MOHAMMED CHELEBI, at the receipt of these let- ^{defeated by} ters, prepares to cross into *Europe*. On the other hand, *Musa* ^{Moham-} med;

* CANT. ubi sup. p. 64, 65. 78.

(A) Most of the Christian writers ascribe this expedition to *Cyricelabi*, whom *Cantemir* takes to be *Soleyman*, and places it in the year 1409. is the proper name; *Korshâh* signifies the *One-eyed king*.

(C) Others read *Evrenus* for *Ornus*; that is, *Honorius*, who seems to have been a convert from the *Greeks*.

(B) *Muluk*, *Mulk*, or *Molk*,

Musa
Chelebi.

assembles his army, in order to secure the straits of *Kallipoli* before his brother's arrival: but, finding his generals only made a shew of fighting, he, in the very heat of the battle withdraws out of the field, and escapes into *Laz Vilayeti* (or *Servia*); while *Mohammed*, prevented by the season from proceeding any farther, returns with his army, to winter at *Prusa* *Musa Chelebi*, assisted by his old friend the prince of *Servia* (D) with warlike stores and forces, returns the same winter into his empire, and becomes master of *Adrianople*, which was destitute of a garrison. There he finds *Korfbâh* and *Ornûs Beg*, whom *Mohammed* left designedly in *Europe*; and either because he saw that they could not effect their intentions, or led to it by his merciful temper, he both pardons and receives them into favour.

ruined by
mercy;

BUT the event shewed, that however good it may be in a prince to pardon, he ought never to trust a traitor. For these ungrateful generals invite *Mohammed* a second time to seize the empire; who, coming from *Nicea* with a greater army, passes the *Bosphorus* by the permission of the *Istambol Kaysari* (or Greek emperor) under the walls of *Constantinople*. The same day he enters (E) the city, and is honourably received by the emperor, who makes him rich presents. On the third day he sets out for *Andrianople*, and in the second day's march is met by *Korfbâh Muluk* and *Ornûs Beg*: who, having withdrawn from thence in the night, fell prostrate at his feet; and kissing, according to custom, the ground, salute him emperor in the name of the *European* army.

taken, and
slain.

MUSA CHELEBI, deserted by his people, with a few attendants, resolved to retire to his old sanctuary *Servia*: but, being scarce out of the suburbs, he is surprised by *Mohammed*, who had advanced before with a select band of foldiers. Despair rendering him valiant, he draws up his men, and fights with great bravery: but being overpowered

(D) The *Turkish* writers seldom give the names of Christian princes, only mention their titles and dominions: as *Majar Kirâli*, king of Hungary; *Nemche Kirâli* king of Germany; *Rûm Tekkuri*, emperor (or governor) of the *Romans*, &c. But it appears from the Christian historians, that this was *George*, Despot of *Servia*, whose daughter *Morâd II.* married, and after

deprived her two brothers of their right. *Cant.*

(E) Prince *Cantemir* says, that the passage of *Mohammed* through *Constantinople*, and the honours paid him there, are not mentioned by any Greek or *Latin* writer, except *Pbranza*: but we shall see hereafter that *Dukas* mentions them; and ascribes his last expedition wholly to the invitation of the emperor *Manuel*.

by

by numbers, at last betakes himself to flight, yet is soon overtaken by a horseman, and brought to his brother, who instantly puts him to death; after he had administered the *Turkish* affairs in *Europe* three years and six months (F). This event happened in the year of the *Hejrah* 816. *Mohammed* to reward the foldier made him one of his counsellors, and and at last advanced him to the prime wazirship. He afterwards became a famous general ^b.

Musa
Chelebi.

Hej. 816.
A. D.
1413.

THE story of *Musa* is told by *Dukas* so differently in almost every circumstance, that we shall give it from that author separately, not fearing to disgust the reader by repetitions. This prince after the death of *Musulmân* (or *Soleymân*) having assembled all the great men of *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, and other provinces, told them: that none but the emperor and the *Greeks* had brought the *Scythians*, *Persians*, and other foreign nations down upon them: that it was not just that *Constantinople* should extend its empire so wide, and possess so great a number of cities, especially *Theffalonika*, which had cost his father *Bâyezîd* so much trouble to subdue: that therefore he was resolved, if possible, to take the mother of cities, and change the temples of idols into temples of God and their prophet.

Designs
against
Greece;

HIS resolution being applauded by the assembly, he marched and subdued *Servia*, which *Stephen*, son of *Lazarus*, had abandoned at the news of his approach. There he ravaged the country, carried off the handsomest young men, and put the rest to the sword, feasting his great officers over the dead bodies of Christians.

subdues

Servia;

SOON after his return he sent to besiege *Theffalonika*; and, having taken every thing which is beyond the *Strymon*, except *Constantinople*, marched towards *Constantinople*. As he found the towns thro' which he passed empty of people, whom *Manuel* had brought into the city, he reduced them to ashes. The besieged were so fortunate in their sallies that they killed three *Turks* for every friend they lost: but as *Musa* could better spare ten soldiers than the emperor one, and, finding he car-

A. D.
1414.

^b CANT. ubi supr. p. 65—68.

(F) The Christian writers differ much from the *Turkish* in the years assigned to the reign of these three sons of *Bayezîd*. They give to *Soleymân* six years; to *Or Khân*, *Musa* (his pretended uncle), and *Mohammed*, four-

teen years; whereas the *Turks*, assigning to the last eight years, and ten months, allow to the three twenty years, two months: so that the interregnum lasted eleven years and four months.

Cant.

A. D. 1414. **Mahomet sent for.** ried on the attack with great vigour, *Manuel* sent to *Mahome* his brother, who was at *Prusa*, to come to his assistance, and try to obtain the *Othmân* empire at the same time. *Mahome* being arrived with his troops at *Skutari*, the emperor went with his gallies and brought him over to *Constantinople*, where he was received with great magnificence. *Mahomet* having been defeated in two battles, he intreated *Manuel* to let him lead his troops towards *Adrianople*; from which course he proposed more advantage to both their affairs than by continuing in the city. The emperor, embracing him, gave his consent and next day *Mahomet* set out, sending one half of his force towards the *Euxine* sea, and directing his march with the other half to *Adrianople*.

Musa defeated, and slain. As soon as *Musa* was informed of his departure, he pursued the troops which went towards the *Euxine* sea, and came up with them; but, being defeated, his soldiers lifted under *Mahomet's* ensigns. *Musa* fled, and fell in a marsh, where he killed an officer of the enemy, who pursued him. One of the officer's servants, willing to revenge his master's death ran at the prince, and, having cut-off one of his arms, went and informed the emperor of what had happened. *Musa* had lost so great a quantity of blood from the wound, that when they came to look for him, they found him fallen-off his horse, and dead. The body was carried to *Mahomet*, who having wept over it, according to custom, sent it to be buried at *Prusa*; after which he returned to *Adrianople*, where he received the homage of the great men^c.

Remark. WE must leave the reader to judge at his leisure, which history deserves belief most, with regard to the affair in question, the *Turkish* or the *Greek*; and shall only observe, that as *Dukas* seems to deserve full credit, especially with regard to the manner of *Mohammed's* obtaining the crown by means of the emperor *Manuel's* invitation, as well as of *Musa's* death, (that author having been upon the spot when those affairs happened): his account as to *Mohammed* appears confirmed by the considerable cessions made by that *Soltân* to the emperor, and the regard he paid him during his reign.

^c DUKAS, c. 19.

C H A P. VI.

The Reign of Mohammed I.

MOHAMMED, immediately after the death of his brother *Musa*, is proclaimed at *Adrianople* emperor of the *Ali Othmán* dominions (A), in the 39th year of his age. But he is scarce warm in the throne before he is threatened to be pulled off it: for *Karamán Oglí* (B) thinking this a proper juncture, when the *Othmáns* were embroiled in civil wars, to crush their power, assembles his forces; and, laying waste all *Bithynia*, encamps under the walls of *Prusa*, burns the suburbs, and closely besieges the city one-and-thirty days. *Mohammed* on this news crosses the straits of *Kallipolis* with his army, and strengthens his forces with those of *Sab Beg* and *Ghermian Oglí*: but *Karamán*, being informed of his coming, instantly withdraws from before *Prusa*, puts on the *Nekkerchief* (C), and entering the emperor's camp, confesses his fault on his knees, and asks pardon; which is granted him, on certain conditions.

NEXT year *Mohammed* erects at *Prusa* a large *Jámi*, *Ina-bumbles* *ret*, and *Madrefeh*, with a spacious *Khán*, or exchange, for the use of merchants. But whilst he thought to take some repose, *Karamán*, hearing that his forces were dismissed, breaks the treaty without cause, and invades his dominions. The emperor, full of indignation, marches against him with chosen troops, and puts him to flight, though he fought

(A) That is, the dominions of the *sons* or *posterity* of *Othmán*: *Ali Othmán* denoting not only the imperial race descended from *Othmán*, but also the whole *Turkish* nation in general. Hence *Tevayfi Ali Othmán*; that is, the *Ali Othmán* bords, or tribes. The emperors are stiled *Ali Othmán Padisháb*; that is, the emperors of the sons of *Othmán*. For this reason, prince *Cantemir* intitled his, *The Ali Othmán History*. Cant. p. 2. Note †.

(B) That is, the son or descendant of *Karamán*: which vague expression is made use of instead of the name of the

prince, through the whole race: so that there is no distinguishing one from another; but the history seems to be speaking always of the same prince. A most barbarous practice, as if, instead of giving our kings since the conquest their proper names, we should call them all by one general appellation, the sons of *William*.

(C) A *Turkish* phrase, signifying surrender, or a petition for grace and favour, called *Aman*. Hence the saying, *he put on the Nekkerchief*; that is, *he declared himself his subject for the future*. Cant.

A. D. 1414. bravely. Both the aggressing prince and his son are taken prisoners; and brought before *Mohammed*, who, reproaching him for his breach of faith, said, *It was thy part to commit the treachery, and it is mine to act agreeably to my dignity: for it is inconsistent with the imperial honour to return like for like to wicked and profligate men.* This spoken, the emperor dismissed him, and restores him his provinces; only placing garrisons in *Sivrihisar*, *Nukteydak*, *Enisbâbri*, *Sedi Shâbri*, *Numâd*, and *Ayn*.

and Isfandiar Beg. *KARAMAN* being thus humbled, *Mohammed* thinks it proper to chastise *Isfindar Beg*, prince of *Kastamoni*, who was his confederate in the expedition. Accordingly, marching against him, he takes the principal towns of that country and *Janik*. Next year he reduces other places, as *Buri*, *Figha*, *Tofia*, *Bakirkuresi*, with *Changhîri*, where *Isfindiar* resided, and distributes that prince's great treasures among the soldiers (D). At the same time he builds a stately palace (E) at *Amasia*^d.

Walakhians pay tribute: A. D. 1414. performs his treaty. *DUKAS* places this transaction somewhat later in time. According to that historian, the emperor *Manuel*, presently after *Mohammed's* elevation to the empire, sent some of his chief officers to put him in mind of the promises he had made him while at *Constantinople*. The new *Soltân* faithfully discharged his engagements, restoring the forts about the *Euxine* sea and the *Propontis*, with those of *Theffaly*. And at dismissing the ambassadors, loaded with presents, said, *Tell the emperor my father, that having been established by his succours and the grace of God in the throne of my ancestors, I shall for the time to come be as obedient to his will as a son ought to be to the will of his father; nor will ever fail to acknowledge his favours. Whatever he orders me to do, I shall execute with pleasure and dispatch.* He gave likewise a kind reception to the ambassadors of *Servia*, *Walakhia*, *Bulgaria*, of duke *Jaannina*, the *Despot* of *Lacedemon*, and the prince of *Akhaia*; did them the honour to make them eat at his table, drank to their health; and at their audience of leave said, *Tell your masters that I offer them peace; that I ac-*

^d CANT. ubi supr. p. 72.

(D) It is common to promise all the goods of the enemy, unless the city is taken by surrender; the walls only, and government of it, being reserved to the emperor. *Cant.* The marginal note of prince *Cante-*

mir's history says *Isfindiar* was taken and slain.

(E) For a place of retirement and diversion; this city having been an appendage for younger children.

cept of that which they offer me, and that I hope the God of peace will punish those who violate it. A. D. 1414.¹

AFTERWARDS Manuel, failing to the *Morea*, reduced to his obedience the prince of *Akbaia*, and the *Navarrois*. Then leaving his son the *Despot* (F) behind, in his return conferred, at *Kallipoli*, with *Soltân Mahomet*, who went aboard his gally, and dined with him. *Morea reduced.*

IT is here *Dukas* tells us, that *Mahomet*, having settled *Prusa* re- the affairs of *Europe*, passed into *Asia*, and rebuilt the edifices built. which had been burned at *Prusa* by *Karamân* : who had plundered that city, and burnt the body of *Bayezîd*, in revenge for having put his father to death at *Kogni*. But this invasion, he says, happened while the *Soltân* was at war with *Musa*; which is consistent enough with the *Turkish* account; and he places the chastisement of it some years (G) after.

MOHAMMED after this marches against *Cineis* : who, *Chusaid* a little before the *Soltân* had declared himself against his takes brother *Musa*, fled from *Thrace* (H); and, passing into *Asia*, *Ephesus*, raised an army of *Smyrnians* and *Thyreans* (I), with which he took *Ephesus*; and, putting *Musulmân's* governor to death, resumed the power of a sovereign prince. The refusal of *Cineis* to surrender the places which he had seized, was the occasion of this expedition of the *Soltân*; who, having taken from him the city *Cîma*, the fort of *Archangel*, called by the *Turks* *Kaghiasik*, situate in the field of *Menomena*, with the city of *Nymphæum*, at length sat down before *Smyrna*, where *Cineis* had left his mother, his children, and *Bayezîd* his brother, being retired himself to *Ephesus*. On the first news of the *Soltân's* arrival, the governors of the neighbouring islands, who hated *Cineis*, ran to receive him. The princes of *Phœcea*, *Karmiân* prince of the *Higher Phrygia*, *Mentakbia*, prince of *Karia*, the prince of *Lesbos*, the prince of *Khio*, the great master of *Rhodes*, and others, came to wait on him, and were received as kindly as if they had been his brethren.

(F) This was *Theodore*, who, as well as his elder brother *Jobn*, had been proclaimed emperor; and was made *Despot* of *Lacedæmon* in the *Morea*.

(G) In or after the year 1419, and the expedition against *Cineis*. He says, that *Mahomet*, to revenge the ashes of his ancestors, went and took *Kogni* (or *Ikonium*), burning several towns and villages in his

way : but that, afterwards, he pardoned *Karamân*, who had fled, and restored him his province, on promise of fidelity to the *Oghmân* family. *Dukas*, c. 22.

(H) *Musulman*, or *Soleyman*, had made him governor of *Bulgaria*.

(I) *Thyra*, or *Tyrea*, a city near *Smyrna*. *Dukas* 19. Still in being.

A. D. 1419: The city having been surrendered to him on the 10th day of the siege, in which he was assisted by those princes, he demolished the fortifications, and beat down the walls in several places; but suffered the inhabitants to continue there.

The citadel demolished. He likewise, during the night, ordered the citadel to be ruined; which, having been destroyed by *Timār*, the grand master of *Rhodes* had half rebuilt, in spite of *Cineis*. He was excited to this by the *Mohammedans* in those parts, who complained that it served to encourage the *Ionian* slaves to run away from their masters. The great master, who was very angry at this proceeding, threatened to make reprisals on his coasts, unless he suffered him to rebuild that fort. *Mohammed* answered with great moderation, and, after shewing the necessity there was of destroying that fort, as it was a continual cause of quarrels between the knights of *Rhodes* and the *Turks*, gave him leave to build another fort on the borders of *Karia* and *Lycea* (K). He heard no less favourably the demands of the princes of *Khio*, *Lesbos*, and the *Phoceans*, sending them all away well satisfied. He likewise pardoned *Cineis*; who came and took the oath of fidelity to him. Then giving the government of that province to the son of *Alexander Sufman*, whom he had brought over to his religion, he returned into *Europe*.

Chuneid
Beg sub-
mits.

Turkish
fleet de-
stroyed
A. D.
1419.

WHEN *Mohammed* came to *Kallipoli*, he sent a fleet against the duke of *Naxos* and other islands in the *Archipelago*, because he had not been to salute him, either at *Smyrna*, or since his return. The fleet, consisting of thirty gallies, both of two and three banks of oars, commanded by *Ghiali Beg*, landed at the isles of *Andros*, *Paros*, and *Milos*, where they did great mischief. The *Venetians* in the spring came to assist the duke, who was in their interest, with ten gallies, seven of which passed up the straits of *Hellepont* as far as *Lampsakus*, in order to meet the *Turks*; who, coming out of the harbour of *Kallipolis*, the *Venetians* began the attack on the admiral-galley, and slew all the men with the admiral himself: they served the rest of the vessels in the same manner,

by the Ve-
netians.

(K) Accordingly we are told afterwards, that the grand master of *Rhodes*, having carried materials by sea into *Karia*, went and built the fort *St. Peter* on a mountain there. *Mantakbia Eliebeg* advanced, with design to hinder the work; but returned without doing any thing. The grand master left several knights of his order to guard it, and receive the *Turkish* slaves who escaped thither; who are called the freed of *St. Peter* to this day. *Dukas*, c. 22. This by the *Greek* chronology seems to be referred to the year 1419.

in sight of the wives and children of the *Turks*, who stood on shore. In the evening they founded a retreat, and carried back to *Tenedos* twenty-seven galleys of the enemy; where they put to death all the *Turks*, and such Christians as were in their pay.

A. D.

1419.

NEXT spring the *Venetian* fleet came to attack a tower of *Lampsakus*, built by *Musuhman*: but, being hindered to land by *Khamsas*, brother of the grand wazîr *Bayezid*, who commanded a body of 10,000 men, they went to *Constantinople*, after having beat down half of the tower from their ships.

ABOUT the same time one *Preklighia Mostafa*, a *Turkish* Pretended peasant, signalized himself by preaching up a voluntary poverty, and the having every thing in common, except women. He wore only a single coat, and went with his head and feet bare. He appeared near the mountain *Stilairum*, at the mouth of the *Ionic* gulf, opposite the isle of *Khio*. His disciples pretended to be very fond of Christians, and even to believe the same faith. Two of them were sent by him to an old *Greek* monk in *Kandia*; who, after that, cried up *Preklighia*, pretending he was in the same monastery with himself at *Samos*, and that he crossed the sea (I) every day to converse with him. *Sufman's* son, who had the government of *Iania*, marching against *Preklighia*, was defeated by the inhabitants of the mountain, who gathered to the number of six thousand. They in like manner put to flight *Hali Beg*, governor of *Lydia*, and killed a great number of his men.

ON this news *Soltân Mohammed* sent his son *Amurat* (or taken and *Morâd*), only twelve years old, accompanied by his grand wazîr *Bayezid*; who, forcing the passes of the mountains with their troops, put all the inhabitants to the sword, till they came to the place which was guarded by men with one coat, where they met with stout resistance: but, after losing a great many men, the false monk and his disciples were obliged to surrender. They were all put to death, not one of them recanting. The impostor himself, after enduring various torments, was nailed to a cross, and carried through the streets of *Ephefus*. They believed he would come again; and *Dukas*, our author, met with a monk who affirmed that he was not dead. *Bayezid* led his army back through *Asia* and *Lydia*, where he slew all the *Turkish* monks he met with, who made profession of voluntary poverty.

AT his return to *Adrianople*, *Mohammed* gave his son *Morâd* at *Morâd*, though so young, the government of *Amasia*, under *Amasia*.

(I) It is to be understood, as he sent the *Greek* monk word that he crossed the sea on foot, he would do.

A. D. 1421. an intimacy with *Bayezid* (P), *Mohammed's* prime *Wazir*, to whom he betrayed the secrets of the *Romans*; whereby he arrived to such a degree of honour that he became the emperor's chief interpreter, and often dined with *Bayezid*, and *Mohammed* himself: yet although he was suspected by the *Romans*, the emperor never had the least distrust of him. But the sudden death of *Mohammed* ruined all his evil designs^f.

Mohammed dies. Hej. 824. A. D. 1421. WE must return once more to the *Turkish* historians, to finish the reign of *Mohammed*. According to them, the rebellion being quelled, that prince, in 824, takes *Eski Gheliboli*, or *Old Kallipolis* (Q), *Tarkli* (R), and *Herghe*: but at his return from this expedition he is seized with a flux, of which he died (S). *Murâd*, his eldest son, whom he had appointed by will for his successor, being then at war with part of the army in *Rum-ili* (or *Thrace*), the prime wazir *Ibrahim* (T) conceals the emperor's death for one-and-forty days, in such a manner that not one of the lords of the court had the least intimation of it, whilst himself directed affairs as if by his order. At *Murâd's* return he delivers up to him the army and kingdom. This *Ibrahim* is called by the *Turks*

^f DUKAS, c. 21, 22.

(P) This *Bayezid*, according to *Dukas*, was an *Albanian* slave, who had followed *Mohammed* in all his misfortunes. He suffered incredible fatigues to serve him; when, after the death of his father, he was briskly pursued by the forces of *Tamerlan* in the mountains of *Galatia*, near *Ancyra*. His feet being so swelled with walking that he could no longer go, *Bayezid* carried him on his shoulders for several days, till he got into his father's dominions. He almost famished himself to supply *Mohammed*, and went in the habit of a monk through the towns and villages begging bread for him to eat.

(Q) The antient *Kallipolis* seems to have been a fortress

placed at the *Hellepont*; but is now either destroyed, or lost under another name. *Cant*.

(R) Or *Tarakli*, as elsewhere written.

(S) According to *Dukas*, he was taken with an apoplexy as he was hunting, and died of a second fit the next day.

(T) *Dukas* makes two *Wazirs*, this *Ibrahim* and *Bayezid*, above mentioned, whom he represents as the prime *Wazir*. The same author says, that *Mahomet's* body was concealed for forty days, from all but the two *Wazirs* and two physicians, who made a shew of visiting him every day, and used many arts to amuse the great officers of the court with an account of the state of his health.

their

their *Ulysses*, and had the title of *Khân* (U) given him by the new emperor for this piece of service ². A. D.
1421.

ACCORDING to *Dukas*, when *Mohammed* was near his end, he sent for his wazir *Bayezîd*, and conjured him to set his son *Murâd* on the throne. The two youngest, one eight, the other but seven years old, he assigned to the care of the emperor *Manuel*, for fear *Murâd* should strangle them; as he afterwards did. The *Soltân* thought by this means he had secured the throne to his eldest son, and the lives of the younger; while the emperor conceived great hopes of keeping *Amurat* within bounds, by threatening him with his hostages, or making them his friends in case they succeeded to the *Othmân* empire; but the event shewed that both were mistaken in their conjectures ¹. His sons.

MOHAMMED lived forty-seven years, and reigned eight years ten months. A *Soltân* famed for justice and clemency. He is extolled not only for restoring the *Othmân* empire from the low condition it was reduced to by the invasion of *Timûr*, and more destructive quarrel of his brothers (X); but also for leaving it enlarged to his successors ¹. Reign and
character.

DUKAS observes, that all his predecessors had died violent deaths; and imputes his easy departure as a reward for his keeping his engagements with the *Greeks*, and treating with so much gentleness other Christian nations; having been at peace with all except the *Venetians* ².

A. D.
1421.

¹ CANT. ubi supr. p. 76.

² DUKAS, c. 22.

¹ CANT.

ubi supr. p. 77.

² DUKAS, c. 22.

(U) Prince *Cantemir*, in a note, gives a large account of the family of this *Ibrahim Khân*, and the great privileges which they enjoy. Among which are those of making use only of concubines instead of wives; of being visited twice a year by the *Soltân*; and of the *Soltân's*

rising a little from his seat when they enter.

(X) Both Christian and *Turkish* historians agree, that after the defeat of *Bayezîd* the *Othmân* affairs were reduced to so low an ebb, that had the Christian princes united, they might at least have driven the *Turks* out of *Europe*. *Cant.*

A. D.

1422.

C H A P. VII.

The Reign of Murâd II.

6. *Soltân*, *MORAD* was but eighteen years of age in 825, when *Murâd II.* his father died, and he ascended the throne. Soon after *Hej. 825.* an obscure person (different from the other impostor) (A) *A. D.* assumed the name of *Mostafa*, son of *Bayezîd*. This man, *1422.* who first appeared about *Salonîki* (or *Thessalonika*), soon gained so much credit by his name, that he persuaded not only the common people, but the *European* soldiers, with many officers, that he was the very person he pretended to be. After he had allured to his interest all *Rumelia*, and assembled a considerable army, he, with the connivance of the *Greek* emperor (B), passed into *Asia*, in order to seize *Prusa*, the seat of the *Othmân* empire.

Another *MORAD* sends the prime *Wazîr Bayezîd* into *Asia*, *Mostafa* rises: with chosen troops, to stifle the flame in its birth: but, being met by *Mostafa*, he is killed, and his forces routed. The *Soltân* upon this repairs to *Seyd Bekhar*, a holy man, who, in the opinion of *Turks*, could obtain of God whatever he prayed for; and desires his mediation for a blessing on his

(A) Prince *Cantemir* affirms this without any proof; and supposes the *Greeks* favoured the imposture, in order to avert the last danger, as he phrases it. But it appears from the *Greek* account, that he was the same person who opposed *Mohammed*; who, in the treaty made between him and the emperor, seems to consider him as his real brother. Nay, *Cantemir* himself confesses in his history, p. 83, note (11), that the *Turks* allow that the counterfeit *Mostafa* so exactly resembled the true, that they who had before been about the latter as his guards, affirmed that he was the same. Neither was the emperor under the necessity which *Cantemir* supposes to set up a pretender; since the empire was much enlarged, and him-

self raised in credit, since the death of *Bayezîd*; in whose time his dominions were confined to the walls of *Constantinople*. Besides, it would have been both base and impolitic in him to have espoused the part of one he knew to be an impostor against his benefactor *Mohammed*.

(B) *Cantemir* says, he should have taken this for a calumny of the *Turks*, for a pretence to make war against the *Grecians*, did not *Phranza*, lib. i. c. 39 and 40, tell us, that *Mostafa* was brought by *John Paleologus* out of *Peloponnesus* (or the *Morea*) to *Kallipolis*, and set over the western parts of the (*Turkish*) empire, though earnestly desired by *Morâd* not to lend him any assistance. *Cant. Dukas* writes to the same effect.

arms.

arms. The faint having gained his point by the intercession of *Mohammed* the prophet (C), girds the *Soltân* with a sword, and sends him forth with a *go-on and prosper, most august emperor, for victory attends you*. *Morâd*, on this encouragement, leads his army against the counterfeit *Mostafa*; who undauntedly waited his coming near *Ulubâd* (D), the bridge of which he ordered to be broken down. The *Soltân* encamps on the other side of the river, in expectation of the promised assistance from heaven, and perhaps to extinguish by delay the first heat of sedition. However that be, on the seventh day of this suspension of hostilities the impostor was seized with a violent bleeding of the nose, which held him three days. His soldiers, considering this accident as sent from God to blast his designs, desert him in the night. This obliges him to follow: but, not being able, by reason of his great weakness, caused by loss of blood, to fly fast enough, he was over-taken, extremely ill, in the town of *Kara Agaj*, by *Morâd*; by whose command he was instantly beheaded¹.

THE history of *Mostafa*, and the occasion of his appearance, may be better understood, we conceive, from the *Greek* than the *Turkish* historians; who seem to have concealed some facts, and altered others, to serve their partial views. According to *Dukas*, *Mohammed* being interred at *Prusa*, and *Amurat* proclaimed, their next care was to secure peace in the east, by a treaty with *Karamân*, and then settle matters with the emperor. But *Manuel* prevented them, by sending ambassadors to compliment *Morâd*, and demand his two bro-

*The emperor dis-
obliged:*

¹ CANT. p. 78—81.

(C) The history relates, that *Seyd Bekbar* being by way of extasy snatched up the following night into heaven, sees the pure and immaculate spirit of *Mohammed*; and, thrice kissing the dust of his feet, beseeches him as often to obtain victory for *Morâd*. To this petition *Mohammed* at length answers, *for my sake the divine majesty has heard Morâd's prayers; and therefore tell him, God will be with him, and give him victory*. This idle passage, which would dishonour the text, may deserve a place in our notes, to shew

to what silly extravagances the great as well as small are carried by the frenzy of superstition. Prince *Cantemir* observes on this occasion, that the *Turks*, though they hold the dead give no assistance to the living (from whence, says he, the heretics of our age have sucked their poison), yet believe, that *Mohammed's* soul, by a peculiar privilege, hears and conveys the prayers of men to the throne of God.

(D) Or *Loupadion*, about 30 miles from *Prusa*, to the south-west.

thers,

A. D. 1422. **thers**, of whom he was left guardian by *Mohammed's* will. They had orders also to let him know, that if he refused they had another successor to establish in his place, who would soon be master of *Macedonia* and *Thrace*, as well as of *Asia* and the east, in a little time after. The emperor communicated this design to *Mostafa* himself.

sets up
Mostafa, **BAYEZID** answered, in the name of the young *Soltân*, that they were very desirous to preserve peace with the emperor; but could not consent to deliver the children, as it was contrary both to reason and the laws of their Prophet, to suffer the sons of *Musulmâns* to be educated by *Kaburs* (E). The emperor, piqued with this answer, resolved to act pursuant to the conditions on which, as hath been already mentioned, he received *Mostafa*. Accordingly he sent *Demetrius Laskaris Leontarius* with six gallies to *Lemnos*, to bring up that prince and *Cineis*, and then with the troops which were in the gallies to make him governor of *Thrace*.

on certain
conditions. On this occasion *Mostafa* swore never to act contrary to the emperor's will, to obey him as a father, and give his son in pledge of his performance. He promised likewise to deliver *Kallipolis* in the *Kherfonesus*, the countries adjoining to the *Euxine* sea as far as *Walakhia*, and certain places of *Thessaly* as far as *Erissus* and mount *Athos*; which, however, it was no easy matter for him to give, because he was first to take them from the enemy. The conditions being agreed to, they sailed for *Kallipolis*; which city, upon a speech made by *Mostafa*, mixed with promises and threats, surrendered. Then, leaving *Cineis* to attack the citadel, he marched to *Hexamilion*, where he was saluted sovereign by all the country.

Mostafa
defeats WHEN news of this was brought to *Prusa*, the great men about *Amurat* advised him to send *Bayezid*, whom they hated for his pride as well as good fortune, against *Mostafa*. The *Wazîr*, having posted to *Adrianople*, raised an army of 30,000 men; and had not marched far from the city, when he was informed by his scouts, that *Mostafa*, who advanced at the head of very numerous forces by the way of *Kariopolis*, a very populous city lately built by the *Turks*, was near at hand. The armies being in sight, *Bayezid* made a speech against *Mostafa*; telling them, that he heard the Grand Seigneur say that he was *not the real son of Iltrim* (F) *Bayezid*; but an impostor. *Mostafa*, on the other hand, leaving the com-

(E) A corruption of *Gaurs*; that is, *infidels*; for so they call Christians, in the same manner as Christians call them.

(F) A corruption of *Ilderîm*; which signifieth lightening or thunder.

head of the army to *Cineis*, one of the most brave and able commanders of his time, retired to an eminence, and from thence harangued the enemy; telling them, among other things, that it would be easy to make appear he was the son of *Iberim*, and was ready to decide the dispute with his nephew *Amurat* by single combat. He afterwards exhorted them, with promises of great rewards, to join his interests.

THIS speech had such an effect, that the generals (G) who ~~and kills~~ commanded the two wings of the enemy's army, went over to *Bayezid*. *Bayezid*, finding things take so strange a turn, thought it his safest way to submit too; and, alighting from his horse, with his brother *Kamzas*, went and threw himself at the feet of *Mostafa*. But *Cineis*, who owed him a grudge, ordered him to be carried out of the camp, and beheaded; saying at the time of execution, *wicked as you are, you cause men to be deprived of those parts which make them men*: for he had formerly ordered *Adulas*, *Cineis*'s son-in-law, to be castrated (H): however he spared *Kamzas* on account of his youth, and made him his slave, little thinking that he would prove his ruin. *Mostafa* on this success marched to *Adrianople*, where he was joyfully received; and the garrison of the fortress of *Kallipolis*, despairing to defend themselves, gave it up by capitulation.

DEMETRIUS *Leontarius*, who expected to be put *By* *Chus* immediately in possession of the place, according to agree-*neid's ad-* ment, was landing the arms and ammunition out of the gal-*vics* ley to carry them into the citadel, when *Cineis* arrived unexpectedly; and, seeing the *Turks* uneasy at so sudden an alteration, told *Demetrius* very roundly, "that he was not to imagine that they had fought and run so many dangers for his sake; or expect that they would give up the citadels and towns: that he ought to be content with some presents for his services, and be well satisfied that they suffered

(G) In the original, *Soltâns* is put instead of generals, by a custom among the *Greeks*, of confounding distinctions of dignity.

(H) When *Mohammed* was preparing to go and attack *Smyrna*, about 1415, *Bayezid*, who was his *Wazir*, wrote to tell *Cineis*, that in case he would let him have his daughter in marriage, he should enjoy *Ionnia* in peace. *Cineis*, to shew

he rejected this proposal with the greater contempt, gave his daughter in marriage to *Adulas* his slave, first making him free. At the same time uttering reproachful expressions against *Bayezid*; which he bade the messenger tell him. The *Wazir* having soon after taken *Nymphæum*, of which *Adulas* was governor, in revenge to *Cineis*, had him castrated. *Dukas*, c. 21.

A. D.

1422.



breaks his
promise

“ him to return to *Constantinople*; considering the ill treatment they had received at *Lemnos*, and the outrages committed by the monks of a *Pammakariste* monastery.”

DEMETRIUS, no less irritated than surprised at this discourse of *Cineis*, who had no business, he said, to take upon him to talk in such a strain of matters which did not belong to him, went immediately on board his galleys, and waited for the answer of *Mostafa*. This latter soon after came on board, and made an apology for not delivering-up *Kallipolis*; alleging, that it was better to break his oath than injure religion, by putting the pious and faithful into the hands of the wicked and infidels; or subjecting a people, who serve the Deity, under the dominion of others, who are perfect strangers to the God of heaven and earth. He added, that, should he commit such a horrid impiety, the *Musulmâns* would not suffer him to reign over them.

with the
emperor;

DEMETRIUS heard this discourse in the same posture as a lion, whose prey has escaped out of his paws, holding down his head, and for rage beating the earth with his tail^k. By way of answer he reproached the *Othmân* family with breach of faith: He said, “ Or *Khân* kept neither his treaties nor oaths: that *Iltrim Bayezid* imitated his perfidy, and was punished for it, as well as *Musulmân* and *Musa*, his (*Mostafa*’s) two brothers: that none but his brother *Mohamet* had observed his treaties, and found an easy death: that he could not long escape divine vengeance, if he did not alter his conduct.” Then he put him in mind of his obligations to the emperor; telling him, “ that he would have been strangled, if *Manuel* had delivered him up to his brother *Mahomet*: that the *Romans* had, for his sake, borne the reproach of doing what was unjust and criminal; but that, however, they had assisted him, and even raised him to the throne.” *Demetrius* after this set sail for *Constantinople*^l.

who drops
him.

THE emperor *Manuel*, grieved as well as enraged at this disappointment, at length sent to *Morâd*; offering to re-establish his interest, provided he would perform his father’s will, and give him his two young brothers in hostage. Mean time *Mostafa*, having put things in order at *Kallipolis*, returns to *Adrianople*: where, finding in his brother’s palace inestimable treasures, as well as beautiful women, he gave himself up to pleasure; while *Amurat*, who was not yet turned of twenty, committed the same kinds of excesses at *Prusa*. However, he did not so wholly abandon himself to voluptuousness,

^k DUKAS, c. 24.

^l Ibid. c. 23, & seq.

as to neglect the means of recovering what was lost. He had still a great number of able counsellors about him; who, being informed of *Mostafa's* indolence, and in what manner he had served *Leontarius*, they advised him to send *Abraham* (rather *Ibrahim*), son of *Ali*, a wise and virtuous man, who succeeded *Bayezid* as prime *Wazir*, ambassador to *Constantinople*. Being admitted to audience, after mentioning the assistance which he had given *Mahomet* against *Musa*, he desired that the emperor would afford *Amurat* the same succour; promising in recompence to deliver whatever he should demand, excepting *Kallipolis* and his two brothers. But, as the emperor would not agree to those exceptions, the ambassador staid a long time at *Constantinople* without doing any thing.

MEAN time *Cineis*, being informed of the preparations *Mostafa* made by *Amurat*, and that he had not only sent an embassy *grooves in* to the emperor, but had obtained a promise from *John Adorno*, *descent* : governor of new *Foceæ*, to assist him with ships to carry over his forces into *Europe*; he went, and reproaching *Mostafa* with neglecting his affairs, advised him to prevent the enemy, and pass the straits with pretty numerous forces. As soon as *Amurat* knew that *Mostafa* had taken the field, he marched to *Lopadion* with a small army. Besides other good officers, he had with him *Hamza Beg*, brother of *Cineis*, who had followed him from his youth. As they arrived first at the bridge, they broke it down; so that *Mostafa*, not being able to cross the marsh, encamped on the side of it. By this means *Amurat* gained time to assemble his forces, while *Mostafa* could neither pass the morass, which was deep, nor march round it, on account of the length of the way and interposition of mountains.

THE two armies being situated in such a manner as not to be able to offend each other, some of *Amurat's* officers told *deserted by* *Hamza*, that in case his brother *Cineis* could be prevailed on to quit *Mostafa's* interest, they would procure the province of *Atin* (or *Aydin*) for him and his descendants, only swearing fealty to *Amurat*. Next night *Hamza* sent one of his servants, who, by swimming over the marsh, got to the tent of *Cineis*, and proposed an interview from his brother. They met at the place appointed. *Cineis* was not well pleased that they should offer him for his friendship nothing but what was his own before: however, he told his brother, that since he had taken the trouble to come to talk to him about the affair, he would for the future serve *Amurat* faithfully, and fulfil his promise the next night. Adding, that if it had not been for his coming, he intended to have gone into *Ionia*, and perhaps have come to blows with *Atin's* grandson.

A. D.

1422.

who takes
Smyrna.

THE night following, *Cineis*, having ordered candles to lighted up in his tent, departed secretly with seventy cho persons, and made such haste, that he arrived at *Smyrna* the close of the next day; where he was joyfully received by the inhabitants. *Mostafa*, *Atin's* grandson, being informed of this, marched from *Ephesus*, with design to give him battle: but *Cineis*, having gathered an army of about 2,000 *Turks*, his antient friends, in that neighbourhood, met the enemy at *Mausalio*n, and defeated them, killing *Mostafa* himself with a blow of his iron mace. Hereupon his troops submitted, and conducted the victor in triumph to *Ephesus*, where he ordered the corpse of the dead prince to be buried in the tower with those of his ancestors^m.

Mostafa
flies;

As soon as the flight of *Cineis* was known in the camp, the other *Mostafa*, the army, concluding he was gone over to *Amurat*, began to retreat in great confusion; while the enemy cried-out to them, *Dur, dur Katlan*; that is, *Stop, and don't fly*: for as the bridge was broken, they could not come near them. However, *Amurat*, having repaired it the same day with long beams of timber, got out and pursued the enemy, many of whom joined him; while *Mostafa*, posting to *Lampsakus*, crossed over to *Kallipolis* with only four servants, and there gathered what soldiers he could. Mean time *Amurat* dispatched a courier to *Foce*a, to inform *Adorno* of what had happened, and order him to repair to the straits with all his ships; which being ready, were at *Lampsakus* as soon as the *Soltân*. This prince with his troops immediately went on board to the great chagrin of *Mustafa*: who, seeing seven great ships with a number of barks advancing towards his coast, sent to offer *Adorno* 50,000 crowns not to land *Amurat* in *Europe*; which he refused. In spite of opposition he put on shore 500 *Franks* at *Kallipolis*; who, advancing a mile from the coast, gave opportunity to *Amurat* to land with the rest of the troops; which, falling on the enemy, soon routed them with great slaughter. *Mostafa* retired to *Adrianople*; and carrying off the treasure, fled into *Walakhia*.

taken, and
slain.

AMURAT, having staid three days at *Kallipolis*, hasted to *Adrianople*, at the head of a numerous army. There he feasted *Adorno* and his 2000 *Italians*; remitted him the arrears due for alom (F); gave him the fort of *Peritheorion* in the west; and the commerce of *Foce*a for life. He likewise

^m DUKAS, c. 25.

(F) This alom is got in a *Foce*a; of which *Dukas* gives a mountain to the east of *New* large account, cap. 25.

gav

gave them all presents, and, with the greatest testimonies of gratitude, sent them home. At the same time, to pursue his blow, he sent several bold young men after *Mostafa*; who, coming up with him at the *Danube*, brought him back to the city. *Amurat* ordered him to be hanged in the public market-place, to confirm by the ignominy of his punishment the common opinion of people, that he was no other than an impostor set-up by the emperor *Manuel*; although in reality he was the son of *Bây-ezîd* ^a.

A. D.

1422.

FROM this and many other instances of the great disagreement there is between the *Turkish* and *Greek* writers, the reader may perceive the absolute necessity which an author is often under of varying his method of compiling history: for such incompatible accounts of affairs will not admit of being blended together. On the other hand, to give the history only from one side; or sometimes from one, sometimes from the other, at the compiler's pleasure, would be attended with partiality and imperfection, as we find too often the case to be. The only way therefore to avoid those blemishes, is to give, as we have done, their accounts separately, where they happen to differ so irreconcilably: being sure that every judicious reader will rather pardon a little prolixity, than a conciseness which renders the history defective or obscure. Let us now return to the *Turkish* authors.

THE rebellion being thus quashed, the *Soltân* resolves to chastise *Karamân Oglî*, named *Mehemed Beg*; who, on the *Oglî Wazîr Bayezîd*'s defeat before-mentioned, thinking the *Othmân* affairs in a desperate state, resolved to seize part at least of *Murâd*'s dominions. With this view he attacks *Andalia*, in hopes it would quickly surrender for want of relief: but, being killed from the walls by a cannon ball, the *Karmahians* choose another general of the same name, and hastily raise the siege. *Ganze Beg*, governor of the city, seeing the enemy retiring in disorder, sallies out to pursue them. In taking the enemy's camp he finds *Othmân Beg*, sovereign of *Tekke* (G), who was come to *Karamân*'s assistance, just dead of an acute distemper (H): but, not suffering him to breathe his last, cuts off his head, and then subdues his territories.

^a DUKAS, c. 27.

(G) A country not far from *Kutabiyab*. So called perhaps from some *Tekke* (or monastery). *Othmân Beg* seems to be one of the *Persian* (or *Seljuk*) governors so often mentioned. *Cant.*

(H) The *Turks* will have this to be a miracle, in confirmation of *Sheykh Bekhar*'s prediction. So strangely are men prepossessed with any prevailing superstition. *Cant.*

I 2

MORAD

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A. D.
1422.

Mostafa's
rebellion.

MORAD at his return to *Adrianople* intends to settle the state of the empire; but is prevented by the rebellion of his younger brother *Mostafa Cholebi* (I): who, allured by the deceitful counsels of the *Greeks*, rebels in *Assa*, seizes *Nicta*, but weakly garrisoned; and, being supplied with all necessities by his abettors, strongly fortifies it. *Mostafa* (who besides the *Greek* soldiers had only a few plunderers), not daring to meet his brother in the field, shuts himself up in that city: but, being vigorously besieged by *Murâd*, on the 25th day, it was taken, with his brother; whom he ordered to be strangled in his presence.

Constantinople
besieged.

THE occasion of this rebellion is set forth by *Dukas*; who, introductory to it, relates a very material piece of history, omitted likewise by the *Turkish* writers. *Morâd*, says that author, having ascended the throne in the beginning of winter, made great preparations the spring following to besiege *Constantinople*. Hereupon *John Paleologus*, to whom for a long time *Manuel*, on account of his great age, had left the management of his affairs, sent ambassadors to try to make up the breach between the two courts, laying the fault on the late *Wazîr Bayezîd*, who had refused to put the two young princes into the emperor's hands, pursuant to their father's will; and treated his ambassadors very unworthily. But *Morâd*, without hearing or even seeing those ambassadors, kept them till all things were ready for the siege, and then dismissed them; saying, *Assure your master that I will be with him presently*. In short, not many days after he invested *Constantinople* with 200,000 men. The inhabitants suspecting that *Korax* the theologian, before-mentioned, had contrived some plot against the city, to be revenged for not being sent with the ambassadors to the *Turkish* court, with which he kept a close correspondence; the emperor *Manuel*, to remove those suspicions, and appease the tumult, sent *Korax* to *Morâd*, to dispose him to peace.

Korax
suspected;

SOME say he was able to obtain no terms in the emperor's favour; others pretend that he promised to deliver up the city, on condition to have the government of it; and that one of his intimate friends heard the proposal. In effect, after he had given account of his embassy, the person who had discovered the treason declared it, and produced his witnesses. Hereupon the emperor commanded both parties to be con-

* CANT. Othmân Hist. p. 82, & seq.

(I) The same whom *Phranza* calls *Muslaphopulus*; and *Constantinople* after the siege was raised by *Morâd*. Cant. who, he says, came into Con,

finéd

fixed till next day; and, at the request of the *Kandim*, who were his guards, delivered *Korax* to be examined by them, and condemned, if culpable. After having forced a confession by torture, they carried him before the palace-gate, and plucked out his eyes, with unheard-of inhumanity. He died three days after in prison. His rich moveables were pillaged, by the populace, and his house burned. *Morâd* was greatly concerned at the death of *Korax*; and being informed, that *Mikhael Pilla*, a native of *Ephesus*, of noble descent, but of very profligate morals, was the only occasion of it, the *Turks* seized; and, after tormenting him without pity, would have burned him, if he had not prevented punishment by turning *Mohammedan*. A. D. 1424.
 is cruelly butchered.

ALTHOUGH *Manuel* was almost reduced to death by extreme weakness, yet he studied how to embarrass *Amurat*. This *Soltân* having put to death one of his two brothers; *Eliaz*, cup-bearer to his father, fled with the other named *Mostafa*, into *Paphlagonia*. The old emperor, being informed of this, sent to *Eliaz* to bring the young king to *Prusa*, and remitted him money to raise troops. While *Amurat* amused himself with preparing machines, and making slight skirmishes before *Constantinople*, a courier brings him news, that *Mostafa* was acknowledged *Soltân* by the inhabitants of *Prusa*, and that *Eliaz* had carried him to *Nicea*: hereupon he broke up the siege, after three months leaguer, and returned to *Adrianople*. At which time, *Manuel*, a very mild and wise prince, died, and left the empire to his son *John*; who, tho' the last of the *Roman* emperors in order of time, was one of the first on account of his merit. Mostafa's rebellion: A. D. 1424.

AMURAT staid but three days at *Adrianople*; when, taking with him a small number of horse and foot, he passed over secretly into *Asia*; and, being come near to *Nicea*, gave notice to his friends in that city, who, having raised a tumult in his favour, opened the gates, and received him in with his followers. There seizing his brother *Mostafa*, no more than six years old, he had him strangled, and his guards slain. He ordered the body, after he had viewed it, to be carried to *Prusa*; there to be buried. Thus far *Dukas* P.

IN 827, *Morâd* married the daughter of *Laz Oglî* (I), the *Isfandiar* *Helena* of the *Servians*, and of her time. Next year, he demarches against *Isfandiar Beg*, prince of *Sinab* (K) (or *Sifacated*:

P *DUKAS*, c. 28.

(I) The son or descendant of *Lazarus*, Despot of *Servia*. in a note, says, is a country of *Asia Minor*: but we find no such

(K) It is in the oriental *Sinab*; which Prince *Gantemir*, there. It is written *Sinope* afterwards.

Hej. 827. *nope*) ; who, fearing the *Othmân* power, resolves to attempt
 A. D. to weaken it. As he could not do it by force, he tries policy.
 1424. To amuse *Morâd*, he makes peace with him, and gives his
 son *Kasîm Beg* in hostage : but as soon as the *Soltân* had dis-
 banded his army, he rushes out with forces he had long
 been preparing, and destroys the neighbouring cities of *Ta-
 rakli* and *Burni*. *Morâd* instantly assembles his troops ; and,
 passing into *Asia*, is met at *Bolova* by the nobles of *Sinab* ;
 who, disclaiming the rashness of their prince, intreat him to
 depose *Isfandiar Beg*, and make his hostage son their gover-
 nor. *Isfandiar Beg*, alarmed at this unexpected proceeding,
 repairs forthwith to the *Soltân*, begs pardon, and offers his
 second son in hostage, with his only daughter, of incomparable
 beauty, in marriage (L) ; and thus appeases the storm.

Smyrna
 taken :

MORAD, in his return from this expedition, takes *Iz-
 mîr* (or *Smyrna*), and the adjacent countries of *Montesba*,
Aydın (M), and *Sarikhân* (N), with all the territories belong-
 ing to *Hamid Oglî* ⁹.

Chuneid
 Beg sum-
 moned :

To this time must be referred *Morâd's* expedition against
Chuneid Beg, or *Cineis*, though not mentioned by *Saadi Ef-
 fendi*. The *Soltân*, says *Dukas*, on his return to *Adrianople*,
 studied how to reduce *Cineis* ; to whom he dispatched an or-
 der, requiring him to send him his son immediately according
 to agreement, in case he desired to preserve his friendship ;
 for that he was going to pass the *Danube* : letting him know,
if he disobeyed, that he would treat him as it should please God.
Cineis only returned this short answer, *Do what pleases your-
 self, the success depends on God*.

he is de-
 feated :

WHEN the *Soltân* had assembled all his forces, he placed
 at the head of them one *Halil* (or *Khalil*), a *Roman* by birth,
 who had espoused the sister of the *Wazîr Bayezîd*, slain by
Cineis. This last, hearing that *Halil* was on his march to *Phi-
 ladelphia*, advanced to meet him as far as *Thiatyra*. His
 youngest son, named *Kûrt*, or *the wolf*, began the battle by
 attacking the main body of the *Soltân's* army ; which, open-
 ing to let them pass, received no damage. *Halil*, presuming
 that the young unexperienced commander would return the

⁹ CANT. ubi. supr. p. 87.

(L) He did not marry her till
 four years after : and of her was
 born, Hej. 838, A.D. 1438, the
Great Mobammed, conqueror of
Constantinople, and scourge of
Christendom. Cant. p. 85,

(M) A town of the province
 of *Montesba*. Cant.

(N) Or *Citron-Inn*, a town of
 the same country, and the coun-
 try itself. Cant.

same

same way, ordered his soldiers to hide their white turbâns. Mean time, *Cineis* stood ready to attack the front of *Halil's* army, while his son *Kûrt* charged it in the rear. As this last returned with a slow pace, slaying all in his way, he heard the sound of trumpets, and saw upon a hill troops, with ensigns resembling his father's; who he concluded had routed the enemy. But finding, when he drew near, that they were *Halil's* troops, he fled; and, being hotly pursued, was taken.

As soon as this was known to *Cineis*, he retired with his army towards the mountains of *Smyrna*; and arrived at length at *Hyßfela*, a small city on the *Ionian Sea*, over-against *Samos*; where he had ships and military stores ready to serve him in case of need. *Halil* sent *Kûrt* to *Morâd*, who imprisoned him and his uncle *Hamza*; and, making *Halil* governor of the province he had reduced, sent *Kamza*, his brother-in-law, the brother of *Bayezîd*, the late *Wazîr*, to command the army in his room, with orders to pursue *Cineis*. Mean time, *Cineis* went to *Amorium*, with a view to persuade *Karamân*, Soltân of *Kogni* (or *Ikonium*) to join him against *Morâd*: but, as that prince could not trust him since his desertion to *Musulmân*, the other could not prevail. However, he obtained of him a large sum of money and 500 men.

WITH this recruit, *Cineis* returned to *Hyßfela*, and held out bravely against the enemy; who were 25,000 men. Their general *Kamza*, finding that he made no progress against a fort, which stood on a hill, desired *Morâd* to send him some *Genoese* vessels to attack the place by sea, toward which it lay open. *Adorno* being dead, one *Palavicini* undertook the affair; and, appearing before the place with three ships, struck the inhabitants with terror: so that *Cineis*, finding the day after that his soldiers began to mutiny, sent to offer to surrender the place to *Halil*, who commanded in *Kamza's* absence, on condition that he should save his life, and either carry or send him to *Morâd*. These terms being sworn to, *Cineis* and his brother *Bayezîd* waited on *Halil*; who received them civilly, and gave them a tent to repose in. But *Kamza*, returning to the camp in the evening, and being informed by *Halil* of what had happened, sent four executioners, who knocked *Cineis* in the head while he was asleep, and cut-off the head of his brother; not sparing a little child of his. As soon as those heads arrived at *Adrianople*, *Amurat* sent to inflict the same punishment on *Kûrt* and his uncle *Hamza*; which put an end to the family of *Cineis*.

Hej. 830. LET us now return to the *Turkish* historians. The east A.D. being thus quieted, in 830, he turns his arms against the Venetians, lays waste the island of *Janta* (or *Zante*), takes the castle called *Ghiogherjinlik*; or *pidgeon-house*; and returns to *Adrianople* with great spoils. The same year, near *Erghene* (O), he orders to be built, at a vast expence, a bridge of cut-stone, with 72 arches; and on the west side a *Jami*, *Bath*, *Imaret*, and *Khân*.

Ghermi-
an Oglî's
surrender.
A. D.
1427. IN the year 831, *Ghermian Oglî* repairs to *Morád's* court, and voluntarily delivers to him the keys of all his towns. In return, the *Soltân*, after an honourable reception given him, loaded him with royal presents, and makes him perpetual *Sanjak* of *Ipsalam*.

AFTER this, in order to subdue what yet remained in *Greece* under the dominion of the emperor of *Constantinople*, he assembles both his *Asiatic* and *European* forces; with which, meeting no opposition, he takes *Selanik* (or *Thessalonika*), *Atineh* (*Athens*), and *Kartineh*. All *Greece* being thus subdued, he, with a great number of captives and cattle, returns to *Ederneh* (or *Adrianople*).

Greece
subdued.

HERE again the *Greek* historian must be called in to supply the deficiency, if not to rectify the mistakes of the *Turkish*. At the time that *Amurat* sent an army against *Cineis*, he dispatched ambassadors into *Walakhia* and *Servia*, to notify his advancement, and concluded a peace with the *Waywodes* of those countries: but conceived an irreconcilable hatred against the emperor *John*. Not being able to take *Constantinople*, he turned his arms against the *Morea*, and the maritime places about the mouth of the *Strymon*. He sent also a numerous army to invest *Thessalonika*, and ruin the neighbouring parts about that city and *Setunion*. However, at length, the emperor obtained a peace by giving up to him the cities and towns on the *Euxine* sea; likewise the forts, which he had not been able to take by force, as *Mesembria*, *Derkos*, *Setunion*, and some others on the *Strimon*: besides which he was to pay him 300,000 aspers yearly.

Emperor
pays tri-
bute.

THE *Soltân*, being now freed from enemies, passed over to *Prusa*, and from thence marched to *Ephesus*; where he received ambassadors from all parts. The *Venetians* were the only *Christian* nation who sent none. The reason was this.

* CANT. p. 84.

(O) A marshy place, half *Ederne*. Cant. Or *Edrene*; that way between *Constantamiyeh* and is, *Constantinople* and *Adrianople*.

During

During the time that the *Despot Andronikus*, third son of the emperor *Manuel*, commanded at *Thessalonika*, after *Mestafa* left *Lemnos*, and before *Amurat* besieged *Constantinople*, *Thessalonika* was so straitly besieged by the governors of the neighbouring *Turkish* provinces, that the inhabitants, reduced to the last extremity, without hopes of relief, against the will of the *Despot*, sent to the *Venetians*, and delivered up the city to them. The *Turks*, vexed to see the prey thus snatched out of their hands, redoubled their attacks; and the scarcity be-
 ginning to be very great in the city, the *Venetians*, fearing that the inhabitants, pressed with hunger, would drive them out again, and receive the *Turks*; sent off the principal citizens to different parts of their dominions, under pretence that there were not provisions in the place sufficient for their subsistence; and put several to death in their passage, as if guilty of treason.

A. D.
1429.

WHEN *Morâd* returned to *Adrianople*, the *Venetians* sent to *Saloniki* demand peace of him: but he sent word, that he would grant them none, unless they would abandon *Thessalonika*. Soon after, he dispatched *Kamza*, with the troops of the east, to besiege that city; and followed himself to be present at the general assault. The garrison being in no proportion to the compass of the walls, and the besiegers at least a hundred to one, they scaled them without much opposition; and, opening the gates, let in the whole army: who plundered the town, enslaved the inhabitants, and committed all sorts of violences. The *Venetians*, fearing to lose *Eubœa* also, on *Amurat's* return to his capital, made it their business to conclude a peace with him.

A. D.
1429.

AT this time *Dragul*, a natural son of *Miltza*, late *Way-Dragul* wood of *Walakhia*, entering that country with some young *Seixes* *Wal-*
 men, natives thereof, whom he picked up at *Constantinople*, *lakhia*: where he served the emperor as a soldier, in a little time grew very formidable by the numbers which joined him; and marching against *Dam*, nephew of *Miltza*, the then *Way-*
wood, defeated him, and, having cut-off his head, usurped the state. *Amurat*, who had made peace with *Dam*, on his paying a small tribute, incensed at this proceeding, proclaimed a brother of the deceased for his successor, and sent him into *Walakhia* with a considerable force: but *Dragul*, raising a great army, defeated and killed him also. Thus far *Du-*
has.

† Cap. 28, seq.

IN

Hej. 838. IN 838, *Karmân Oglî Ibrahim Beg* (P) rebels in *Asia*; A. D. where *Morâd*, crossing over with his forces, takes *Akshabri* and *Kaniyah*, each at the first attack. *Ibrahim Beg*, finding himself too weak to resist the imperial army, by the intercession of *Menla Gamzeh* (Q), at that time the most celebrated saint among the *Turks*, is pardoned and restored to his former state ^u.

*434-
Karamân
rebels :

DUKAS, who ascribes this mediation to *Karamân's* wife, who was *Amurat's* sister, relates the cause of the war, and its consequences, in the following manner.

war with
Kara-
mân :

AMURAT, hearing that *Karamân* had an excellent *Ara-bian* horse in his stables, sent to him for it; not believing that he would refuse the person, who often used to ravage his territories, and threaten farther acts of hostility: but *Karamân*, far from complying, asked the envoy, on shewing him the horse, if his master could mount him? The envoy not being able to answer the question, *Karamân* said, Tell your master that horse is so mettlesome he will never be able to mount him, for that is as much as I can do myself; and for the same reason I will not send it him. *Amurat*, enraged at this answer, immediately raised an army; and, passing over into *Asia*, entered *Karamân's* dominions, where he took *Akfiari* and *Pegfiari* (R), two small cities; the last but two days journey from *Kogni* (or *Koniyah*). *Karamân*, having no forces to resist the invader, sent the chief men of his court with the horse, and a great sum of money; offering also to relinquish the cities which he had taken ^x.

defeats
Mora
Krâli,

THE affairs of *Asia* being settled, in 839, a new enemy arises in *Europe*. *Mora Krâli*, brother of the *Greek* emperor (S), as he was besieging *Ghiogherjinlik*, before-mentioned,

* CANT. p. 85.

* *DUKAS*, c. 29.

(P) The same prince of *Karamania* who surrendered his country to *Soltân Murâd*, and married his eldest sister. But how he came to fly out of *Rûmili* (or *Thrace*) into *Asia*, is not known. *Cant.* From this note *Ghermian Oglî* ought to be inserted in the text, instead of *Karaman Oglî*. But as to either of their being in *Europe*, we heard nothing before.

(Q) Or *Mola Gamzeh*, whose

cell in *Karamania* is religiously visited to this day. *Cant.*

(R) *Akshabri* and *Begshabri*.

(S) He seems to have been the *Despot Demetrius*; who about that time, according to *Phranza*, governed the greater part of the *Morea*. He is called the emperor's brother from the affinity he had with him. *Cant.* His affinity was that of brother to *John Paleologus*; who then reigned.

Kasim

Kasim Basba, Beglerbeg of *Rum-eli*, with a select band of men, unexpectedly attacks, and puts him to flight; slaying or taking most of his soldiers, with the spoils of their camp. A. D. 1435.

MEAN while fierce war breaks out with the king of *Hungary*, whose forces prevailed more often than the *Turkish*. At last, *Mikhal ali Beg*, the brave *Othmân* general, unexpectedly invading the country, over-ran the richer provinces, carried away the inhabitants, and returned with great booty (S). The *Hungarians*, taking *Ali Beg*'s departure for a flight, rush again into the *Turkish* dominions; destroying all with fire and sword. *Morâd*, to check their boldness, after passing the *Danube* near *Widdin*, and laying waste the country, attempts to take *Belgrade* (T), the great bulwark of *Hungary*: but the brave defence of the garrison, and the approach of winter, force him to raise the siege, when he seemed to be very near taking the city. However, in his way back, he subdues *Sofia* (U), with some other towns of *Bulgaria*. and the Hungarians: attacks Belgrade:

MORAD was the more concerned at his disappointment before *Belgrade*, as he judged it owing, not so much to the valour of the besieged, as to the treachery of *Valak Ogli* (X); who was nearly allied to him by blood, and shared his friendship. On examination, it appeared, that he had not only discovered the *Othmân* councils to the king of *Hungary*; but also done his utmost to prevent the taking of *Belgrade*. The *Soltân*, therefore, to punish his perfidy, first commands the eyes of his two hostage-sons to be put out: then, marching with an army into *Servia*, takes the city of *Semendra*, on the *Danube*, seizes the territory of *Zerîn Ogli* (Y), and subjects the subdues Servia.

(S) The Christian annals ascribe glorious victories in those days to *John Huniades*, general of the *Hungarians*; but mention nothing of *Mikhal Ogli*'s irruption into *Hungary*, and the calamities which attended it. *Cant.*

(T) *Alba Greça*, formerly *Taurunum*. From the places taken by *Morâd* in his return, it may be doubted, whether the *Turkish* losses in this siege were so great as the Christians represent them. *Cant.*

(U) The capital of *Bulgaria*, and residence of the Beglerbeg of *Rum-eli*. It is a city without walls. *Cant.*

(X) This seems to be *George*, Despot of *Servia*; who, according to the Christian writers, gave his daughter in marriage to *Morâd* for the confirmation of the peace: and whose sons, after the rupture between their father and the *Soltân*, were deprived of their sight. The Christian authors are more accurate in giving the names of princes than the *Turks*. *Cant.*

(Y) The country along the river *Sava*, from its conflux with the *Danube*, to *Peterwaradin*, is so called by the *Turks*. *Cant.*

whole

A. D. 1436. whole country to his dominion. *Valak Oglı*, escaping by flight, excites the king of Hungary (Z) against the Turks, and breaks off a treaty of peace; whereby he became the occasion of the following slaughters, and that king's death. This is the Turkish account of that expedition: let us now hear the Greek report.

Peace with Servia: *AMURAT* being informed, that *Stephen*, Despot of Servia, the son of *Lazarus*, and brother-in-law of *Ba-yazid*, was dead, sent ambassadors to his successor *George*, son of *Vulk* (A), to demand Servia; because *Stephen* had left no children, excepting a nephew of his sister *Mary*. *George*, to avoid a war, gave the Soltan his sister in marriage, with part of Servia, and a prodigious sum of money; and in return obtained leave to build a fort upon the Danube (called *Sendrew*).

enters Hungary: WHILE *Amurat* was at Prusa on his expedition against *Karaman*; *Dragul*, Waywod of *Walakhia*, waited on him, and offered to give him a passage into Hungary as often as he would; also to conduct him to the borders of Germany and

A. D. 1429. Russia. The Soltan, pleased with those tenders of service, caressed him extremely, made him sit at table with him, and gave presents not only to him but all his attendants; who were no fewer than 300. Towards the end of spring, *Amurat*,

A. D. 1436. having passed the Danube at *Nikopolis*, was gladly received by *Dragul*; who, in four days, conducted him to the frontiers of Hungary, which was all a desert, the inhabitants having, on his approach, abandoned the towns and villages. Being arrived near *Zipene*, a famous city, they durst not attempt it. The inhabitants, far from being afraid, set open their gates; and sallied out upon them. When they came to the Danube, they repassed it, and *Amurat* returned to *Adrianople*.

invades Servia: Soon after he sent to demand of *George*, Despot of Servia, the fort of *Sendrew*, which he had built. This he did by the advice of his *Wazir Fadulak*; for he was very sincere and not given to malice. The Despot remonstrating, that he had a right to it by the faith of treaties, the Soltan besieged it; and, in three months, took it on capitulation. The eldest son of the Despot, who was in the place, was afterwards, with his brother, then at court, sent to *Amastris*, and had their eyes

7 CANT. p. 85, & seqq.

(Z) *Ladislaus*, king of Hungary and Poland, chiefly known by the slaughter at *Varna*. Cant.

(A) Hence called by the Turkish writers *Valak Oglı*, or the son of *Valak*; that is, *Vulk*.

put out by the *Wazîr's* advice. The same summer he took *Novopride*, and returned to *Adrianople*: there *Dragul*, coming to pay his respects to the *Soltân*, was sent in irons to the tower of *Kalliopolis*; under pretence, that he designed to have betrayed him in *Hungary*. Some time after, on giving his two sons in hostage, and taking a new oath of fidelity, he was discharged.

A. D.
1436,

THE beginning of next spring, *Amurat*, raising a numerous army, marched to besiege *Belgrade*; which *George, Despot of Belgrade, Servia*, having been apprehensive of, had given to the *Hungarians*, who were more powerful than he (B), and better able to defend it. The *Soltân* made great efforts against the city. But after six months siege, both by land and water, instead of gaining any advantage, lost abundance of his soldiers, not only by the plague, but by engines, cast in the form of tubes; which, by means of a dust, composed of nitre sulphur and charcoal, shot-out balls of lead, five or ten together, each as big as a walnut (C).

THE emperor *John* this year sailed to *Italy*, with the patriarch *Joseph*, and the other prelates, to assist at the council of *Florence*, in order to unite the *Greek* and *Latin* churches. The pope was at the whole expence of the voyage, and the decree of the union was signed: but the *Greeks*, at their return, recanted, although some of the archbishops would not put pen to paper till the money promised them was paid down. Reports having been spread in the emperor's absence, that he was gone to stir-up the Christian princes against the *Turks*, he, at his return, sent ambassadors to *Amurat*, to assure him of the contrary; and that he intended inviolably to preserve peace with him.

Emperor
in Italy.
A. D.
1438.

(B) He had retired into *Hungary* during the siege of *Sendrû*; and garrisoned the cities which he had in that country with *Hungarians*.

(C) The reader must see, that guns and powder are here to be understood. As this is the first time the *Greeks* seem to have heard of either, the account which *Dukas* gives of the powder and ball, with their effects, may not be unacceptable. That author says, this composition smelt like bitumen and sparks of fire: that it was very apt to take fire; and that the fire, be-

ing restrained as it were by the balls, pushed the first ball, that the second, and so on successively to the last; which commonly flew a mile, and made its way through a man or horse, though covered with iron: that its force did not cease after passing thro' the body of a man; on the contrary, another behind him might be wounded by it: that when the ball is made of iron, and has been under hammer, in hitting any thing, it takes a long figure, and penetrates like a stream of fire.

A. D. 1438. MEAN time the *Despot, George*, perceiving that the enemy advanced daily into his dominions, applied for succour to the queen of *Hungary*; who governed during the minority of her son. The queen, considering, that if the *Turks* were suffered to subdue *Servia*, they would invade her dominions next, ordered her general, *John Huniades*, to assist him. As the *Despot* had a great treasure, they soon raised 25,000 men, both horse and foot; and, crossing the *Danube*, advanced to *Sofia*; which they burned, with the towns and villages in the neighbourhood, casting the spoil into the river. *Amurat*, who had not time to assemble the troops of the east, set forwards with those of the west. Both armies approached a town midway between *Sofia* and *Philippopolis*, called by the *Bulgarians* *Islatu*, that is, *gold*, through very difficult roads.

Servia restored: THE *Turks*, perceiving the *Hungarian* camp, durst not descend into the plain. Hereupon the enemy, encouraged by their fear, ascended the mountain through clouds of arrows; but both parties, finding the situation incommodious for fighting, retired to their former posts. Then *Amurat*, reflecting that the *Hungarians*, who had never before passed the *Danube*, had passed it this time to assist the *Despot* of *Servia*, restored all the places he had taken from him, and even the fort of *Sendrew*: he likewise sent him his two sons, who had been deprived of their sight. He did the same by *Dragul's* sons; and concluded a peace with the queen of *Hungary* and king of *Poland*, as guardian of the young king: whereby it was stipulated, that the *Hungarians* should not cross the *Danube* to make war against the *Turks*, nor the *Turks* pass it to make war on the *Hungarians*.

Turkish partiality. IT is observable, that our *Turkish* historians do not mention any thing of this restitution of *Servia*, made by *Amurat*, though confirmed by the other Christian writers; who likewise inform us, that he gave up his claim to *Moldavia*, and that part of *Bulgaria* which had been conquered from him. In like manner, they omit the recovery of *Transylvania* by *John Huniades*, and several other victories obtained against them by him, or but slightly touch on them. This shews them to be partial to their nation, and that neither a complete nor accurate history of their affairs, is to be had solely from their writers; to whom we shall, in their turn, have recourse.

Karamân Ogli's invasion. IN 845, *Karamân Ogli Ibrahim Beg*, the inveterate enemy of the *Othmân* empire, breaking the late faith confirmed by oath, miserably lays waste the *Asian* provinces, then destitute

of defence (D). *Morâd*, on this advice, flies over to *Asia*; Hej. 847 and, having assembled an army at *Prusa*, sends before some A. D. chosen troops. These being met by *Karamân's* wife, the 1442. *Soltân's* eldest sister, she bids them halt till she spoke to her brother; who, by her eloquence and tears, was prevailed on to be reconciled with him: she engaging, that her husband should bind himself by oath never to act in the least against the *Othmân* empire, or suffer his subjects on any account to enter it.

THE *Othmân* dominions being now in profound peace, and a treaty concluded with the *Hungarians*, *Morâd*, tired with reigning, in 847, voluntarily resigns the empire to his son *Mohammed*, and retires to *Magnesia* (E), with design to lead a private life. *Karamân Oglî*, who, but the year before, had obtained his pardon, thinking this a proper time to destroy the *Othmân* empire, which he had so long meditated, writes to the king of *Hungary* to take advantage of the present juncture: assuring him, that, if they attacked the *Othmân* dominions, both in *Europe* and *Asia* at the same time, they should quickly root out the whole *Othmân* race, and restore the injured and dispossessed princes to their former happiness.

THE king of *Hungary* had lately, with his hand on the gospel, sworn by the immortal body of Christ to observe the conditions of the peace: but, by the instigation of the pope, who absolved him from his oath, he assembles an army; and, being joined by the *Chechi* (or *Bohemian*), *Pole*, *Latin*, and *Bulgarian*, *Valak Oglî's* auxiliaries, he leads them into the *Musulmân* dominions. The *Turks*, frightened at so great armies of warlike nations, with *Mohammed's* consent, send ambassadors to beseech *Morâd* to resume the reins of government, and defend the state in this critical juncture: *Morâd*, loth to leave the sweets of retirement, refused at first: but,

(D) *Dukas* informs us, that *Karamân*, during the *Hungarian* war, recovered the places *Amurat* had taken from him: that *Amurat* plundered *Kogni*, and carried away a prodigious quantity of gold and silver: that he treated the city of *Laranda* with the utmost cruelty, and ravaged all the country of *Karamân*, without sparing the *Turks* themselves.

(E) No Christian writer, whom I have seen, mentions this first

abdication of *Morâd*. Cant. It is mentioned by *Dukas*, who observes, that he was scarce returned to *Adrianople* from the *Karamanian* war, when news was brought, that his son *Aladin*, governor of *Amasia*, who had been at the plundering of *Kogni*, was dead; a handsome valiant prince, of 18 years: and that soon after, he, in an assembly of the great men, resigned the throne to his son *Mabomet*, and retired to *Prusa*.

A. D.

1444.

~~~~~  
 battle of  
 Varna:

on a second application, at length consents; and, with the utmost speed, passes through *Kallipolis* (F) into *Europe*. The third day after his arrival at *Adrianople*, taking on him the office of general, he leads out his army; and, by long marches, proceeds towards *Varna*, where the *Hungarian* king was incamped. For greater expedition, he marches before with the horse; and, in three days coming in sight of the enemy, falls on them (G): but not with the success he expected; for the right-wing being unable, for want of infantry, to stand the first shock, are put into disorder, and pursued above a mile. The young king of *Hungary*, who now thought the victory his own, in the heat of the battle challenges *Morâd* to single combat. The *Soltân*, accidentally meeting him, pierces his horse with a *ferid* (H). Hereupon, the king falling to the ground, the *Janizaries*, who were now arrived, instantly cut-off his head; and, shewing it to the enemy on the point of a spear, cry-out, *Behold the head of your king*. At the same time, the scattered horse rallying, they renew the fight, and defeat the Christians at the first charge (I).

Christians  
 over-  
 thrown.

They made indeed some stands afterwards; but night coming on, and wanting a leader (K), they are entirely routed.

Excepting

(F) *Dukas* says, that 125 gallees appearing before *Kallipolis*, to hinder his passage there, he crossed over near the sacred mouth (of the *Bosphorus*); altho' others were stationed for the same purpose on that side. According to other writers, these were the gallees of the *Venetians* and *Pope*; who, by Cardinal *Julian*, absolved *Ladislaus* from his oath, and precipitated the war to the king's destruction and his own: for he was killed among the rest.

(G) Christian writers fix this battle to the 10th November, 1444.

(H) A sort of light missile; javelin, or dart; with which they hit the mark with an exactness scarce to be matched by the most skilful gunners. *Cant.*

(I) The *Turks* have a tradition, as well as the Christians,

that in the very engagement, *Morâd* ordered the writing, which he received from the king of *Hungary*, in confirmation of the peace, to be carried on the point of spear through the ranks; crying out, *Let the Gaur's (or infidels) come on against their God and sacrament; and, if their belief of those things be certain, let them, O just God, declare themselves their own avengers, and punishers of their ignominy.*

(K) *Ladislaus* being slain, *Hannades*, knowing all was thereby lost, retired hastily, but in good order, towards the *Danube*; which having passed, his followers all dispersed. By this means he fell into the hands of *Drakula* (or *Dragul*), lord of *Moldavia*, his mortal enemy; who would have slain him immediately, had not he been prevented

Excepting some few who escaped in the dark, all the rest are slain, or taken prisoners (L), while *Morâd* leads back his army not much lessened, and loaden with spoil : after which he retires again to a private life at *Magnesia*. But, in 850, on account of a sedition of the *Janizaries*, who, for little or no cause, robbed or murdered all persons they met, without distinction of age or sex, he was prevailed on a second time to mount the throne (M) ; and sends *Mohammed*, who was too young to curb the mutineers, to *Magnesia*.

THE sedition being presently appeased, he next year turns *expels* his arms against the rebellious *Kastriot*, *Iskânder Beg* (N), drives him out of his kingdom, lays waste all *Greece* and *Arnaud* (O) ; and, in the *Morea*, takes by storm *Balibadri* and *Akchabissar* (P). In requital for *Iskânder Beg*'s breach of

Hej. 850.  
A. D.  
1446.  
Hej. 851.  
A. D.  
1447.

vented by the offer of a great sum for his prisoner's ransom, and an embassy from the *Hungarians*, threatening war if he did not deliver their general. On this, *Drakula* made great apologies for his treatment, and conducted him to the frontiers of *Hungary* : but some time after *Huniades*, in the expedition he made to put *Danul*, prince of *Walakhia*, in possession of *Moldavia*, in his turn took *Drakula*, with his son, and put them both to death. *Kbalk.* l vii. c. 3 & 8.

(L) *Dukas*, agreeable to other Christian writers, tells us, that of the princes and generals scarce *Huniades* himself escaped. The same author relates this battle (in which he says, the *Turks* made a terrible slaughter, and gained a remarkable victory) much after the same manner as in the text. He says the fight was very furious from day-break till nine o'clock, in which time the Christians slew a great number of *Turks* ; and that, at 10 o'clock, *Ladislaws*, surrounded by 500 men, would needs fall upon the enemy, in spite of all that *Huniades* could do to hin-

der him ; but that, as he advanced, his horse, receiving a wound, threw him, &c.

(M) Christian writers say, *Morâd*, after the battle of *Varna*, retired to a monastic life at *Prusa* ; but impute his quitting it again to the successes of *Huniades* in *Hungary*, and rebellion of *Skander Beg*. *Cant. Dukas* says, all this was done by the means of *Halil*.

(N) That is Lord *Alexander*, the name given *George Kastriot*, youngest son of *John*, prince of *Epirus* ; who, being delivered in hostage to *Morâd*, was by him bred in the *Mohammedan* religion, and much beloved : but while the *Soltân* was engaged in the *Hungarian* wars, he withdrew into *Epirus* ; where, according to the Christian historians, he performed wonders against the *Turks*. He died at *Lissa*, in the *Venetian* dominions, in *January*, 1467, being sixty-three years of age. *Cant.*

(O) By *Arnaud* are signified *Albania* and *Macedonia*. *Cant.*

(P) The city *Alba*. *Cant.* *Akchabissar* signifies the white, or rather *whitish* city.

A. D.

1447.

The Mo-  
rea in-  
vaded

faith, and causeless desertion of the *Mohammedan* religion, he converts all the churches of *Arnaud* into *Jâmis*, or *mosks*, and orders all the *Epirots* to be circumcised, or put to death whereby the whole country, in a short time, changed her faith \*. To this place may be referred what the *Christian* historians relate concerning the war in the *Morea*, and the exploits of *Skânder Beg*. With regard to the war in the *Morea*, according to *Dukas*, although that author puts it later in time (Q), the reason of *Amurat's* march to that country was to recover the places taken by *Constantine, Despot* of *Lacedæmon* (R); who, while he was in war with the *Hungarians*, had reduced *Thebes* and the neighbouring towns. On the *Despot's* refusing to surrender those places, the *Soltân* sat down before *Hexamilion* (S); which *Constantine* had repaired four years before, and behind which he then was with 60,000 men. But he was betrayed by the *Albanians*, whose treason however he escaped, as well as his son *Thomas, Despot* of *Akhaia*. *Amurat*, having ruined *Hexamilion*, and laid waste the country as far as *Patrus* and *Klarenka*; carried off with him 60,000 prisoners \*.

by Morâd: *KHALKONDYLAS* is more particular in his account of this expedition. According to him, *Constantine*, having invaded the *Turkish* territories, took the city of *Pindus*, with the country of *Beotia*, and part of *Akhaia*; penetrating as far as *Attika*. *Morâd*, informed hereof by *Neri*, prince of *Athens*, and *Thurakân*, governor of *Thessaly*, marched with all his forces to *Pherres*. On this news, *Constantine* assembled all the people of the *Morea* to defend the wall (or *Hexamilion*); which presently was ranged from one end to the other by the *Turkish* army. The duke, unable to oppose so great a force, sent to make proposals of peace: but, instead of moderating matters, demanded the rest of the *Morea*, with other lands adjoining to it; which *Amurat* had conquered in war.

the wall  
forced.

THE *Soltân* returned no answer to so wild a demand; but sent the ambassador (who was our author's father), bound hands and feet to *Pherres*. Although it was then the depth

\* CANT. Othm. Hist. p. 88—92.

\* DUKAS, c. 32.

(Q) *Viz.* after the defeat of *Huniades*, mentioned in the following paragraph.

(R) *Khalkondylas* calls him duke of *Peloponessus*; which country is now called the *Morea*.

(S) *Hexamilion* was a wall six miles long, built across the *Isthmus* of *Korinth*, to secure the *Morea* against invasions. There was a town also of the same name just within it. *Hexamilion* signifies six miles.

of

of winter, he went with 6000 horse to view the wall, and see where he might best make his approaches, and plant his batteries. After this, his army lodged themselves on the side of the fosse; and the cannonading began fiercely on both sides. On the 7th day, the *Turks* gave a general assault, and became masters of the wall, with very little opposition from the *Greeks*, effeminated by luxury and corruption. While *Thurakân* was sent to ravage the heart of the country, *Amurat* took and sacked the city of *Sicyon*. Then marching to *Pattras*, a rich city of *Akhaia*, found it deserted, excepting the castle, which made a brave defence; and before it was taken, peace was concluded with the *Greeks*, whereby the *Morea* first became tributary<sup>b</sup>.

As to *Skander Beg*, although the *Turkish* historians scarce take notice of him, the Christian writers, who call him prince of *Epirus*, have ascribed to him exploits equal to those of the greatest heroes of antiquity: but as most of them have apparently exaggerated matters, we chose to follow *Khalkondylas*, who is more moderate in his account of him. *Morâd*, says this author, the spring after his expedition into the *Morea*, marched against *Skender*, or *Skander Beg*, son of *Ivanes* (T). This lord having been, it is said, abused by the *Soltân*, at whose court he was educated, without changing his religion, retired into *Epirus*; where having married the princess *Donik*, daughter of *Arianetes*, he openly revolted. *Amurat*, on this news, marched with all his forces, and ravaged the country; while *Skander Beg*, after sending his family and the useless people into the *Venetian* territories, retired with the rest into the passes of the mountains, towards the sea coast, watching the motions of the enemy; who at length besieged *Sfetigrade*, and took it by assault, killing all the men, and plundering the goods (U). *Getia*, which they attacked next, terrified by that sad example, surrendered on composition. The *Soltân*

A. D. 1447.

The Morea tributary.

Skander Beg revolts:

retires to the hills:

<sup>b</sup> *Khalk.* Hist. Constant. l. vii. c. 4.

(T) That is *John*, whom other writers surname *Kastriot*, and call king or prince of *Epirus*. They say, that he delivered up his four sons as hostages to obtain peace of *Amurat*, who circumcised them; and, on their father's death, poisoned the three elder, and seized *Epirus*.

(U) The western writers put

this siege in *May*, 1449; and say, that it was surrendered in *September* following by capitulation, after *Amurat* had lost 30,000 men before it; and that a dog being thrown into the well by a traitor, the garrison would not drink of the water; which obliged the brave Governor *Perlos* to surrender.

A. D.

1447.



his brave  
actions,

in Alba-  
nia.

then sat down before *Kroja* (X), the capital of *Albania* (Y) and exceeding strong, as well by situation as art. His artillery having made a great breach in the wall, the *Janizaries* gave continual assaults: but, being repulsed with considerable slaughter, and winter drawing on, *Amurat*, after a pretty long siege, wherein he lost a great number of men, thought proper to leave the place for that time.

THE *Soltán*, having remained in rest a whole year at *Adria-  
nople*, set forward a second time, with a more numerous army than before, against *Skander Beg*; who was a man of great courage, and indefatigable in giving *Amurat* vexation. In his way to *Kroja*, he sent to the *Venetians* to deliver up *Skander Beg*, who, with the *Albanians*, retired to the mountains near that city, in order to assist it on occasion. The cannon having made a large breach in the wall, a party was sent to convert *Skander Beg*, while the *Turks* gave an assault. Hereupon a terrible fight began in the mountains, where that prince performed actions beyond belief, overthrowing all before him. On the other hand, the *Janizaries* were so roughly handled at the breach, that *Amurat* thought fit to change the siege into a blockade: but at the same time, news arriving from *George Despot of Servia*, that *John Huniades* was ready to pass the *Danube* with a numerous army, he immediately drew off (Z), in order to go meet the *Hungarians*®.

® *Khalk.* ubi sup. c. 5 & 7.

(X) Other writers say, that *Skander Beg*, after the battle of *Iflata* against *Huniades*, flying with the *Basba's* secretary, at length seized him, and made him write a letter in the *Soltán's* name to the governor of *Kroja*; ordering him to deliver up the city to *Skander Beg*; who killed the secretary, and by means of the letters got possession of that city.

(Y) Others say of *Epirus*, but not so properly; for *Albania*, comprehending *Epirus*, with part of *Illyria*, *Kroja*, now in ruins, stood in the latter country, near the gulph of *Drin*, between *Durazzo* and *Alesio*.

(Z) The western writers mention only one siege of *Kroja*;

and say, that *Skander Beg* twice broke into *Amurat's* camp, and made a great slaughter: that the *Soltán* having been repulsed in four attacks, failing also to corrupt *Uranokontes*, the governor, as well as to oblige *Skander Beg* to pay 10,000 dukats tribute, he fell sick; and, after making a speech to his son *Mahomet*, died under the walls of that city. But the circumstances of *Amurat* dying at this siege, and *Mahomet's* being in the camp at the same time, are evidently false; which brings a suspicion on the rest of the history, many of whose facts are in themselves sufficiently improbable.



MEAN time, the emperor *John Palæologus*, being afflicted with the gout, the loss of his consort, and the troubles which distracted the church since his voyage to *Italy*, fell into a disorder which carried him off in a few days. He was the last emperor of the *Romans*. Notice was immediately given of his death to *Constantine* (A); who, presently after his arrival at *Constantinople*, sent ambassadors to *Amurat*, who settled all differences which subsisted between the two courts<sup>d</sup>. *Khalcondylas* adds, that his brother *Demetrius* aimed to supplant him, and would have ascended the throne, had he not been hindered by his mother, and the great men, of whom *Katakzenus* and *Asparas* (B) were the chief. The arrival of Prince *Thomas*, the youngest of the brothers, was also a check upon him; so that as soon as *Constantine* entered the city, all was pacified. *Demetrius* and *Thomas* had the *Mærea* divided between them<sup>e</sup>.

A. D.

1448.

Emperor  
John dies.

A. D.

1448.

THE *Hungarians* (C), to revenge the death of their late Hungarian king, in conjunction with the prince of *Moldavia* (lately revolted) and others, having entered the *Othmân* dominions, *Morâd* flies in haste to *Sofia*; and from thence marches against the enemy: but, before the armies came in sight, the *Reigler*, certain *Musulmans*, in their way to join him, meet the *Walakhians* separated from the rest, and easily rout them (D). The *Soltân*, leading on his forces to *Kossova* (E), immediately begins the battle; but not with the success he expected, the

<sup>d</sup> DUCAS, C. 33.<sup>e</sup> KHALK. ubi sup. l. vii. c. ii.

(A) Surnamed *Drakofus*, the brother of *John*.

(B) He was grand duke.

(C) The *Turkish* historians say, this army was commanded by the king of *Hungary*: but a King *Ladislaus*, surnamed *Posthumus*, was then detained by *Frederic* duke of *Austria*, and disowned by the *Hungarians*. Prince *Constantin* supposes, that by the king, *Hunsader* is to be understood; agreeably to the Christian writers.

(D) *Khalcondylas* says, the *Walakhians* were 8000 in number, under their prince *Danus*, who commanded the left wing of the Christians; and that, in

the heat of the battle, going over to the *Turks*, on promise of pardon, the *Soltân*, either suspecting they had some ill design, or in detestation of their treachery, ordered 20,000 horse to surround and cut them in pieces, with the arms in their hands.

(E) A place near *Nigromonte*, famous for another battle, in which *Morâd I.* was victorious, and slain. This second battle is described in the *Walakhian* annals to be so fierce and bloody as to exceed all before, or are likely to be after it.

*Cont.*

A. D.

1448:

the Oth-  
mān do-  
minions:

enemy's armour being proof against the sword. *Morād*, seeing this, draws back his troops, and orders them to strike at their heads with pole-axes and clubs. The *Christians* surrounded, and unable to resist the fury of the *Turks*, retreat slowly under the shelter of their carriages; and valiantly fight in that manner, with various fortune, till sun-set. At last the king, perceiving his men discouraged and settled, assembles the bravest of his horse; and, exhorting the rest to renew the fight, pretends easily to gain the victory by falling on the enemy's rear. But more solicitous for his own than his people's safety, instead of attacking the *Musulmans*, he betakes himself to flight; leaving the soldiers, now despairing of success, to shift for themselves (F). The *Turks* pursue them with eagerness, kill great numbers, and take 2000 prisoners. All the *German*, *Bohemian*, and *Polish* generals, fell in the battle; except the king himself<sup>e</sup>.

Their  
force.

ACCORDING to *Khalkondylas*, the *Hungarian* forces consisted of 40,000 foot, 7000 horse, and about 2000 war-chariots filled with musketeers: but these being judged by *George*, *Despot* of the *Triballians* (or *Servia*), not sufficient to cope with the *Turks*, who, by the troops which joined them in their march, were become 150,000 strong; he thought it safest to sit still: which disappointment greatly incensed *Huniades* &c.

Battle of  
Kosova.

NEXT morning the battle began, and continued by skirmishes the whole day, with considerable loss on both sides. In the night, the *Hungarians*, by the advice of *Tbaut*, son of *Sauz* (G), attacked the quarters of the *Soltān*, with their armed chariots, so unexpectedly, and with such fury, that the *Janizaries* were for a while amazed: but, recovering themselves, played their cannon on the *Hungarians*, which did great execution. At day-break, fearing to be surrounded by the *Turkish* wings, they retreated in good order to their camp. At the same time, *Huniades* advanced with his forces

<sup>e</sup> CANT. Othm. Hist. p. 95.

<sup>g</sup> KHALK. l. vii. c. 7.

(F) *Dukas* speaks as if *Huniades* did not fight at all. Considering, says this author, the multitude of the enemy's troops, and the fear which had possessed his own, he made a shew before day of preparing for battle, and at the same time fled.

*Dukas*, c. 32. The more western historians say, the battle lasted three days, and that four times more *Turks* were killed than *Christians*.

(G) *Sauz* was son of *Amurat I.* and had his eyes put out, as hath been before related, p. 65.

against

against the *Asiatics*; which *Karatz*, who commanded the *Europeans*, perceiving, sent *Thurakan* to fall on their rear, while he attacked them in flank, with great slaughter. It was on this occasion, that the *Walakhians*, apprehending the like treatment, if they did not provide for their safety in time, went over to the *Turks*, as hath been related in the notes. This day likewise was consumed like the former, in light combats, without coming to a general battle.

*HUNIADES* having fled, as before related, with the best of his forces, unknown even to the rest, whom he had left in the lurch, the *Turks*, at break of day, fell upon the chariots, which made a desperate resistance; but were at length all seized, after the men who defended them were destroyed. According to the account taken by the prince of the *Tribalians*, 17000 Christians and 4000 *Turks* fell in the several skirmishes which were fought, for they did not come to a general battle. *Huniades*, fearing to be taken in his retreat through the countries of his enemies, first left his troops with only a few followers, and then gave them the slip also; judging it safest to travel alone: but *George*, the *Despot* of *Servia*, having ordered all the passes to be stopped, in order to seize him, he was, after two days fasting, obliged to beg relief of some peasants. These knowing him by his dress and language, he was arrested and imprisoned: but afterwards released, on marrying his daughter to the *Despot's* son.

*MORAD*, at his return to *Adrianople*, the same year, marries his son *Mohammed* to the daughter of *Soleymân Beg*, prince of *Elbistan* (F). *Dukas*<sup>a</sup> calls him *Turkatir* (G), prince of the *Turkmâns*, who dwelt beyond *Kapadocia*; and says, he made this choice, because as his territories bordered on the *Persian Turks* and *Karamân*, his son, who governed at *Amasia*, might be presently assisted in case of need, either against *Karamân*, or *Kara Yusuf* (H). The marriage was celebrated with great solemnity from *September* to *December*; after which he sent *Mahomet*, with his wife, to the government of *Asia Minor* and *Lydia*. But, in *February* following, he received advice of his father's death, from *Halil* and other *Wazirs*; who intreated him to hasten to *Adrianople*. *Morâd* going

A.D.

1448.

the Des-  
pot of Ser-  
via.Moham-  
med mar-  
ried.

A. D.

1451.

Morâd  
dies:

<sup>a</sup> KHALK. ubi supr. c. 9, & seq.

(F) A country of *Asia Minor*, mentioned before; but its ancient name is not known. *Cant.*

(G) A corruption, doubtless, of *Dulgadir*, as *Leunclavius* reads it in his *Turkish* authors. *Hist. Musulm.* l. xiv. p. 568.

(H) In the original *Kara Joseph*. He was prince of the *Black Sheep Turkmâns*. See vol. vi. p. 99.

A. D. 1451. to divert himself in an island in the river near *Adrianople*, he was seized with a great heaviness in his head; and, being carried back to his palace, died three days after (I), the second of February; leaving immense treasures to his successor<sup>1</sup>.

Hej. 855. ACCORDING to the *Turkish* historians, *Morád* died in the year 855, on Monday the seventh of *Moharram*, after struggling for some time with a slight distemper. He lived 49 years, reigned 30 years, 6 months, and 8 days.

his character, HE was a just and valiant prince, of a great soul, patient of labours, merciful, charitable, religious, learned, and a great encourager of arts and sciences. A good emperor, and a great general. No man obtained more or greater victories than he. *Belgrade* alone withstood his arms. His first care, on subduing any country, was to build *Jami*, *Mosks*, *Imarets*, *Madreseh*, and *Khâns*. He gave a thousand *Fistry* every year to the *Evladi resul Allah* (K); and sent 2500 to the monks at *Mekka*, *Medina*, and *Kuds Sharif*<sup>2</sup> (or *Jerusalem*).

DUKAS says, that *Morád* died without pain, as a reward of his good-nature and tenderness towards the poor: that he observed religiously his treaties with Christians; whereas some Christians were not ashamed to violate them: that it must be confessed, he did not give way to wrath; but was always moderate in his greatest prosperities: that he never desired to root out nations, or refused peace to the vanquished<sup>1</sup>.

and sons. MOHAMMED, the eldest of his five sons, was his successor; the other four, *Alaheddin*, *Hassân*, *Or Khân*, and *Abmed*, died of distempers in his life-time<sup>m</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> DUKAS, c. 33.  
33.

<sup>2</sup> CANT. p. 94.

<sup>1</sup> DUKAS, c.

<sup>m</sup> CANT. p. 95.

(I) *Khalkondylas* says, he died of an apoplexy at a banquet, occasioned by drinking too much wine. L. vii. c. 11.

(K) Or *Awladi resul Allah*, that is, the sons of the prophet of God. These are properly called *Amirs*, or lords; denoting their descent from *Fatima*, a sister of *Mohammed*. They were formerly destined, like the *Levites*, to the worship of God. They are now dispersed through the empire, and distinguished by the

green turbân. It is observed, that the *Amirs* are men of the greatest wisdom and learning till forty; but after that become either downright fools, or at least discover signs of stupidity. Hence the *Turks*, when they see any stupid person, say *Amir Soydur*, as much as to say, he is of the race of the *Amirs*; altho' they consider that failing as a divine impulse, to manifest their birth and sanctity. CANT.

## C H A P. VIII.

The Reign of Mohammed II. surnamed Fatîh (A).

A. D.

1451.

## S E C T. I.

Of the Taking of Constantinople.

**M**ORAD being dead, Mohammed II. now in the 21st year of his age, is crowned a second time, three days after his father's decease \*. On his arrival near *Adrianople*, he was met by all the persons of any distinction a mile from that city : there dismounting, they walked on foot ; the Soltân and his attendants marching in the middle. When they had advanced half-way they stopped, closing their lips to preserve the greater silence ; then set up a loud cry mixed with tears. On this, *Mahomet* and his train alighted ; and, after the example of the rest, filled the air with groans and sighs. The grandees saluted him by kissing his hand, then mounted on horseback ; and, having conducted him to the gate of his palace, retired to their houses.

THE first act of *Mahomet*, after he ascended the throne, was to send *Halim*, head of the *Janizaries*, and son of *Eurenesis* (B), to strangle his brother (C), an infant but eight months old ; whom his father had by the daughter of *Spin-tiar* (*Isfandiar*), prince of *Sinope*. Next day he ordered *Halim* to be put to death, and obliged that lady to marry *Isbak* (D), her father's slave, to whom she had an aversion .

AFTER this, at the instance of *George*, Despot of *Servia*, he renewed the peace with him, and sent him back his daughter, who had been married to *Amurat* ; assigning her lands on the frontiers of that country for her maintenance. *Constantine*, and the rest who held the first rank at *Constantinople*, sent also to renew the peace with him ; which was done in the most

\* CANT. p. 95.

b DUKAS, c. 33.

(A) *Fatib*, in *Arabic*, signifies the opener, or vanquisher ; a title given him on account of his taking *Constantinople*. The Christian historians call him *Mahomet the Great*, and the first emperor of the *Turks*.

(B) The same with *Ornûs Beg*.

(C) *Kbalkondylas* says, he was choaked by pouring water down his throat. L. vii. c. 11.

(D) *Kbalkondylas* says he did it for her security, and that he made *Isbak* governor of *Asia*. L. vii. c. 11. — *Isbak*, or *Isaac*, is pronounced *Is-bak*.

A. D. 1451. solemn manner. He also granted, at their request, a pension of 300,000 aspers yearly for *Or Khān's* subsistence, in the necessity the empire then laboured under <sup>c</sup>.

*defeats*  
*Karamān*  
*Ogli:* *MAHOMET*, having made peace also with the other Christian powers, turned his arms against *Karamān*; who on the news of *Amurat's* death, entered the *Othmān* dominions, and took three forts, with a great extent of land, which *Amurat* had deprived him of. *Mahomet* marched to *Kotiyon*, and thence into *Phrygia Salutaris*, by the Turks called *Karasaris*, which is contiguous with the territories of *Karamān*; who, on the first news of his approach, sent to beg peace, offering to surrender the places (E) which he had newly recovered. *Mahomet's* design was not to have returned till he had entirely subdued that prince to his obedience; but the imprudent conduct of the *Romans* made him spare *Karamān* for the present, in order to subdue them <sup>d</sup>.

*affairs of*  
*the Mo-*  
*rea:* ALTHOUGH the two princes, between whom the *Morea* was divided, had taken a solemn oath never to violate the agreement; yet *Thomas* soon after took-up arms to drive *Demetrius* out of his possessions. *Demetrius* hereupon retired to *Afan*, his wife's brother; by whose means he obtained succours from *Amurat*, and compelled *Thomas* to submit the matters in dispute to the emperor's arbitration. But that prince refusing to deliver to his brother the territories which fell to his share, *Mohammed* ordered *Thurakān*, his governor in the *Morea*, to assist *Demetrius*, and demolish the wall which shut up that country. Hereupon *Thomas* gave him the city of *Kalamata*, in lieu of the territory of the *Skortians*, which he detained <sup>e</sup>.

*Isthmean*  
*wall*  
*saxed:* NEXT year, he orders cannon to be founded (F); and, having assembled an army out of all his provinces, besieges *Constantinople*. The *Greek* emperor, terrified at the danger, begs peace on whatever conditions the *Soltān* would impose. A. D. 1452. *Mohammed* tells the ambassadors, "that he pities the emperor's case; and cannot in conscience deny peace to the humble; but lest he should be blamed by his people for being at so

<sup>c</sup> DUKAS, c. 33. KHALK. l. vii. c. 11.  
<sup>c</sup> 34. KHALK. l. vii. c. 11. CANT. p. 96.  
l. vii. c. 11.

<sup>d</sup> DUKAS,  
<sup>e</sup> KHALK.

(E) According to *Kbalkondylas*, *Karamān* gave up *Kandelora*; and *Mohammed*, at his return, suppressed his train of falkoners, hunters, and other useless employments.

(F) *Kbalkondylas* says, he ordered artillery to be cast, and a great number of gallies and other vessels to be built in several ports, during the winter. L. viii. c. 1.

" great

" great expence and trouble to assemble forces, without any A. D.  
 " advantage to the *Othmān* affairs; he desires *Cæsar* to give 1452.  
 " him a spot of land on the *European* side of the *Bogaz* (or  
 " *Bosphorus*) no bigger than an ox-hide (G); and that he  
 " would immediately raise the siege." The *Greeks* readily  
 consenting, *Mohammed* sends away his army.

THEN having pitched on a rocky place (H) before the am- builds  
 bassadors, he orders an ox-hide to be cut into small thongs; Rûm ell  
 and with them inclosing a piece of ground, 500 paces in Hisâr :  
 circumference, seizes it for his use, the *Greeks* not daring to  
 gain say it. Here he builds, in forty days, a castle, fortified with  
 five high towers, representing the letters of his name (I);  
 and immediately after runs-up another (K) to answer it, on  
 the *Asiatic* side. These castles he provides with artillery and  
 a good garrison: then orders the governors not to let the  
 vessels pass, which daily supplied *Constantinople* with provi-  
 sions from the *Euxine* sea. After this he returns, under the  
 appearance of peace, to *Adrianople*; and, three days after  
 his entrance, lays the foundations of that stately palace, called  
*Jebân Numâ* (L).

IN the third year of his reign, and of the *Hajrah* 857, Mo- besieges  
 hammed discovers the designs which he had hitherto conceal- Constan-  
 ed: for, raising as great an army as he was able, he goes and tinople.  
 besieges *Constantinople* †. Hej. 857.

As the *Turkish* account of the destruction of the *Roman* em- A. D.  
 pire is very defective, and we ought not to omit any material 1453.

† CANT. p. 97, & seq.

(G) *Mohammed* seems to have imitated *Eliza* (or *Dido*) queen of *Karthage*: for *Lonicerus*, as well as the *Turks*, allow him to have delighted in reading the actions of the antient *Greek* and *Roman* kings. Cant. Not *Mohammed*, but the *Turkish* historian, we presume, thought of this contrivance; for the *Greeks* could hardly have been such fools, as to have been tricked by an old well-known artifice.

(H) About six miles from *Constantinople*, on the *Bosphorus*, Cant.

(I) The letters in *Mohammed* are only four; but the middle

must be doubled, which makes five. The castle is called *Rûm eli Hisâr*; that is, the *European castle*. Cant. Literally, the castle of the country of the *Romans*.

(K) Called *Anadoli Hisâr*, or the *eastern castle*, built where the little river *Ghiok Su*, or blue water, falls into the *Bosphorus*. Cant. But the *Christian* writers say, this was built by his predecessor.

(L) That is, the watch-tower of the world: because from the women's apartment, built to a great height, there is a prospect into all parts. Cant.

circumstance

A. D. 1453. circumstance relating to that grand event, we shall supply it from the Greek cotemporary writers. These mention but one siege of *Constantinople* undertaken by *Mohammed*; the causes of which seem to be impartially set forth by *Duker*, as follows.

Roman  
artifices

THEY, who had the principal share in the government at *Constantinople*, were so indiscrete as to send ambassadors to notify to *Mohamet*, that *Constantine* had been proclaimed emperor, altho' he had not been crowned. They complained also, that *Or Khân's* pension was not duly paid, and urged to have it doubled: alleging, that the prince wanted money for presents to the great lords, who paid their court to him; and that the emperor was not able to supply him. In case this demand was not granted, they desired that they might be allowed to set him at liberty.

treated  
with  
scorn.

*HALI Basba*, to whom this discourse was directed, tho' of a mild temper, and a friend to the *Romans* because they often made him presents (M); yet, on hearing the ambassadors talk at this rate, he made answer: "I have been so long acquainted, you silly *Romans*, with your artifices and tricks, that you ought to give them over.—The treaty, which we made with you, is scarce dry, and yet you have followed us into *Anatolia*; thinking to frighten us with chimeras of your own framing.—If you can do any thing against us, do it. Proclaim *Or Khân* prince of *Thrace*, and make the *Hungarians* pass the *Danube* in your favour.—But take it for granted after all, that, instead of recovering the countries which you have lost, you will lose those which you now possess.—"

Mohammed  
incensed:

*HALI* having reported these matters to *Mohammed*, he flew into a great passion. If I stay in *Anatolia*, said he, the *Romans* will stir up all the *Christian* nations against me, succour *Karamân*, and subdue the west. On this consideration, he treated the ambassadors of that prince with mildness, and granted them peace. With regard to the emperor's ambassadors, dissembling his resentment, he promised to give them a favourable answer at his return to *Adrianople*: but, as soon as he arrived there, he orders *Or Khân's* pension to be stopped; and, towards winter, had notice given through his dominions for 1000 workmen to be ready in spring, with the proper instruments and materials, to build a fort near the *Sacred Mouth* (N)

builds a  
fort,

A. D.  
1452.

(M) The author adds, and that whoever gave him money might say the most shocking things to him. So hurtful to the honour and interest of his country is a

corrupt or covetous minister.

(N) The mouth of the *Bosphorus* in the *Propontis*, at *Constantinople*.

above



above *Constantinople*. This project filled the Christians everywhere with grief, as it convinced them, that the downfall of the city was at hand; and, a prodigious number of workmen being assembled at the time appointed, the emperor sent ambassadors to *Adrianople*, not to demand an augmentation, nor even a continuation, of the pension, but to intreat *Mahomet* not to build the fort; and on that condition to pay tribute, if he required it. He remonstrated, that he had indeed, at the intreaty of his grandfather *Mahomet*, granted him liberty to build a fort on the *Asiatic* shore, because it had been of a long time in possession of his ancestors; but that the design of building this new fort opposite to the other, could be no other than to deprive *Constantinople* of its trade, and supply of provisions from the *Euxine* sea.

to curb  
the city:

**MOHAMMED**, after asking the ambassadors what right they had to hinder him from building a fort on his own ground? shewed, from the emperor's joining continually with the enemies of the *Othmans*, during his father's reign, how little reason he had to expect a favour from him; and concluded, threatening, that *whoever came to trouble him again upon the same subject should be slay'd alive*. This answer threw the inhabitants of *Constantinople* into the utmost fear and anguish. Soon after the *Turks* began to build the fort below *Softenion*, of old called *Pheneum*, in a triangular form, and called it *Basfka*; that is, *head-chopper* (O). The emperor, finding he could not hinder the execution of this design, sent guards to hinder the *Turks* from making incursions, and pillaging the lands in time of harvest: but *Mahomet*, instead of granting his request, gave leave to those who carried materials to the fort, to feed their cattle on the *Roman* pastures. The people of the tower of *Epibata* going to hinder some *Turks* from destroying their corn, a quarrel ensued, wherein several on both sides were killed. *Mahomet*, being informed hereof, ordered a party to go and put the inhabitants of *Epibata* to the sword: the *Turks* accordingly fell upon them as they were cutting down their corn, and slew forty.

begins  
hostilities:

On this news, the emperor ordered the city gates to be shut, and the *Turks* who were in it to be arrested: but three days after set them at liberty; and at the same time sent am-

declares  
war:

(O) *Khalkondylas*, in saying it is called *Lamokopia*, which signifies *strait* or *gullet-cutter*, seems to give the translation of the word *Bāsb-eska* (*Bāsb* is the head). He says, it stood in that part properly called the *Bosphorus*, being the narrowest part of the strait. There was a great tower at each angle, 30 feet high, and the wall 22 thick. L. viii. c. 1.



In spring, *Mahomet* ordered his great cannon to be carried from *Adrianople* to *Constantinople*, by *Karafia Beg* (S); who had before reduced several places on the *Euxine Sea*, as *Mesembria*, *Akheloum*, and *Bison*. Mean time, the distractions in the church continued (T), as if the city had not been threatened with a siege, which began the sixth of *April*; the *Turkish* army incamping from the *Wood Gate* to the *Golden Gate*, towards the south, and the church of *St. Kofma*. They also covered the whole space, which had been planted with vines &c.

A. D.

1453-

the siege  
began:

*KHALKONDYLAS* observes more particularly, that the *Soltân's* camp extended from one sea to the other: that the forces of *Asia* were on the right hand towards the *Golden Gate*; those of *Europe* on the west, stretching to the *Wood Gate*; and that in the middle, between both, was *Mohammed* himself, with his *Janizaries* and other troops about him, while his *Wazir*, *Zogan*, was posted above *Galata* (U). The walls toward the port were not very good: but to the land there was a double wall, with double ramparts. The first was low and weak, but defended by a great fosse, 200 feet wide, lined on both sides with stone: the inner wall was very high, and admirably well built<sup>b</sup>.

THE emperor did all in his power for the defence of *Constantinople*. All the *Venetian* ships, which came from the *Tanais* and *Trebizond*, were detained. The *Genoeses*, tho' they had promised the *Soltân* not to assist the *Romans*, yet, under-hand, sent a large vessel, with 500 men, to reinforce the garrison. *John Justiniani*, surnamed *the Long*, came from *Genoa* with two ships and several brave young men. As *John* had excellent skill in drawing up an army, and giving

\* DUKAS, c. 34, 37.

b KHAL. l. viii. c. 2.

(S) *Beglerbeg* of *Europe*. *Khal.* l. viii. c. 1.

(T) The clergy were divided; some for the union, others against it: at the head of whom was *Gennadius*, a monk. The great duke, who was of his party, declared, that he would rather see the turban of *Mahomet* in the church than the pope's cap. He was certainly in the right.

(U) To explain this better, it may be observed, that *Constantinople* is in form of an equilateral triangle; each side three

miles long. One side is washed by the *Propontis* to the south; another by the gulph of *Keras* (which is the port or harbour) to the north; the third side, towards the land, extending north and south from one sea to the other, is defended by a wall; along which the *Turkish* army was encamped. The *Golden Gate* seems to have been at the south end; and the *Wood Gate* at the north end, of this wall. *Galata* and *Pera* lie to the north of the gulph of *Keras*.

battle,

A. D. 1453. battle, the emperor made him chief commander, and assigned for his post that part of the walls which was nearest the palace; because the enemy had planted most of the engines on that side. He promised likewise to give him the sovereignty of the isle of *Lemnos*, in case he obliged the *Turks* to raise the siege. Such magnificent rewards made the *Latins* behave like heroes. Some of them had fire-arms, so had the *Turks*, which shot five or ten balls; and, after piercing the armour, killed two or three men, one behind the other. *Mahomet* caused new levies to be made; which brought such prodigious numbers together, that many reckoned they amounted to 400,000 (X). At the same time his gallies, ships, and barks, to the number of 300, came to anchor near the city.

port and  
ships:

THE port was secured with a chain, stretched across from the *Fair Gate* to *Galata*, which kept the vessels of the city in safety. Besides which, there was a fleet of five ships, one belonging to the emperor, the other four to the *Genoveses*; which fetched provisions from the *Morea* and *Khio*. As they returned in *March*, *Mahomet* ordered his fleet either to take or hinder them to enter the port of *Keras* (Y): but the ships forced their way, by help of the wind, and were let in by lowering the chain. The *Soltán*, finding that there were in the harbour eight great ships, twenty small ones, with several gallies, belonging to the emperor and the *Venetians*, besides a great number of barks, he despaired of making himself master of them; but at the same time formed a most bold and noble design. He ordered a road to be made through the bushes and shrubs behind *Galata*, from the place facing the east, under *Diplacionion*, to the other side of the gulph of *Keras*, opposite *St. Kosma's* church; and fourscore gallies to be drawn over the hilly ground, from the *Sacred Mouth* into that harbour (Z). Every galley had a pilot at her prow,

gallies  
drawn  
over-land:

(X) *Kbalkondylas* adds, that they had double the number of horses and beasts of carriage. L. viii. c. 2.

(Y) To the south of *Galata*.

(Z) *Kbalkondylas* says, they towed the ships towards the place where *Zogan* was encamped; from whence they drew them by main force over a little hill, and then launched them in the water on the other side; under cover of some cannon, and a great number of

small shot, which kept off the *Greeks* from obstructing their design. And the Christian vessels in port, after losing two of their number in an attack, durst attempt no more to destroy them, for fear of the *Turk* artillery; by favour of which they cast anchor under the walls of the city, and made the wooden bridge. *Kbel*. l. viii. c. 3. This bridge is described hereafter.

and another at her poop, with the rudder in hand; one moved the sails, while a fourth beat the drum, and sang a sailor's song. And thus the whole fleet passed along, as if it had been carried by a stream of water (A) : sailing, as it were, over the land<sup>1</sup>.

A. D.

1453.

WITH regard to this surprising exploit, Prince *Cantemir* only observes, that, besides other engines before unheard-of, the *Turks* made use of one worthy of admiration; for by it, from the north side, some vessels were brought over hills and declivities, into the inner haven (B); which occasioned the taking of the city, by introducing the sea forces by the gate *Fenar* (C), looking to the lower haven<sup>2</sup>. To return to *Dukas*.

MEAN time, they brought the monstrous cannon, before *breach* mentioned, opposite to *Saint Roman Gate*. The gunner had *made* two balls of stone, one very large, the other smaller; and shot the latter first, to see if he took right aim. It was usual for cannon, after firing, to fly like glass, unless covered immediately with thick woollen cloth; and even then would not stand above the third discharge, occasioned by the cold air entering the pores of the metal: but this engineer preserved his gun from bursting, by pouring oil into it when hot after firing. As he was going to make a second shot, the ambassador of *John Huniades*, the *Hungarian* general, who was present, laughed; and told him, if he had a mind to beat down the wall soon, he should change his battery, and shoot five or six fathom from the place where he then stood; that the third shot should be directed from another place, which, with the two former, made a sort of triangle (D); and that having *in the* *walls,* *done,*

<sup>1</sup> *DUKAS*, c. 38.<sup>2</sup> *CANT.* p. 98.

(A) Our author prefers the exploit of this young *Alexander*, as he calls him, to *Xerxes* building a bridge over the sea.

(B) Which extends as far as the palace of *Blakberna*. The vessels were carried over land several *Italian* miles from the village *Besiktash* (where they were built) to *Galata*, and lunched into that part of the haven called *Kasim Pasha*. *Cant.*

(C) Vulgarly *Finter*. Near it the more noble and wealthy

*Greeks* have their residence. *Cant.*

(D) It seems from this account, that the wall was battered in three places successively by removing the same piece of cannon: but *Khalkondylas* says, the out-wall was battered by three cannon; one planted opposite to the palace royal, the second at *St. Roman Gate*, where the *Soltân* was posted, and the third between both: that the two first, which carried balls of 100 pound

L

A. D. 1453. done, he would see the triangle presently fall to the ground (D); which accordingly came to pass<sup>1</sup>.

*with huge cannon.* **KHALKONDYLAS** relates, that the noise of those great cannon was frightful; and the shock so great, that the ground trembled for more than two leagues round; that altho' the balls reached the second wall, as being much higher than the first, yet the damage they did gave no discouragement to the *Greeks*; because those unweildy cannon not being easily managed, could not be fired above seven or eight times a day, and only once towards morning, as a warning-piece to begin the military operations. Besides the great cannon, there were many others of a lesser size planted along the counterscarp, with which they battered the parapet of the rampart. The *Greeks* also had artillery, carrying from 60 to 80 pounders; one of which was planted against the largest of the *Turkish* guns; but when discharged, they so shook the wall and rampart, that they did more harm than good; besides, the largest piece burst, after a few firings.

*Mines and counter-mines.*

ALTHOUGH the damage done by the *Turkish* cannon was at first so small, yet the *Greeks*, thro' inexperience, and want of sufficient numbers to attend at many places at the same time, were not able to repair the breaches; while the janizaries, under cover of their gabions and mantles, gained the ditch: then raising a breast-wall with loop-holes along the counterscarp, shot so incessantly against the battlement, that none durst appear.

<sup>1</sup> DUKAS, c. 38.

pound weight, were shot slanting; but the middle gun, which carried a ball one third larger than the others, shot directly forward, and brought down the space of curtain, which the other two had loosened.

(D) The king of *Hungary* having been declared emperor this year, took the administration of affairs into his own hands, from *Huniades*; who therefore not being able any longer to keep the truce made with *Mohammed* for three years, sent to take up the written agreement, which he had given the *Soltân*, and return him his; leaving him at liberty to deal with

the king of *Hungary* as he thought fit. This was the subject of his embassy. It was reported, that *Huniades* being told by some old man, that the Christians would never be happy till *Constantinople* was taken by the infidels, longed to have the prediction accomplished: and *Dukas* was informed, that this was the reason why the engineer had such instructions given him by the ambassador, as no Christian ought to have given. *Kbala* Much the same method of shooting down walls is mentioned to have been used at the siege of *Kroja* in *Albania*, in the year 1479.

TH.

THE *Soltân* ordered mines also to be carried under the ditch and walls, a great way into the city ; building wooden towers, where soldiers were posted to secure the workmen, at the places where they broke ground : but the *Greeks*, by countermining, rendered those works of no effect. The *Turks* had yet another tower higher than the former ; on the top of which there were a great number of ladders and portable bridges, to throw upon the ramparts.

THE *Genoese* of *Galata* shewed on this occasion much affection for the *Romans*. In the day they supplied the *Turks* with provisions, and oil for their cannon ; and at night stole into the city, and fought next day against them. The day following they went to the camp ; and those who were in the camp returned to *Constantinople*. The *Venetians* ventured their lives no less freely for the *Romans*. *John Justiniani* omitted nothing to defend the place ; and the grand duke, followed by 500 men, went round the city every day, to see that a good guard was kept ; and to encourage the soldiers.

By the continual battering of the cannon, the tower near *St. Roman Gate*, and the walls on both sides, were demolished in such a manner, that the besiegers and the besieged could see each other (E).

THE emperor, despairing to defend the city, after so large a breach had been made in the strongest part of the wall, sent to propose paying whatever tribute the *Soltân* should think fit, if he would but retire. *Mohammed* answered, " That there was no possibility of retiring now : that he must either take the city, or the city him ; but at the same time he offered, if the emperor would surrender it, to give him the *Morea*, and his brother other provinces ; threatening, in case he took it by assault, to put him, and all the great men, to death ; make slaves of the inhabitants ; and give their effects to his soldiers." *Constantine* thought it better to wait the event, than submit to such conditions.

*JUSTINIANI*, at this juncture, resolved to burn the *Turkish* fleet, and prepared a galley for that purpose ; on which he put aboard the most valiant *Italians*, with the necessary engines and artificial fire : but the *Genoese* of *Galata* having discovered his design, gave notice to the *Turks* ; who being upon their guard, when the *Latins* approached at midnight,

(E) During 40 days the besieged had not one hour's rest, being day and night employed in repairing the breaches, countermining or fighting. Mean time four of the best towers were demolished, and the walls almost every-where much shattered and torn to pieces. *Kbalkond.* l. viii. c. 3.

A. D.  
1453.Wooden  
bridge.

let fly their cannon ; which sunk the galley, with 150 brave foldiers on board ; and thus destroyed all their hopes.

**MOHAMMED** caused a wooden bridge to be made from the shore of *Galata* to *Cinegion* (F), consisting of 1000 casks, tied two and two together, and bound on each side with ropes, which afforded breadth enough for five men to march abreast. There were at each end of the casks pieces of wood, on which the floor was nailed.

Moham-  
med's pro-  
posal.

WHEN all things were made ready for storming the city (G), *Mohammed* sent to offer the emperor, and the great men, liberty to go out with their effects : promising that the people should suffer no injury : but let him know at the same time, that if he rejected those conditions, he and his officers must expect to be put to the sword, and the inhabitants made captives. The emperor answered, by the advice of his council, " That he " would gladly live in peace with him : that *Mohammed's* an- " cestors honoured his ancestors as their fathers, and *Con-* " *stantinople* as their country ; where they found an asylum " in all their disgraces ; and that none of them, who had " dared to attack it, enjoyed a long life. He advises the *Soltān* " therefore to be content with what he had already unjustly " taken from his family, and the imposition of as heavy a " tribute as he should think fit : but with regard to surren- " dering the city, tells him, that it neither depended on him " nor the inhabitants ; the common resolution being to lay " down their lives in its defence."

Emperor's  
answer.Turkish  
illumina-  
tions.

THE *Soltān* despairing of taking the place by composition, caused the day for the attack to be published thro' his camp (H) ; declaring that he would content himself with the walls and the houses, and give up to the foldiers the people and their

<sup>a</sup> **KNALK.** l. 8. c. 2. & seq.

(F) They made this bridge in that part of the land called the *Karawanians*, which crossed from one end to the other, and made a communication with the walls and *Zogan's* forces. L. viii. c. 3.

(G) A little before the assault, two ships making to the harbour, the *Turkish* fleet was ordered to surround them ; but they broke thro' them, and entered the port,

while the *Soltān* called to his men, and rode into the sea to animate them. *Pentogli*, the admiral, was wounded in the eye, and severely reproached for his conduct by *Mohammed*. *Kbalk.* l. viii. c. 4.

(H) Which, according to custom, was to be three days after the illuminations. *Kbalk.* l. viii. c. 4.

effects ;



effects (I); which news was received with joyful shouts. In the evening he ordered fires to be made throughout the camp. This was a spectacle quite new; and it struck one with surprise to see an infinite number of lights spread over the land and over the sea, over the ships and over the houses, over Constantinople and over Galata; which shone with greater blaze than the sun. The surface of the water glittered as if it had been covered with looking-glasses. The Romans seeing all the camp on fire, ran to the walls; from whence they heard those exulting shouts, which struck them almost dead with fear, as being the forerunners of a general assault.

THE emperor John laboured extremely hard all the night, General to fill up the breaches with fascines, and get a ditch dug attack. within. Mohammed began the attack on Sunday the 27th of May (K), which was the feast of All Saints. He gave the Romans no rest all the night. At nine o'clock, dividing his army in two parts, he drew it up from the palace to the golden gate. He ranged his 80 barks from the wood-gate to the square, and disposed the other vessels, which were at Diplacionion, in a circle from the fair-gate (beyond the fortrefs of St. Demetrius) and the little gate near our lady's monastery, named Hodegetria, beyond the port as far as Vlanha. These ships contained scaling ladders, and other engines.

AT sun-set the trumpet sounded, and the Soltân fought on horseback at the breach, surrounded by 10,000 slaves, supported by more than 100,000 cavalry on each side and behind him. In the low ground from the port to the golden gate there were upwards of 100,000 infantry; and above 50,000 from the place where the Soltân was to the high ground where the palace stood: there was besides an infinite number of soldiers in the vessels, and on the wooden bridge. The besieged were distributed round the walls in this manner; the emperor and Justiniani were posted at the breach, with 3,000 Latins (L); the Great Duke was in the palace, with 500 men. There were likewise upwards of 500 men, armed with spears and darts, to defend the walls and the fortifications towards the sea, from the golden to the fair gate. They watched all the night. The Turks brought an infinite number of ladders

Order of it.  
Besieged,  
how posted,

(I) He likewise promised a rich lordship to him who should first mount the breach. The priests also went thro' the camp, encouraging the soldiers. *Kbalk.* *Ibid.*

(L) The brave Justiniani was posted at the breach to receive the enemy with 300 Italians; and behind him was the emperor, with his troops drawn up to support the other. *Kbalk.*

(K) On Tuesday the 27th of May, 1453.

l. viii. c. 6.

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to fix to the walls; while the *Soltán*, with a rod of iron in his hand, drove them forward, sometimes using careffes, sometimes threats.

Gallant  
defence.

THE Besieged behaved valiantly. The emperor and *Justiniani* fought at the head of their men: but in the evening that incomparable captain, that undaunted hero, received a ball in the back of his hand, which pierced his gauntlet, tho' of as good a temper as the arms of *Akhilles*. Not able to bear the pain, he desired the emperor to maintain his ground, while he retired aboard a ship, to have his wound dressed (M). Mean time the *Turks*, covered with their bucklers, approached the walls, and used all their efforts to apply the ladders; but were hindered by the prodigious quantity of stones which the besieged threw down upon them.

The Turks  
enter

WHILE the emperor thus guarded the breach, the *Turks* perceiving a door of the palace open, by which the *Romans* made their sallies with security, it being under-ground, 50 of *Mohammed's* slaves rushed in; and mounting the walls, cut those who defended them in pieces: after which the enemy found no difficulty to get up. As soon as those who fought under the emperor, and knew nothing of this misfortune, as being at a distance from that place, perceived themselves to be shot at from the top of the walls, and that it was done by the enemy, they fled in confusion into the city (N): but the gate of *Kartias* being very narrow, many were crushed to death. The *Turks* seeing the *Romans* flee, pursued them, with a great shout, and slew all who came in their way (O). It was then that

by a sally  
port.

(M) *Justiniani* being wounded in the hand, retired to get it dressed; and the *Genoefes* imagining that he would abandon them, quitted their post likewise. The emperor seeing this, ran up, and asked *Justiniani*, *Whither he was going?* His answer was only, *There, where God hath opened a passage to the Turks. Let us go on then, my brave men* (cry'd the emperor to those about him), *and fulfil our duty against these accursed and detestable dogs.* But the *Turks* rushing forward in troops, *Kantakuzenus* was forthwith slain, and the emperor wounded in the shoulder. *Khalk.* l. viii. c. 6.

(N) To explain this, it must be understood, that the defence hitherto was made at the breach in the outer wall; and their retreat was thro' the inner wall into the city.

(O) The *Turks*, who entered in troops, wounded the emperor in the shoulder, and drove him, with his people, to the second inclosure; where the rest of the *Greeks* defended themselves from the walls with darts, arrows, and great stones, against the enemy, who approached it. But when they saw that the *Genoefes*, who were their chief hopes, had fled, and that the emperor was forced to give way,

that the emperor, in despair, standing in the breach, with his sword and buckler in hand, uttered these rueful words; *Is there no Christian left alive, to strike off my head?* He had scarce done speaking, when he received a stroke in the face from a *Turk*, and then another from a second, which killed him, altho' neither of them knew that he was the emperor.

THE *Turks* entered the city an hour after midnight, with the loss of no more than three men; altho' between the palace and the gate of *Kartias*, they slew 2000 *Romans*, some flying, some defending themselves. They did this, imagining there were 50,000 men in arms: for had they known there were no more than 8000, they would not have slain one; not for pity, but out of covetousness, for they would have sold them like sheep, as they afterwards told the author (P).

SOME *Romans*, at day-break, ran to their houses, to take care of their wives and children: but altho' they were covered with blood, those whom they met in the streets they passed thro' would not believe that the *Turks* had broken in. At length the news being confirmed by other wounded people, who arrived thick one after another, the women and religious fled in crouds to the great church (called *Sancta Sophia*); in the belief that a ridiculous prediction (Q) which passed among them, concerning the destruction of the *Turks*, would now be accomplished.

THE prediction was, that the *Turks* should one day take *Constantinople*, and slay the people as far as the pillar of *Constantine*: but that then an angel, descending from heaven

way, having an infinite number of *Turks* at his back, they lost all heart, and fled in such disorder towards the *Roman* gate, that they stopped it up. By their thus deserting the second wall (in which there were several breaches) the janizaries entered the city. At this news, those at the other end of the wall fled towards the port, in such crouds, to get on board the *Venetian* and *Genoese* ships, that most of them were drowned; and the vessels so over-loaded with them, that some of them sunk. *Kbalk*. l. viii. c. 6.

(P) Who, on this occasion, observes, that the *Turks* would

set at liberty the murderers of their fathers for money.

(Q) *Kbalkondylas* relates this affair after a different manner; he says, that they who kept the gates, trusting to this old ridiculous prophecy, shut them; so that the people, not being able to get out of the city, fled to *Sancta Sophia*, where presently the *Turks* came, and slew a vast number of them, in the very middle of the church. Of the rest who fled here and there, some stood their ground, choosing rather to die fighting, than to be made slaves: among these were *Theophilus Paleologus*, with his father and sons. *Kbalk*. l. viii. c. 6.

L 4

with

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with a sword, should give that weapon, with the empire, to a poor man, whom he should find on the pillar; saying to him, *Take this sword, and revenge the people of the Lord*: that the *Turks* would, at the same instant, take to their heels; and the *Romans* pursue them, slaying them continually: nor ever cease till they had driven them out of the west, and affo the ruin of the east, as far as *Monadenere*, a place on the borders of *Persia*. many. This monstrous absurdity was believed on no better ground than that they had formerly heard certain deceivers relate as much.

The city  
taken.

THE *Greeks* who had gotten into the great church were flattering themselves with an assurance of being out of all danger; when the *Turks* arriving thither, broke open the doors; and finding the place filled from top to bottom with people, carried them away tied together. A great multitude, who were so silly as to go in procession to the tomb of *St. Theodosius* the martyr, the day of his festival, as if every thing was quiet, fell into the hands of the *Turks*, and were led captive like the rest. The fleet which was in the port hindered the *Turks* to apply ladders, and mount the wall on that side; till such time as they who had entered the city in the morning were arrived thither, and had driven the *Romans* off the wall. This the enemy in the ships perceiving, they soon mounted (R); and the gates being now all broken open, the *Turks* rushed in impetuously on all sides.

WHEN the Great Duke saw them approach the royal gate which he guarded, he retired towards his palace with a small number of men: but in the way to the tower, where his wife and children were, he was seized, and a guard put upon him and them.

Gallata

surrenders. JUSTINIANI, after getting his wound dressed, was returning to the port (S); when news being brought him of

• DUKAS, c. 39.

(R) The *Turkish* historians represent the matter quite contrary: they say, that the sea forces having taken great part of the city, compelled the rest to surrender; and that otherwise the efforts of the army by land must have been vain, despair having rendered the *Greeks* valiant. *Cant.* p. 98.

(S) Some *Christian* authors represent him in this affair as

leaving his post thro' cowardice, and say, that he died soon afterwards of grief. Nor is what *Khalcondylas* speaks of his behaviour in a former note much in his favour. Possibly, *Dukas*, being employed by the prince of *Lesbos*, a *Genoese*, might have added this circumstance, to save his credit; or possibly the others may have injured him, from an invidious report.

the

the emperor's death, and the loss of the city, he put to sea again. The shores were crowded with people of all sorts, who beat their breasts, and called to the sailors to take them in: but if they had been ever so willing, it was not in their power; nor could they possibly have escaped themselves, if the enemy's fleet had not been busy in plundering. The *Genoise* at *Galata* ran with their wives and children to their ships, leaving all their effects behind them: but the *Wazir Zogari* running to the shore, and promising them security for their persons and goods, the greater part returned with their magistrate, and presented the *Soltān* with the keys of their city. Only five great vessels set sail, the rest were abandoned by the sailors. The *Venetian* (T) galleys and merchant ships retired in the same manner.

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ALL that we have hitherto related happened between the 1st and 8th hours of the day; at which time the *Soltān* entered the city with his *Wazirs* and great officers, surrounded by a great body of *Janizaries*. When he came to the great church, he was astonished to see the condition it was in. Perceiving a *Fark* pulling up the marble pavement, out of zeal for religion, as he alleged, *Mohammed* drew his sword, and wounded him; saying, *Be content with the plunder, the buildings belong to me*. Then ordering one of the priests to ascend the pulpit, he heard prayers. On leaving the church, he sent for the *Grand Duke*; and bid him see the consequence of not delivering up the city. The *Grand Duke* replied, *That it neither was in his nor the emperor's power to surrender it: much less ought they to have done it, when the Soltān's own officers advised them to hold out; for that they said they could not take Emperor's city*. This answer increased the jealousy which *Mohammed* had conceived against *Hali Basba* (U). The *Soltān* asked him posed.

• DUKAS, c. 39. Khalk. l. 8. c. 7.

(T) Those in the *Turkish* fleet quitting their ships, to ransack the town, after the rest had plundered it, the *Venetian* galleys being destitute of men (whom the *Greeks* had taken out to defend their walls) ran a-drift along the *Hellepont*: so that three days after they ran ashore at the island *Egina*, and first brought the news of the loss of *Constantinople*; which spread such a general terror both by sea and land, that the *Greeks*

left their dwellings, and fled here and there. The lords of *Peloponnesus*, frightened like the rest, retired to their ships, to save themselves; which gave the *Albanians*, who inhabited the country, opportunity to throw off their obedience. Khalk. l. viii. c. 6.

(U) He soon after put him to death, and seized his treasure, *Khalkondylas* names him *Kathites*, son of *Priam*. Khalk. l. viii. c. 8.

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Or Khân slain.

OTHERS say that the duke hid himself with Or Khân, and other persons of condition, in a tower, which they at length yielded. Being sent on board a ship, a *Roman*, to obtain his liberty, discovered them both to the pilot; who immediately cut off the head of Or Khân, clothed in a monk's habit, and carried it with the Grand Duke (Y) to *Mohammed*, who comforted him. The *Soltân* having sent to seek for his wife and children in the camp, and in the fleet, gave to each 1000 aspers; and in sending them home to their own house, told the duke, that he would give him the government of the city, and confer on him greater honours than he possessed under the emperor. Having gotten from him the names of the principal officers and other persons of the court, he sent to search for them, and paid 1,000 aspers for each (Z) P.

Grand duke carressed.

THIS is the account which the *Greek* historians have left us concerning the taking of *Constantinople*; let us now see what the *Turks* themselves say.

P DUKAS, c. 40.

(X) It is said before, that neither of them knew he was the emperor: and *Khalkondylas* relates, that not one of the janizaries could say for certain any thing concerning the emperor's death; only it was supposed, that he was slain near one of the gates, having reigned three years, and as many months. l. viii. c. 6.-

(Y) *Khalkondylas* relates that *Notaras* (so he names the grand duke) and Or Khân, grandson of *Musulmân*, retired to a tower to consult what to do: that Or Khân, putting on a monk's habit,

would needs jump off the tower, but was killed by the fall: that *Notaras* made a shew of defending himself, but at length surrendered; and for that time escaped, with his sons. l. viii. c. 6.

(Z) Several *Venetian* men of quality, who arrived at *Constantinople* a little before the siege, fell into the hands of the *Turks*; but the *Soltân* set them all at liberty, excepting the *Baylo* of *Venice*, who was put to death in his presence. *Khalk.* l. iii. c. 6.

THE

THE Christians being at length reduced to a few defenders, and tired with continual fatigues; seeing also their walls full of breaches, their batteries destroyed, in a word, the city blocked up both by sea and land, without any hopes of relief, the emperor sends ambassadors to surrender it to *Mohammed*, on his own terms. The *Soltân* receiving them civilly, promises to grant the inhabitants their lives and effects, with liberty to remove whither they pleased; and then dismisses them: but having something farther to say, orders them to be called back. The centinels from the ramparts suspecting, from the haste which the messengers made after the ambassadors, that the *Turks* had a design to enter with them, and sieze the city, fired on them, to hinder their nearer approach. The *Oth-mâns* surprised, and perceiving some of their companions grievously wounded, found a retreat, and report what had happened to the *Soltân*; who imagining that the *Greeks* had repented of their agreement, and fired on his people out of revenge, orders his army to attack and destroy that perfidious enemy. On the other hand, the *Greek* emperor being told by the centinels, that the *Turks* had attempted to take the city by fraud, and were now approaching the walls, commands his subjects to exert their utmost in its defence. Upon this a fierce and bloody conflict ensues: but whilst the *Greeks* valiantly fight on the land side, those who defended the walls towards the haven, being beaten from their posts by the enemy's darts, give the *Turkish* forces an opportunity to enter the town on that side.

In this assault the emperor *Constantine* himself fell, whilst bravely acting the part sometimes of a general, sometimes of a soldier; and in the greatest dangers, animating his men with his presence. His headless body was found lying on that of an ensign-bearer; from whence the place takes its present name of *Sanjâk dar Yokusbi* (A); that is, ascents, or hills with ensigns on them.

WHEN these things were known to those who bravely repelled the attacks of the *Turkish* land-forces, they forthwith erected a white flag on the walls; and cried aloud from the ramparts, "Why do you, without the fear of God, for no fault of ours, break your promise? The agreement for surrender of the city is now made, and ordered by both emperors to be ratified. Desist therefore from fighting, nor

(A) 'Tis a high mount, on whose top is erected a temple, not far from the cathedral church of the *Virgin Mary*; the only antient church which the *Turks* have left to the Christians.

" assault

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"assault those who have engaged to be your future subjects." Mohammed hearing those words, and ignorant perhaps of what had passed in the haven, commands the battle to cease, promising to stand to the former conditions; and so receives that part of the city by surrender.

Half the  
city

NEXT day the *Soltân*, entering by the gate called *Top kapu*, makes the following declaration to the *Greeks*. "I promised you in our agreement, that if you chose to continue here, all the churches and monasteries should remain untouched, and your religion suffer no damage: but since I have acquired half the city by force of arms (B), and half by surrender, I think it just, and accordingly order; that the religious houses and churches, which stand in the part I have conquered, be converted into *Jâmi*, and the rest left intire to the Christians." Pursuant to this determination, all the churches from *Ak Seray* (C) to *Sancta Sophia* were converted into *Jâmi*; but from *Suli Monastir* (D) to *Ederne Kapu* all remained to the *Greeks* (E). After this, the land and sea forces being assembled in the market-place, called *Ak Seray*, Mohammed marched in a triumphal procession to *Sancta Sophia*. Then having ordered the *Ezan* to be sung (F), he went to the imperial palace; and as he entered, being addicted to poetry, is reported to have spoken an extempory distich, in the *Persian* language, the sense of which is this; "The spider has woven her web in the imperial palace; the owl has

yielded on  
terms.

(B) Almost all the Christian historians, both *Greek* and *Latin*, make the whole acquired by arms; but all the *Turkish* writers agree, that one-half was surrendered, on terms: nor is it likely that persons so apt to magnify their own affairs, and diminish those of others, would assert a fact which lessens the glory of this conquest, if it was not true. *Cant.*

(C) *Ak Seray*, or *Saray*, that is, *White Palace*, is a street which looks to the *Propontis*, where now are seen the beautiful chambers of the janisaries, called *Yanghi Odalar*, or, *The new Mansions*. No women, even those of the janisaries themselves, are permitted to pass thro' this street; for whatever injuries

they receive here go unpunished. *Cant.*

(D) Or, *The watry Monastery*; so called from the springs which flowed from its foundations. It was a church of the *Armenians*, who took up all that quarter of the city, but is now a *Jâmi*. *Cant.*

(E) But were taken away by *Selim I.* with liberty to build churches of wood in their room. *Cant.* note 17.

(F) A hymn, containing the *Mohammedan* profession of faith, sung by the *Musxin*, or chanter, on the highest tower, or minareh, of the *Jâmi*, to call the people to prayers. It is used also after victories, like the *Te Deum* among Christians. *Cant.*

" sung



"sung her watch song on the towers of *Afrasiab* (G);" in allusion to the downfall of the *Grecian* emperors. *Constantinople* was taken on the 20th of *Jemazio'l Ewel* (H), in the year 897, and 51st day of the siege; the negligence or treachery of the *Wazir* (I) preventing its being taken sooner. We will now return to *Dukas*.

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THE day after the city was taken, the *Soltan* entered it a *Grand* second time, and went to see the grand duke, who came out *duke, and* to meet him. As the duchess was sick, he went to her bedside, and calling her mother, bid her good-morrow, and not afflict herself; promising to give her more than she had lost. After this he walked about the city, which was quite empty, both men and beasts having been carried off.

THE 28th of *May* he again went over a great part of *others*, the city, and made a feast about the palace. When he had *put to* drank pretty hard, he ordered his chief eunuch to demand of *death*. the grand duke the youngest of his sons, who was 14 years of age, and extremely handsome. The duke suspecting the *Soltan's* design, turned pale, and told the eunuch he might take him, but refused to deliver him (K). Hereupon *Mohammed*,

† CANT. Othm. Hist. p. 100, & seqq.

(G) A palace of the king of *Persia*, celebrated in the *Turkish* fables; and at present the palace of the *Greek* emperors, is become the residence of owls and bats. *Cant.*

(H) *Jomado'l Awwal*; that is, the former *Jomada*, being the 5th month of the *Mohammedan* year.

(I) Who was said to be corrupted by the Christians. He seems to be *Halil Pascha*, whom *Phranza* names as chief of the council; and says, he advised *Mohammed* to desist from this war, both before and during the siege, when things succeeded not to his expectation: but that his opinion being rejected, he betrayed the resolutions of the *Othman* council to the *Greek* emperor; for which treason he was, a few days after the taking of the city, put to death. Prince

*Cantemir*, who mentions this, tells us, that we are not to expect such discoveries from the graver *Turkish* historians, who never clearly express the treachery of their own ministers, both to save the honour of that eminent post, and avoid paying so much regard to the memory of traitors. But this last is a very lame apology; for, sure, recording their treason must redound to their disgrace, not honour. However that be, this is a confession, that his graver sort of historians are not the most impartial.

(K) *Khalkondylas* relates, that all the *Greeks* who escaped the slaughter were released from slavery, and settled at *Pera*, especially the persons of any quality: for *Notaras* (or the grand duke) himself, with his wife and children, were bought by *Mohammed*,

A. D. 1453. *med*, in a rage, sent back the eunuch for the young lord, and an executioner with him, to bring the duke and his two other sons, and cut their heads off at the palace gate (L). He likewise commanded all the great men and officers to be executed, whom he had redeemed from the foldiers; choosing out of their wives and children, for his own use, those who were most handsome, and best shaped.

Plunder  
wasted.

THE third day after the taking of *Constantinople* the ships set sail for their respective countries, loaden with rich plunder and captives. The camp was no less crouded than the ships. There one might see persons of all degrees and conditions; bishops (M) in their pontifical habits, nuns in their religious dress, tied as slaves. The holy vestments were used as housings for horses and dogs. Some were seen serving up fruit in the sacred vessels, and others drinking out of chalices. They carried away in carts an infinite number of books, which they dispersed over both the west and east. They sold the most valuable authors for a trifle (N), threw away an incredible number of the gospels, after stripping off the ornaments;

*hammed*, and permitted to retire whither they pleased. But relying on the succours expected from *Italy*, he would needs remain at *Constantinople*, where several others gathered, who could not forbear entering into certain intrigues; which being presently discovered, so incensed the *Soltân*, that he put them all to death. Our author adds, that it was thought this misfortune was occasioned by the imprudent expressions *Notaras* used when the *Soltân* sent for his youngest son; saying, that since he had set them at liberty, he had no right to their persons; and that the demand was unjust, dishonest, and even outrageous. Others say, that all this was brought about by a lady, the daughter of a foreigner, who hated the *Greeks*; and with whom the *Soltân* was greatly enamoured. *Kbalk.* l. viii. c. 7.

(L) Both *Dukas* and *Kbalkondylas* say the great duke behaved at his death with great

magnanimity. The latter relates, that he desired his sons might be executed first, lest otherwise they should be reserved for an unnatural use; and that altho' the young creatures lamented, and intreated him rather to give them up, and all his effects which he had saved in *Italy*, than suffer them to be slain before his eyes, he would not bend. *Kbalk.* l. viii. c. 7. We cannot but think that obstinacy criminal which occasioned the death of so many people.

(M) Cardinal *Isidore*, bishop of *Russia*, the pope's legat, was taken and carried to *Pera*, where he was sold; but found means to escape aboard a ship. *Kbalk.*

(N) The *Turks* were so ignorant, that if they met with gold or silver they threw it away, to go in quest of brass or tin; and sold the richest precious stones for a very low price, or exchanged them for things of small value. *Kbalk.* l. viii. c. 6.

and burnt all the images to dress their (N) victuals<sup>r</sup>. The same day, according to the *Turkish* historians, the place where *Abu Ayub Ansâri* was buried, being revealed to *Sheykh Ak Sham-feddân*, he carries the *Soltân* into the suburb, called from that general *Ayub* (O); and the ground being dug, a great stone is found, with an inscription on it. Hereupon *Mohammed* orders a turbeh, *jâmi*, and school, to be erected over the tomb<sup>s</sup>.

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Abu Ay-  
ub's tomb.

THE fifth day after, the *Soltân* entered into *Galata*, and *Galata* dis-ordered an account to be taken of the number of inhabitants. mantled.

He likewise commanded the houses of those who fled to *Genoa* to be opened, and an inventory to be made of the goods in each; giving notice, that if the proprietors returned in three months, they should be restored; if not, that they should be confiscated. At the same time he ordered the walls of *Galata* to be demolished, and those of *Constantinople* to be repaired. He also chose 5000 families out of his dominions; and enjoined them, under pain of death, to settle by the end of *September* in that city; the government of which he gave to one of his slaves, named *Soleymân* (P). He left all the churches desert, except the great one (or *Santa Sophia*) which he converted into a mosk. After this, on the 18th of *June*, he returned in triumph to *Adrianople*, with a prodigious quantity of plunder, and an innumerable multitude of slaves. In the way died the wife of the grand duke. He found, at his arrival, a great number of Christian princes, who came from far and near to felicitate him on his success. He ascended his throne; and while they all stood before him, imposed on each such tribute and homage as he thought fit<sup>t</sup>.

Constan-  
tinople re-  
paired.

<sup>r</sup> DUKAS, c. 40 and 42.    <sup>s</sup> CANT. ubi supr. p. 104 and 106.    <sup>t</sup> DUKAS, c. 42. Khalk. l. 8. c. 7 and 8.

(N) They served them right.

(O) *Abu Ayub* was in the army; sent by *Soleymân ibn Abd-ulmâlek*, fourteenth *Ommiyan Kkâhsab*, to besiege *Constantinople*, in the year 96 of the *Hejrab*, of Christ 715, where he was killed, Prince *Cantemir* says the suburbs is situated at the head of the inner haven,

where the river *Kiaghiz Khaneh* discharges itself; and that near this place stood formerly the monastery of the *Blakhernae*, dedicated to the *Virgin Mary*, famous for miracles.

(P) About the same time the adjacent cities, particularly *Sellivri* and *Burgâz*, voluntarily surrendered to the *Soltân*. Cant.

## S E C T

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1454

## S E C T. II.

## Of the Conquest of the Morea.

Servia invaded

A. D.

1454

NEXT spring, resolving to join *Servia* to his dominions, he sent to demand the surrendry of that country of *George the Despot*; under pretence that the right of inheritance being in *Stephen*, son of *Lazarus*, it therefore belonged to him. His envoy not returning at the time appointed, he set forward with a formidable force; and having passed *Philippolis*, came to *Sophia*. There, leaving his army and *Wazirs*, he entered *Servia*, at the head of 20,000 foot (Q): but found none to oppose him, the *Despot*, with the chief men of his court, having retired to *Hungary*; promising the people to return with a powerful army. When he came to the fort of *Sandrow*, he did his utmost to take it, as it would give him an easy passage over the *Danube* into *Hungary*; however, he failed in the attempt. He had no better success against another fort, but took a city lower down, on composition; yet carried the inhabitants into slavery.

Made tributary.

THIS city seems to be the same which *Khalkondylas* calls *Nova Buda*, situated, he says, in the *Turkish* borders, near the river *Morava*, which falls into the *Danube*. *Mohammed* besieged and battered it so furiously with mortars (a kind of artillery said to be invented by him) that the inhabitants, seeing almost all their houses beaten down, surrendered at discretion. Part of them, he carried into slavery, the rest he left in the city, to follow their trades; being skilful in working metals, which the neighbouring mines afforded. *George* the prince (or *Despot*) of the *Tribalkians*, on the approach of the *Turks*, had fled to *Hunlades* for succour; and at the same time bought a peace with the *Soltân*, paying 40,000 dukats annual tribute: but soon after died. As *Eleazer*, his youngest son, was to succeed him; *Stephen* and *George*, whose eyes had been put out, found means to seize the treasure, and then fled to the *Turkish* court, where they were assigned lands to live on\*. The *Soltân*, at his return to *Adrianople*, repopled the towns and villages about *Constantinople* with 4000 men and women, who fell to his share; and going to that city, ordered a pa-

\* DUKAS, c. 42.

\* KHALK. l. 8. c. 12.

(Q) This war is not mentioned by prince *Cantemir's* historians.

place to be built (R) eight stadia in compass; the top of which was covered with lead taken from the monasteries.

A. D.  
1455.

THE second year after the conquest of *Constantinople*, the knights of *Rhodes* repaired thither with presents, soliciting a treaty of amity and commerce: but because, in obedience to the pope's order, they would not pay tribute, *Mahammed* declared war against them; and, in spring, fitted out a fleet of 180 sail; among which were twenty-five with three banks of oars, fifty with two banks, and the rest only one bank of oars. They set sail in *June* under admiral *Hamza*, who had been cup-bearer to *Amurat*, and came to *Lesbos*. The prince sent our author *Dukas* on board, to compliment and make him a rich present. Two days after he sailed for *Khio*; and though he treated the inhabitants of that isle with the same civility, yet they did him no honours. Upon this some *Turks* landed and spoiled the vineyards about the city; but it was too strong for them to attempt: besides, there were more than twenty armed *Genoese* ships in the port. Thence *Hamza* sailed to *Rhodes*: but, having observed at a distance the greatness of the city and number of ships in the harbour, he judged the island to be twice stronger than that of *Khio*, and so departed for *Ko*. The knights of *Rhodes* had left the town, and retired to another called *Rakheas*, which was fortified; but after twenty days siege was forced to surrender. Returning to *Khio*, a dispute happened with the islanders, wherein several *Turks* were killed, and one of the ships overset, with all the men on board. The *Soltan* at this news banished *Hamza* to the government of *Attalia*, and declared war against *Khio*.

A fleet sent  
against  
A. D.  
1455.

ACCORDINGLY ten galleys with three banks of oars, and ten with two, set sail, under the command of *Genuza*, a handsome young man, whom he made also governor of *Kallipolis*. With this force he took *New Phoea*: and while the author was at court, soliciting the affairs of the prince of *Lesbos*, the *Soltan* sent and took *Old Phoea*. He also reduced *Aynum* (S); whose prince then resided at *Samothrace* (T). Meantime the inhabitants of *Khio* made their peace, by paying 30,000 crowns for the galley which was lost, and 10,000 yearly tribute.

A. D.  
1456.

(R) Called *Esfi Saray*, or, *The old palace*, in the heart of *Constantinople*. 'Tis a vast building, surrounded with high walls, about an *Italian* mile square. Here usually reside the mistresses of the deceased *Soltan*, and the *Soltan's* who have had children;

likewise the old maids, who having survived their charms, are maintained out of the *Soltan's* clemency. *Cant.*

(S) Written also *Oenum* and *Ænus*.

(T) An island in the *Archipelago*, now called *Sanmadrakhi*.

A. D.  
1456.

Lemnos  
revolts.

Belgrade  
besieged;

A. D.  
1456.

raised  
with loss.

THE people of *Lemnos*, being disaffected with their prince, sent to desire *Mohammed* to appoint another. Accordingly he sent *Ismael Eunuch*, the successor of *Genuza*, with two gallies to settle *Hamza* there: which was done, although the prince of *Lesbos* (to whom it belonged) did all he could to bring the rebels to reason. This incensed *Mohammed* against him<sup>7</sup>.

HOWEVER, the *Soltân* in July turned his arms against *Belgrade*; and had such success at first, that he beat down part of the wall, and stopped the passage of the river with sixty vessels (U). Some of his soldiers also got into the place and carried off plunder: but *John Huniades*, happening to arrive the same day (W), charged them roughly; slew many, and drove out the rest. Then, making a furious sally, took the enemy's cannon, slew a great number of them, wounded the *Soltân* in the thigh (X), and burnt his ships (Y); whereupon he broke up the siege<sup>8</sup>. *Khalkondylas* says, *Huniades* himself was so grievously wounded, that he died a few days after (Z); but that some reported he died of the plague, which then raged in the Christian camp<sup>2</sup>. To this place must be referred the war which *Mohammed*, according to the *Turkish* historians, had with the king of *Hungary*; whose forces he defeated. They add, that in the battle the king received a wound, of which he was said to have died not long after (A): and that then the *Soltân* laid siege to *Belgrade*; which

<sup>7</sup> DUKAS, c. 42—45.  
viii. c. 13.

<sup>2</sup> DUKAS, c. 45. KHALK. lib.  
c. 14.

(U) The more western writers say, he had an army of 150,000 men, and 200 ships and gallies, which were sent up the *Danube* from *Widin*. Knowles ap *Ricaut* in *Mabomet II*.

(W) According to *Khalkondylas*, the king of *Hungary* was incamped on the other side of the *Danube* with a great army; and, having sent for ships from *Buda*, attacked and destroyed the *Turkish* fleet. Thus *Huniades* with succours got into the town. The fine conduct of this general, and great bravery of the *Soltân*, are very well related by that author, lib. viii. c. 13.

(X) Others say, under the

left pap; and that he was carried as dead into his tent. *Ricaut ubi supr.*

(Y) Others say, he took twenty ships and ran the rest on ground, which *Mohammed* ordered to be burnt, to prevent their being taken. *Ricaut ubi supr.*

(Z) His death is placed by the western historians on 10th Sept. 1456. *Karax*, or *Karatza Basba*, the best soldier *Mohammed* had, was killed in this battle by a cannon ball.

(A) This, according to the *Turkish* historians, fell in the year 860 of the *Hejrab*, and, consequently, in 1456 of *Christ*; and

which the approach of winter and loss of men obliged him to raise, after a long attempt<sup>b</sup>. *Khalkondylas* says, he was at the same time at war with the *Illyrians*, and the emperor of *Trebizond*; sending his galleys under the command of *Khetir*, governor of *Amasia*, to scour the coast of *Kolkhis*<sup>c</sup>. A. D. 1457.

NEXT year pope *Kalixtus* sent eleven galleys, under the conduct of the patriarch of *Aquileja*, to succour *Rhodes*; *Khio*, *sacked*. *Lesbos*, *Lemnos*, *Imbros*, *Samothrace*, *Tassa*, and other isles, in the neighbourhood of the *Turks*: where, being joined by the *Catalan* ships and corsairs, they made up forty sail; which rendezvoused at *Rhodes*. The *Soltân*, attributing all these movements to the prince of *Lesbos* (B), declared war; and sent *Ismael* with a fleet in *August* against *Methimne*: but, after attempting to make a breach as well as to undermine and scale the walls, he was forced to return, with great loss of men. A. D. 1457.

IN 1458, there arrived ambassador from the *Komâns*, and *Uzun* from *Uzun Hassan* (C), who commanded in *Armenia*, bordering on the *Kolkhians*. The latter came to demand a small pension (D), which *Mohammed's* grandfather had granted to the grandfather of *Uzun Hassan*, and had been due three score years. It consisted of 1000 housings for horses, 1000 carpets, and 1000 turbans. The *Soltân's* answer was, *that they might return, and assure their master, that next year he would go himself and carry him what he owed*. Towards winter he began to build at one of the ends of *Constantinople*, near the golden gate, a citadel; which the emperor *John Paleologus* was hindered from building by *Bâyezîd*<sup>d</sup>. *Hassan's embassy*. A. D. 1458.

LET us now return to the affairs of *Greece*; which, tho' *The* but slightly touched by the *Turkish* historians, are pretty largely *Morea* *invaded*.

<sup>b</sup> CANT. 107. <sup>c</sup> KHALK. lib. viii. c. 13 & 14. <sup>d</sup> DUKAS, c. 45.

and Christian writers place it in *August* the same year. So that it is more likely *Huniades* is here to be understood - (the *Turks* having mistaken him for the king of *Hungary*, as hath been observed in a former note) than *Ladislâus Posthumus*, son of *Albert*, emperor of *Germany*, as prince *Cantemir* concludes, p. 107; and the rather as he places his death according to the Christian writers in *Nov.* 1458.

He succeeded his father *Dorini Gattiluzzio*, who died in 1456. the author *Dukas* was an officer of his court; and carried the tribute twice or thrice to *Mohammed*: yet he no-where describes the person of the *Soltân*.

(C) *Dukas* writes *Osun Asan*.

(D) Others say, it was to apprise *Mohammed* of his claim to the empire of *Trebizond*, after the death of *David*, in right of his wife; threatening war in case he opposed him. *Ricaut*.

(B) His name was *Dominic*.

A. D. 1458. set forth by the *Grecian*, especially *Khalkondylas*. After *Mohammed* had built the castle on the *Bosphorus*, he sent *Thurakan* into the *Morea* (E), to make war on the emperor's brothers (*Thomas* and *Demetrius*): but, after taking *Neopolikhne*, he was obliged to retire, and his son *Ahmed* was seized by an ambuscade\*. The taking of *Constantinople* struck such a terror throughout *Greece*, that the lords of the *Morea* prepared to retire to *Italy*, accompanied by all the persons of distinction throughout *Greece*: but *Mohammed* diverted them by a sudden agreement. This resolution to leave the *Morea* brought upon them great calamities: for the *Albanians*, seeing them in a hurry to get away, seized the country; but, instead of setting up a governor of their own, as they were advised by one *Peter the lame*, they chose a prince out of the *Greeks*, who still remained among them. This was *Manuel Kantakuzenus*. After which they fell upon the other *Greeks* (subject to the two *Despots*), plundering their goods and carrying-off their cattle: for the *Albanians* in the *Morea* were shepherds, who lived in the fields without any fixed habitations. These people drawing together, took by force the cities and fortresses from the *Greek* inhabitants, whom they pillaged; and, considering them as no better than slaves, sent to the *Port*, offering to put the towns and forces of the *Morea* into the *Soltan's* hands, provided he would leave them in possession of the open country.

Albanians seized it.

Submit to their princes;

THIS surrender being secretly encouraged by *Centerion Zakharias* (brother to the wife of one of the late emperor's brothers), and one *Lukanus*; prince *Thomas* (the *Despot*) had them seized and imprisoned (F) in the castle of *Khlu-metia*. But, on a promise of *Centerion's* daughter in marriage, with other advantages, the governor was prevailed on to let them escape. They first attacked *Klina*, and then *Pattras*, a city of *Akhaia*, where resided *Thomas*, the youngest of the two *Greek* lords (G) (to whom the *Albanians* were subject); but were repulsed at both places. For all this the *Morea* would have been in danger of falling into the hands

\* KNALK. lib. viii. c. 1.

(E) This author always uses the name of *Peloponnesus*: but we chose the other, as being more commonly used by authors.

(F) The author observes, that *Centerion* was seized; because when *Morad*, father of *Mohammed*, came to break down

the wall of the *Morea*, he fled into *Akhaia*, and excited the princes and lords thereabout to revolt to the *Turks*.

(G) *Demetrius* and *Thomas Paleologus*, brothers of the late emperor *John*.



of the *Albanians*, had not the *Soltān*, at the intreaty of *Afan*, sent an army under *Turakan*; which having defeated their forces, and taken 2000 prisoners, with three or four of their towns, they submitted to their princes, on condition that they should keep the places which they had seized, and not be obliged to restore the plunder they had taken.

A. D.

1459.

*TURAKAN* at parting recommended unity to the two brothers, as the best means to keep their subjects in obedience: but his back was scarce turned before they fell at variance, and to supplanting each other. This gave occasion to *Lukanus* to excite the *Albanians* and inhabitants of the *Morea* to revolt. They had recourse thereupon to *Afan* (H), as the person of greatest power and authority; for he had the government of *Korinth*, and the greater part of the *Morea*: but he refusing to give them any countenance, they refused to pay the yearly tribute of 12,000 gold *Statera* (I), or any of the usual taxes, unless the lands were equally divided among them. And thus the *Greeks*, by their dissensions and party quarrels, by degrees, dwindled to nothing<sup>f</sup>.

In the year 1458, *Mohammed* sent to order the *Despots* of the *Morea* either to pay the three years arrears of 10,000 ducats tribute, or quit the country. In spring following he marched to attack the *Morea*, and reduced *Korinth*, without using force. At the first news of his approach, *Thomas*, one of the *Despots*, retired to *Italy* with his wife and children; and *Demetrius*, the other, submitted of his own accord to the *Soltān*; who carried him away, with many considerable persons of *Lacedemon*, *Akhaia*, and other provinces; where he placed governors. He brought 2000 families from the *Morea*, which he settled at *Constantinople*; and 2000 young men, whom he enrolled among his troops<sup>g</sup>.

Korinth  
taken.

A. D.

1458.

A. D.

1459.

To this place must be referred what prince *Cantemir* relates from *Saadi Effendi* and other *Turkish* historians: that, in 861 (K), *Mohammed* subdued the rest of the *Morea*; and, next spring, routed the *Greeks*, who were attempting to re-

The  
Greeks  
bridled.

<sup>f</sup> KHALK. lib. viii. c 9, & seqq.

<sup>g</sup> DUKAS, c. 45.

(H) By other writers called *Arjans*, or *Arjan*, a *Greek* lord.

(I) Amounting to about 24,000 ducats.

(K) The year 861 of the *Hijrah* answers to 1456 of *Christ*; but as it begins the 28th of *November*, most of it coincides with the year 1457.

However, still these transactions will be put a year earlier by the *Turkish* than the *Christian* historians; and indeed there is often a difference of two, sometimes of three or more between them. They differ no less in ranging facts; some putting that first which others place last.

A. D.

1459.



cover what they had lost, and repair *Altîmil* (L), whose walls he demolished; and, to prevent their making further disturbances, placed strong garrisons in *Ak Kerneh* and *Beldez*; after which he laid waste the island, *Korfes*<sup>h</sup> (or *Korfû*).

The  
Morea  
invaded,  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
and part  
subdued.

*KHALKONDYLAS* is more particular with regard to the affairs of the *Morea* at this time. According to that author, *Mohammed* having sent his officers into the *Morea*, to receive the tribute due to him, they found the *Greeks* in such feuds among themselves, that they forbore pressing either them or the *Albanians* on that head: while the *Soltân*, in consideration of the discord that reigned between the *Despots*, remitted one third of the tribute, recommending to them only not to violate the peace which they had sworn to keep. But, finding that they paid no regard to his instances, he marched with his army to the *Morea*, and leaving part of his troops to besiege *Korinth*, penetrated into the country, where he took *Tharfa*, *Arriba*, *Phliasia*, *Pazenika*, and other cities. One of the princes had retired to *Mantineia*, the other to *Epidauros*, cities of *Lakonia*; which last the *Soltân* longed to be master of: but, finding it too strong to attack, he returned to the siege of *Korinth*; whereinto, in his absence, *Afan* had made a shift to get (M) with a good number of soldiers, and some provisions. Although the castle was accounted impregnable, being situated on a high rock, and inclosed with three very strong walls; yet provisions beginning to fail after the first wall had been battered down with cannon (N), the inhabitants obliged *Afan* to surrender by capitulation. This was followed by a peace; whereby the *Despot* gave up all the country which *Mohammed* had passed through with his army, agreed to pay 2000 ducats tribute, and likewise yielded the *Egean* sea, the isle of *Kalaura*, the city of *Patras*, and the country adjoining to *Akhaia*<sup>1</sup>.

State of  
Athens

THE war being thus finished, *Mohammed* disbanded his forces, and went to see *Athens*; where he admired the

<sup>h</sup> CANT. Othm. Hist. p. 101.

& 2.

<sup>1</sup> KHALK. lib. ix. c. 1

(L) By *Altîmil* seems to be meant the wall of the isthmus of *Korinth*.

(M) He was at *Nauphia*, a city and port then belonging to the *Venetians*, from whence he passed by sea to the port of *Kenkhres*, which was the port of *Korinth*.

(N) These were of a vast size, some carrying a ball of 875 pound weight. The artillery were generally cast upon the spot, the metal being conveyed to the camp for that purpose.

*Pyreum*, the convenience of its ports, and all the superb ancient buildings. That city had been taken some time before by *Omar*, son of *Turakan*, governor of *Theffaly*, on the following occasion. On the death of *Nerio Acciaoli*, its prince, his duchess, who had a young son by him, became mistress of the state, by gaining friends at the *Turkish* court. Soon after, falling in love with a young *Venetian* gentleman, son of *Pietro Palmerio*, *Podestat* of *Nauplium*, who came there to trade, she proposed to put him in possession of all, provided he would turn off his wife, and marry her. *Palmerio*, fired with love as well as ambition, went back to *Italy*; and, having poisoned his wife, returned to *Athens*, and married the amorous duchess.

THUS he became a great lord; but was much hated by the people. He took on him the guardianship of her son, whom soon after he carried to the *Soltân*, because *Franko*, son of *Antonio Acciaoli*, *Nerio's* nephew, had retired to the *Turkish* court, in hopes one day of obtaining the principality. Accordingly, as soon as *Mohammed* heard of the ill-conduct of the widow, he gave the city to *Franko*; who sent the duchess prisoner to the city of *Megara*: where, soon after, she was made away with by his order. Upon this her husband went and complained to *Mohammed*; who, moved by his affliction, sent *Omar* to take *Athens*. That general found no difficulty to make himself master of the city; but the fortress holding out a long time, he at length prevailed on *Franko* to surrender it, in lieu of the country of *Beotia* and city of *Thebes* <sup>k</sup>.

MEAN time the *Despot Thomas*, uneasy under the *Turkish* yoke, began hostilities against his brother the *Despot* of *Sparta* (who had given his daughter in marriage to *Mohammed*), and dispatched troops to besiege *Pattras*. Hereupon the *Soltân* sent forces against them under *Khamus* (O), surnamed the *Spar-Hawk*; who seized *Ahmed*, governor of the *Morea*, and *Omar*, his predecessor, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage: but as soon as they heard of the general's approach, they retired to *Megalopolis*, to their prince, who then assembled a body of *Greeks* and *Albanians*, to oppose the *Turks*. However, they were easily defeated: after which the general, leaving part of his army under *Janius* and prince *Demetrius*, to continue the siege, ordered the rest into the garrisons. *Thomas*, being informed of this, returned, and

<sup>k</sup> KHALK. lib. ix. c. 3.

(O) *Dukas* calls him *Hamza*,

M 4

besieged

A. D. 1459. besieged the janizaries which remained to guard the fortresses.

Genoefes  
declare  
war.

AFTER this the *Genoefes* having demanded a restitution of *Pera*, as wrongfully detained from them, and *Mohammed* refusing to yield it; as they had actually made a voluntary surrender of it; as hath been before related, they declared war against him. Upon this the *Soltân*, passing over to *Asia*, took from them *Amastris*, on the *Euxine* sea, by composition, and transported two thirds of the inhabitants to *Constantinople*.

Amastris  
taken.

THE *Chirkassians*, under *Artabales*, had but newly retired from the siege of *Trebizond*, capital of the empire of *Kolkhis*, when *Khiter Beg*, governor of *Amasia*, came, and, surprising the suburbs, made two thousand prisoners. As that poor city was almost dispeopled by the pestilence, and must have been taken, had the enemy persisted; the emperor *John* (P) offered to become tributary, and pay 2000 ducats yearly, provided the captives were restored: which *Mohammed* agreed to<sup>1</sup>.

State of  
the isles,

BEFORE the taking of *Constantinople*, *Mohammed* bestowed *Lemnos*, *Imbros*, *Thassus*, and *Samothrace* (Q), islands in the *Ægean* sea, on one of his officers. But *Dorice*, after the death of his father *Palemedes*, seized the lordship of *Lesbos* (R) and *Lemnos*, with that of *Oenus*; which were all quickly recovered. Yet the four isles submitted to the fleet, which arrived presently after from *Italy*, commanded by the pope's legate. But as soon as that fleet had set sail for *Rhodes*, *Ismaël*, general of the *Turkish* gallies, over-ran *Imbros* and *Lemnos*; and seizing all the *Italians*, sent them to *Mohammed*, who put them to death at *Philippopoli*, where he then resided, the plague having driven him from *Constantinople*. Not long after, *Zogan*, having supplanted *Ismaël*, and obtained the government of *Gallipoli*, took *Thassus* and *Samothrace*; sacked them intirely, and sent the inhabitants to people *Constantinople*.

and of the  
Morea.

AS A N, having procured an army from the *Soltân* in favour of prince *Demetrius*, entered the *Peloponnesus*, and defeated prince *Thomas*, near *Leontatium* (S); where he afterwards besieged him for a few days: but, through the opposition of his adversaries, he was obliged to withdraw; for *Omar*, governor of *Theffaly*, and he were always at variance. For this reason, soon after, *Mohammed* gave his government

<sup>1</sup> KHALK. C. 4 & 5.

(P) Called also *Kalojobannes*.

(R) Now *Mitelin*.

(Q) Now *Stalimene*, *Lembro*, *Thraffo*, and *Sanmadrakki*.

(S) The same with *Megalopolis*.

with

with that of the *Morea* to *Zogan*; who, for his service in taking *Morezin*, the most famous corsair in the *Levant* seas, had in a short time risen in great credit. *Zogan* immediately entered *Akhaia* with his army, and sat down before the fortrefs, which forthwith surrendered; the *Greeks* who were there assembled dispersing themselves. On the other hand, the *Milaneses*, whom *Thomas* had sent for, on their arrival began to batter the city: but, having no more than one piece of cannon, were obliged to raise the siege, and retire to *Naupactus* m.

MEAN time prince *Thomas* with his forces reduced the country of *Lakonia*, and took the city of *Kalamata*, in the territory of *Messene*. He then went to besiege *Mantineia*: but, finding it was to no purpose, sent to sound whether *Mohammed* would give ear to an agreement with him. The *Soltán*, having had advice that *Uzun Hassan* was in motion in *Asia*, consented to a peace, on condition that *Thomas* should restore all the places which he had taken from him, and pay 12,000 ducats tribute. The conditions were accepted of by the prince: but, not being able to raise the money, things were in much distraction among his subjects. *Mohammed* was so offended that he put-off his expedition against *Uzun Hassan*, in order to fall upon the *Morea*.

BEING arrived at *Korinth*, *Asan* waited on him, on behalf of *Demetrius*, expecting to be vested with the command of his army: but when they were at *Tegea*, he imprisoned him and all his adherents; then marched to *Sparta*. *Demetrius*, amazed at this unexpected proceeding, would have retired to the castle, which is above the town: but when he heard that his brother-in-law *Asan* was a prisoner, he found he had nothing for it, but to go and present himself before the *Soltán*, who treated him with great kindness; assuring him, that all past transactions should be forgotten, and that another country should be given to him instead of *Sparta*. However, he was detained in the camp, and guards placed upon him.

AFTER this *Mohammed* went and seized a very fine and rich *Greek* city, which lies beyond *Sparta*, at the foot of the mountain *Taugete*, three miles from *Paleopoli* and the river *Euratus*. Then he marched to *Kastria*, a strong city about eight miles distant, with a castle on a rugged mountain, 500 paces high. This place his janizaries having taken, after a stout resistance, he ordered the garrison, being 300 men, to be put to the sword, and the governor to be cut in two, lengthways. Next he took *Leontarium*, with the castle of *Kadikea*,

A.D.

1459.

by the  
Soltân.

where neither man nor beast was spared. Out of 6000 inhabitants only 300 were taken prisoners, and they were put to the sword in cold blood. The rest of the cities of the *Morea*, terrified with this slaughter, surrendered by their deputies. *Byen-Salvarium*, in *Arkadia*, did the same, a very strong place, with a fine port over-against *Pylus*; whose inhabitants, to the number of 10,000, were sent to people the suburbs of *Constantinople*.

*MOHAMMED*, after carrying prince *Demetrius* about with him for some time, guarded and bound, released him; and, by his persuasion, sent *Josbua* to receive the city of *Epidaurus*, and bring away his wife, and daughter, whom the *Soltân* seemed desirous to espouse. The citizens delivered the ladies; but would not part with the city. After this *Mohammed* resolved to fall upon the places belonging to the *Venetians*.

Conquests  
by Zogan.

MEAN time *Zogan*, governor of the *Morea*, who was sent to conquer the countries of *Akhaia* and *Elis*, took the city of *Kalaurita*, by surrender, from *Doxas*, one of the chief among the *Albanians*, who were afterwards all put to death. Then he marched to *Grebenum*, a very strong place: but, not being able to take it, he proceeded to *Sancta Maura*, another city of the *Albanians*; whither the most wealthy people of the country had retired for safety. Those in the fortress having surrendered by composition, *Zogan* took possession; but, contrary to his promise, let loose his soldiers, who slew many of the inhabitants, and made prisoners of all the rest. The other *Albanian* cities, in despair of finding after this any mercy from the *Turks*, would hear no more of surrendering on the faith of their generals.

Prince  
Thomas  
retires.

WHILE these things were doing on one side, *Mohammed* marched from *Kardikea*, to view *Koron*; and then proceeded to *Pylus*, where prince *Thomas* was, with a ship waiting to carry him off, when he should see occasion: but the fleet of the *Venetians*, to whom it belonged, putting-in there, he was ordered to retire, to avoid giving offence to the *Soltân*. Accordingly, as soon as he knew that the *Othmàn* army was encamped near the town, he withdrew; and the *Venetian* ambassadors waited on *Mohammed* to renew their treaties. After his troops had scoured the country, and made a great number of *Albanians* captives, he sent prince *Demetrius* to reduce *Beotia*, and marched himself into *Akbaya*; where he seized all the strong towns and castles, which the lords of the country yielded to him. Here, being informed of *Zogan's*

quely at *Sancta Maura*, and the consequence of it, he ordered all the people to be set at liberty; turning *Zogan* out of his post, which he gave to *Khamus*°.

A. D.  
1458.

This done, he took *Grebenum*; and, marching towards *Patras*, subdued the city of *Kastrimenum*. Then besieged *Salmenika*, situate on the top of a high mountain, with a castle on a steep rock, which he battered for seven or eight days to no purpose: but the janizaries having found means to turn off the river from the inhabitants, they were obliged to surrender, and were all made slaves. The castle, where one of the *Paleologi* commanded, would have come to a composition; and *Mohammed* had, by way of preliminary, withdrawn with his army a league distant: but *Khamus*, whom he left before the place, having seized some of the inhabitants, the rest refused to capitulate. Hereupon the *Soltân* turned him out of his command, and restored *Zogan*.

Other  
cities  
taken

A. D.  
1458.

He marched next into the country of *Pheanum*, where he put to the sword a great number of *Albanians*, who, on his parole, brought provisions to the camp. He used the same kind of deceit in the country of *Phliunte*: for, observing that the *Albanians* were generally the cause of the revolt of the *Greeks*, he resolved to weaken their power, as the most effectual way to prevent rebellions for the future. After this, *Mohammed* returned to *Athens*; where being misinformed by the janizaries, who kept the castle, that the people had conspired to deliver up the city to *Franco Acciaoli*, lord of *Beotia*, and lately duke of *Athens*, he had ten of the most considerable citizens arrested, and sent them to dwell at *Constantinople*. As to *Acciaoli*, he sent him to *Zogan*; who put him to death. Then, setting forward, to return by *Pherres* to *Adrianople*, he ordered *Demetrius* to go before; and gave him the city of *Ænus*, with the revenue of the salt-pits belonging to it: besides 12,000 crowns out of the treasury<sup>P</sup>.

Acciaoli  
put to  
death.

MEAN time, *Zogan*, after ravaging the country, besieged *Salmenika*, and offered the inhabitants very advantageous conditions; which they rejected: but soon after, the chief of the *Greeks*, who, for a year together, had, with invincible courage (Q), sustained the war, and the continual as-

nika sur-  
rendered.

° KHALK. lib. ix. c. 8.

<sup>P</sup> Ibid. c. 9.

(Q) Of this virtuous and magnanimous prince (whom we conceive to be *Paleologus*, before-mentioned), *Mahmud Basba*, the chief man at the *Turkish* court, said, that he had seen many deer, and other fallow beasts, in the *Morea*, but not one who might be called a man, except him. *Khal*. Some will have this to be Prince *Thomas* himself.

faults

A. D. 1459. faults of the *Turks*, gave up the place; having liberty to carry-off his effects.

Prince Thomas at Rome.

PRINCE *Thomas*, having retired from *Pyles*, went to the island of *Korfu*; where he left his family, and set sail for *Italy*. At the same time, he sent an ambassador to know if *Mohammed* would give him a great extent of country along the sea coast, in exchange for the city of *Epidamnium*. The *Soltān*, by way of answer, put the envoy in irons: but soon after sent him back. *Thomas*, being arrived at *Rome*, was lodged in the pope's palace, and had a pension of about 2000 livres for his other expences\*. Thus the whole *Morea* fell under the power of the *Turks*, except such maritime places as were in the hands of the *Venetians*.

### SECTION III.

#### To the Conquest of Bosnia.

Semen-dria surrendered.

WHILE these things were doing in the *Morea*, the *Soltān* set forward to recover *Senderovia* (R) (or *Semendria*), which had been given by the *Triballians* (or *Servians*) to the king of *Hungary*; but, on his approach, the inhabitants went and delivered up the keys to him\*. The *Turkish* historians say, he besieged and took *Semendria*; which the Christians had subdued some years before. They add, that, within two years after the conquest of *Constantinople*, he reduced by arms, or capitulation, above 40 cities (S).

Hej. 863. A. D. 1458.

A. D. 1459.

IN 864 (T), he seized in *Asia* the territories of *Kizel Ahmed* (U), by the treachery of his brother *Ismael Beg* (X). *Ahmed* flies to *Uzūn Hassan* (Y). Hereupon *Mohammed* passes over with a great army; and, having routed *Uzūn Hassan's* forces, takes *Sinopi*†. This city stands on a tongue of land,

*Sinope* yielded.

\* KHALK. ubi supr. c. 10. p. 107.

\* Ibid. c. 5.

\* CANT.

(R) Called also *Sendraw*, on the *Danube*.

(S) And, during his whole reign, 200 cities and 12 kingdoms, by the confession of the Christian writers themselves.

(T) *Dukas* places this expedition in the year 1461.

(U) That is *Red Ahmed*, who first occasioned the war between *Uzūn Hassan* and *Mohammed*.

(X) *Khalkondylas* calls him

*Amontes*; and says, he was reported to have spurred *Mohammed* to this expedition against his brother, whom he names *Ismael*.

(Y) That is, *Hassan the Tall*; he was king of *Kapadocia*. Cant. He was the first of the *Turkman* race of *Ak Koyunlu*, who reigned in *Persia*. *Dukas* writes *Osun Asan*. Others *Ussan Cassan*. See vol. vi. p. 112.

extending



extending near five miles into the sea. It is surprisingly strong, being washed on two sides by the sea : yet is very pleasant. The country to the continent is a sandy plain ; and the peninsula covered with orchards, and parks full of game.

A. D.

1459.

THE Soltân, who was incensed against the prince of *Sinopi* for having leagued with *Uzûn Hassan* against him, sent thither a fleet consisting of 150 sail of galleys and round vessels (Z) ; which arrived at *Sinopi*, at the same time that he, with his army, got thither by land, by way of *Kastamonu*. But *Mahmûd Basba*, arriving before the Soltân, had a conference with the prince ; who agreed to surrender up *Sinopi*, on condition *Mohammed* would give him *Philippoli* (A). This was agreed to, and he retired thither. *Kastamonu* and his other possessions submitted thereupon : for his territories, which were very rich, began at the city of *Heraklea*, which belonged to *Mohammed*, and extended from the kingdom of *Pontus* to *Paphlagonia* and the lands of *Turgut*. They yield about 400,000 ducats rent ; and abounded in the best copper next that of *Iberia* ; which, when our author wrote, brought the Soltân 40,000 ducats yearly. *Mohammed* carried with him to *Constantinople* a ship of 900 tons, which *Ismael* had built ; and brought it into port, where he had a larger of his own : but, both of them becoming unserviceable at sea, he built a vessel of 3000 tuns ; which soon after overset in the port by the weight of its mast.

by Ismael Beg.

Huge ships.

It was after this, according to the Greek historians, that the Soltân marched against *Uzûn Hassan* ; into whose dominions he entered after he had passed *Sebastie* (or *Siwâs*), and took the city of *Koreykum*. In his march forward, he was met by the mother of *Uzûn Hassan* ; who reproaching him mildly, with warring against those of his own nation, as well as faith, he agreed to make peace on two conditions : that her son, for the future, should neither ravage his territories, nor any way assist the emperor of *Trebizond*. According to *Dukas*, *Uzûn Hassan*, not having forces sufficient to oppose *Mohammed*, retired to the mountains on the borders of *Persia*. The Soltân then crossing *Armenia*, the river *Phasis*, and Mount *Kaukasus*, taking many places in his way, entered *Kalkhis*,

Peace with Hassan.

\* KHALK. l. ix. c. 10 & 11. DUKAS, c. 45.

(Z) Thus *Kbalkondylas*. *Dukas* says, the fleet consisted of 200 galleys of two and three banks of oars.

(A) *Dukas* says, this was *Mohammed's* offer.

(B) Perhaps that before-mentioned.

and

**A. D. 1459.** and marched to *Trebizond*; where he found his (C) fleet \*. In his passage, *Koyunlu Hissar* was surrendered to him by *Huseyn Beg*, who had married the daughter of the king of *Trebizond*. Then, besieging this last city, *David Komnenus*, by the persuasions of his mother-in-law *Sare Khân*, delivers up himself and kingdom to *Mohammed*; by whom he is honourably received, and sent, with all his family, to *Constantinople*†.

Trebi-  
zond be-  
sieged:

*DAVID* was son of the emperor *Alexis*, and brother of *John*, his predecessor; on whose death, he, by assistance of the *Kabazitans*, who commanded at *Mezokhalde* near *Trebizond*, seized the empire, in prejudice to his nephew *Alexis*, who was but four years old. The cause of *Mohammed's* quarrel against *David* was, that he had entered into a close alliance with *Uzun Hassan*, and given him his daughter in marriage (D); upon an assurance, that his son-in-law would free him from the tribute which he was to pay the *Soltân*‡.

was surren-  
dered on ar-  
ticles:

*MOHAMMED Bâsbâ*, who was posted at *Sklokhme*, having had an interview with the Great Chamberlain *George*, the emperor's cousin-german, advised him to persuade *David* to surrender; which that prince consented to, provided the *Soltân* would marry his daughter, and give him a country of the same value with his own. *Mohammed* at first refused to come to any composition: but, at length, by the advice of his council, agreed to the terms proposed; upon which *David* surrendered the place, and with his nearest relations was carried to *Constantinople*. *Mezokhalde*, and the other places, surrendered, one after the other: and thus the city of *Trebizond*, with the whole country of *Kolkhis*, which, but a little before, composed a noble empire, fell at once into the hands of the *Turks*.

emperor  
put to  
death.

THE people he disposed of several ways: some he made janizaries, others slaves; and, some time after, put the emperor and his sons to death. For the wife of *Uzun Hassan*

\* DUKAS, c. 45. † CANT. p. 107. ‡ KHALE.  
l. viii. c. 11. DUKAS, c. 45.

(C) Which, *Kalkondylas* says, in the year 1472. See *Angiol-  
lollo's Account of the Life of Uzun  
Kassan*, and *The Voyage of an*

(D) This was *Katharina Com-  
nena*, daughter of his brother  
*John*: she is called *Despina Ka-  
tan* by some travellers of the  
same time. The time of this  
expedition is put by one of them  
*anonymus Merchant into Persia*;  
both in *Ramusio's Collection of  
Travels*, vol. ii. See also  
*Univ. Hist.* Vol. XVIII. p.  
454.

having

having written to *David* to send her one of his sons, or else *Alexis Comnenus*, who was then at *Meselin*; *George*, the grand chamberlain, gave the letters to the governor of the princes: but fearing the worst, in case it should by any means come to the knowledge of *Mahmûd Bâsbâ*, that he was privy to such an affair, he took them back, and delivered them to the *Soltân* himself. The *Soltân*, having read them, ordered all the parties above-mentioned to be strictly guarded; and, after carrying them to *Constantinople*, to be put to death, not sparing *George*, the emperor's youngest son, who had turned *Mohammedan*. The daughter of *David*, whom he had before taken to wife after a sort, he reduced to serve in the chamber<sup>a</sup>.

It is time now to look back to *Skânder Beg*, and see what *Skânder* was doing all this while in *Epirus*. *Mahammed*, soon after *Peg's* success his father *Morâd's* death, sent *Hamza*, with 12,000 horse, *celles*: against that prince; who lying in ambush on the top of *Mount Modrissa*, they were, in their passage by night, attacked with great slaughter; and driven down again into the plain, where *Ameza*, the prince's nephew, was ready to receive him in as rough a manner. In this action, 7000 *Turks* were killed, and the general, with many officers and common soldiers, taken prisoners. The year following, 14,000 horse, under *Debreas*, were sent against *Skânder Beg*; who, with 6000 choice men, marched to surprise him at *Polagus*, before he entered *Epirus*: but, being perceived by the moon-light, the *Turks* had time to draw up in order. However, the prince falling on furiously with his troops, and, after a sharp contest, killing *Debreas*, the enemy fled; leaving 4,120 slain behind them. There fell on this occasion only a few of the Christians, among whom *Skânder Beg* distributed the spoil.

AFTER this, *Skânder Beg*, consulting at *Dibra* with *Moses*, besieged the governor, who was in greatest favour and authority with *Belgrade*; him, about laying siege to *Sfetigrade*; that general, having been corrupted by an emissary of the *Soltân*, advised him to change his design, and besiege *Belgrade*, in the borders of *Epirus*. With this view, the prince requested aid of *Alfonso*, king of *Naples*; which being arrived, he invested the place with 14,000 men; and so distressed it, that the *Turks* promised to surrender it, in case they were not relieved in sixteen days.

THE news of this siege coming to *Mohammed*, who was then going over into *Asia* against the emperor of *Trebizond*,

A. D.  
1459.

his forces  
defeated.

he sent *Sebalias Bāsbā*, with 40,000 horse, to raise it. The politic *Bāsbā*, having prevented notice of his approach, by corrupting *Skānder Beg's* scouts, fell unawares on that part of his army which lay in the plains. *Musakhhius*, who commanded those troops, drew them up in the best manner he could, and made a brave resistance: but, seeing his men cut-down in heaps, attempted to break through the enemy's ranks; and, after performing wonders, was slain, with all his men. *Skānder Beg* would have come down from the mountains to his relief; but was dissuaded by his officers from so dangerous an enterprize. However, observing at last, that most of the *Turks* followed the pursuit, he descended suddenly, with 4000 men, and made great slaughter among those who remained in the plain. Then, attacking the *Bāsbā's* rear, did great execution. At length, night approaching, both parties retired to the hills: from whence *Skānder Beg* marched to *Epirus*; and *Sebalias*, in triumph, to *Constantinople*. This was the greatest overthrow *Skānder Beg* had ever till then received; his loss amounting to 2000 horse and 3000 foot, most of them *Italians*, besides his tents and artillery: about 80 also were taken prisoners. The *Turks* lost in all 3000.

Revolt of  
Moses, -

As soon as *Moses* heard of this defeat, he, with a few whom he had corrupted, fled to *Mohammed*; by whom he was honourably entertained. *Skānder Beg* was amazed at this accident; but afterwards, excusing the traitor on score of the temptation, would suffer none to reproach him. Meanwhile he urged the *Soltān* to proceed in the war; and the spring following was sent with 15,000 select horse to invade *Epirus*. *Skānder Beg* advanced to meet him; and, joining battle, repulsed the van of the enemy: then, attacking the main body, *Moses*, who commanded it, bent his force against the place where the prince was, with a design to kill him. in effect, a *Turkish* soldier, happening to encounter him, struck him backward on his horse; at which the *Othmāns* gave a great shout, as thinking him slain: but he, recovering himself, assaulted his adversary afresh, and slew him. Soon after the rest fled; *Moses*, with 4000 only, escaping the slaughter. The *Soltān* would have put him to death at his return, but for fear of discouraging deserters: and, finding himself neglected by every body, he soon after fled back to his old master; who restored him to all his former posts.

and of  
Amesa.

SOME time after, *Amesa*, in resentment of certain injuries done him, as he alleged, by his uncle *Skānder Beg*, withdrew, with his wife and children, to *Constantinople*. He was kindly received by *Mahammed*, who, the next spring, sent

*Ishak*,

*Isbâk*, the Great *Bâsbâ* of that city, at the head of 50,000 men; with orders, as soon as he arrived in *Epirus*, to proclaim *Amesa*, who had the charge of 5000 horse, king of that country, that the inhabitants might see his quarrel was against their prince, not the nation. *Skânder Beg*, to prepare against this storm, levied troops in all parts of his territories: but lay himself only with 6000 men; and, as soon as the *Bâsbâ* came in sight, fled, not as usual into the woods and mountains, but towards *Lyssa*, a maritime town of the *Venetians*, as if he despaired of keeping the country.

*ISHAK Bâsbâ* hereupon marched farther into the country, contrary to the advice of *Amesa*, whom he had proclaimed king; and, the third day, came to the plains of *Amatha*: the night following, he encamped in those of *Pharsakia*, famous for the battle between *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; and, next morning, removed to the foot of *Mount Tumenist*. Here *Skânder Beg*, who, by his spies, had watched all the motions of the enemy, came over the hill upon them, when they least expected him; and, breaking into their camp before they could draw out in order, made such a slaughter, that they fled, maugre all the intreaties of *Isbâk* and *Amesa*; who both behaved gallantly; and were pursued till quite out of *Epirus*. Of the *Turks* were slain 20,000, by the lowest account; some say 30,000: and of the Christians no more than 60 (E). The spoils were very great; and among the prisoners were *Amesa* and a *Sanjâk*, with whom *Skânder Beg* entered *Kroja* in triumph.

AFTER this, no hostilities were committed by the *Turks* in several for two years; and the third, *Mohammed* concluded a peace for one year with *Skander Beg*: but, as soon as it was expired, he sent *Sinan Bâsbâ* into *Epirus*, with an army of 20,000 men. This was quickly defeated, as was another of 30,000, under *Hassan Beg*, who was taken prisoner; and a third, of 18,000, commanded by *Tuffan Beg*, fared no better. At length, *Karaza Beg*, an old commander, and acquaintance of *Skânder Beg*, was, at his request, sent against him with 40,000 men; which the prince being informed of, assembled a greater force than usual, and, sending 2000 men before to lie in ambush in the enemy's country, they defeated their vanguard, consisting of 4000 horse. Soon after the rest of the army entered *Epirus*: but a hard rain, which continued for three days, preventing any action, the old general thought fit to return home, without doing any thing. Upon

[E] These almost impossible facts discredit the history of *Skander Beg*.

A. D. 1461. this, the *Soltān*, finding, that *Skānder Beg* was not to be subdued with such forces as he could then spare to send against him, dispatched an ambassador to him with rich presents, and proposals of peace; which was at length concluded in 1461, and continued for some time <sup>b</sup>.

Peace concluded.

THIS is the account given by the *Italian* and other Christian historians, relating to the affairs of *Epirus*, during this war: but *Khalkondylas* represents them in a very different light. According to that author, *Mohammed* sent a great army in summer (F) against *Skānder Beg* (G), whom *Morad Breneses*; who over-ran that part of *Macedonia* bordering on the *Ionian* sea. But *Skānder Beg*, having demanded aid of the pope, and *Alphonso*, king of *Naples*, his great friend, offering to give-up *Kroya* in return for their assistance, a considerable body of foot was sent over; which, landing at *Durazzo* (H), entered the *Turkish* borders, plundering and carrying-off all who fell into their hands. Then, joining that prince's troops, they besieged *Sfetigrade*; and possibly would have taken it, had not *Jesbua* come unexpectedly upon them, and cut them all in pieces. *Skānder Beg* himself, who happened luckily to be absent, soon after retired to his friends in *Italy*.

Epirus over-run.

A. D. 1460.

Skander Beg's retreat.

AT his return, he chose out a convenient place; which he fortified, to serve for a retreat, when pursued by the *Turks*. This place was near *Durazzo*, on the *Adriatic* coast; where there was a little peninsula of land, about three quarters of a mile over; which he inclosed with a strong wall, and peopled with *Albanians*. He likewise put *Durazzo* in a better state of defence than it was in before, and thus secured a retreat by sea, in case he should be obliged by superior force to quit the land. After this, forming a flying camp of *Albanians*, he betook himself to the mountains; appearing sometimes in one place, sometimes another, where-ever his presence was necessary, and had always an eye on the enemy; who soon after came and ravaged the country from one end to the other, carrying away men and beasts, and burning the towns and villages, without opposition <sup>c</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> KNOWERS's *Ottom. Emp.* edit. Ricaut. in *Mahomet II.*  
<sup>c</sup> *Khalk.* l. viii. c. 16.

(F) This was, as we compute, in the year 1460. *Skender*, or *Skander*, son of *Ibanes*.

(H) Called, by our author,

(G) Called, by our author, *Duras*.

To corroborate this relation of *Khalkondylas*, *Dukas* says, A. D. 1463. that *Mohammed* put to death all the great men of *Albania*, and demolished all the forts through that country; excepting *Monembasia*, which he left standing contrary to his intention. *Albania dismantled.* The same author adds, that the *Soltân* sent a fleet of 180 ships into the *Egean* sea, without reaping any advantage from it: that he spent part of the following winter at *Adrianople*, and the rest at *Constantinople*; and that he ordered a ship of Great extraordinary size to be built; and also the theatre, called *Ship-Market for Cloaths*, named, in *Persian*, *Bezeestan*<sup>d</sup>.

THE *Greek* islands remaining still unsubdued, *Mohammed*, Hej. 865: A. D. 1460. in 865, prepares a great fleet, and attacks *Mitylene*; which, though bravely defended, at length is mastered. The rest would have shared the same fate, had he not been diverted by the *Kazikla Voda* (I), prince of *Walakhia*, refusing to pay the usual tribute<sup>e</sup>.

THE *Greek* writers are more particular. According to *Mitilene* *Dukas*, in the month of *September* (K), *Mohammed*, with a fleet of 67 sail, came before *Lesbos*, and summoned *Nicholas Gattulizio*, who then held it, to surrender. *Nicholas*, who, to possess the estate, had strangled his brother *Dominic* (L) four years before, had, for the defence of the island, repaired the fortifications, and provided 5000 soldiers, besides the inhabitants; who, reckoning women and children, amounted to 25,000. On his refusing to give it up, *Mohammed* returned to *Adrianople*, and left the care of the siege to the *Wazîr Mahmûd*; who battered *Lesbos* with such vigour, that he beat down that part of the wall called *Melanudion*, with part of the fortifications and towers<sup>f</sup>. As the history

<sup>d</sup> DUKAS, c. 45.  
cap. 45.

<sup>e</sup> CANT. p. 108.

<sup>f</sup> DUKAS,

(I) He was a bloody tyrant. He impaled 6000 men for a trifling occasion; and thence got, among the *Walakhians*, the nickname of *Kapalush*, or *Pale-maker*. By the Christians he is called *Dragula*; but why (says Prince *Cantemir*) I know not, because that name is foreign to the *Moldavian* language. *Cant.* This tyrant was not *Dragula*, or *Drakula*, but *Vladus*, or *Bladus*, a son of his.

is three years later than the *Turkish* historians: nor can we well suppose him to be mistaken, considering he was himself upon the spot.

(L) *Khalkondylas* says, *Dominic*, called, by the *Greeks*, *Cyriak*, put his elder brother to death; but names him not. He likewise surnames him *Katalusio*. But *Dukas*, who was an officer of his court, may be presumed to have known these matters best.

A. D. 1463. written by *Dukas* breaks off abruptly here, we shall supply the rest from *Khalkondylas*.

*and surrendered:* THIS author informs us, that so great a breach filled the besieged with terror; and that though, by the assistance of some pirates, they continued to make a few sallies, and defend the place; yet the prince, seeing no hopes of holding out, or of relief, sent to tell *Mohammed Bâsbâ*, that he would surrender up the isle, provided some other lands were given him in lieu of it, as had been at first offered. Of this, the *Bâsbâ* sent advice to *Mohammed*, who was so glad of the occasion, that he returned to make the agreement himself. The island having been surrendered, the commonalty were left to cultivate the land. Of the middle class of people, some were made slaves; others enrolled among the *Janizaries*; and the better sort of all were sent to *Constantinople* to repeople that city. As for the *Corfaires*, 300 in number, they were all cloven with the sword from the groin to the breast, and thus left to expire in torment.

*the prince beheaded.* SOON after his return to his capital, he imprisoned the prince (M), with *Lucius*, his cousin-german, lord of *Ænus*; who, though young, had assisted him in the murder of his brother: and though both of them turned *Mohammedans* to save their lives, yet they were soon after confined again, and at length beheaded<sup>e</sup>.

THE prince of *Walakhia*, having refused to pay the usual tribute, as before-mentioned, the *Soltân* marched into his country; and, expelling him, made his younger brother governor of that province<sup>h</sup>. The occasion and consequences of this war are more satisfactorily set forth by the *Greek* and other *Christian* writers.

*Walakhia refuses homage:* MOHAMMED having sent to the *Waywode* (N) to come pay

<sup>e</sup> KHALK. l. x. c. 2.

<sup>h</sup> CANT. p. 108.

(M) His sister, who was the most beautiful lady in the east, was put in the *Soltân's* seray, or seraglio. She was the widow of *Alexander Comnenus*, who died at *Trebizond* after it was taken; and left a son by her, who afterwards became one of the greatest men at the *Othmân* court. *Khalk.*

(N) *Khalkondylas* calls him *Vladus* (others *Bladus*), and says,

*Mohammed* bestowed *Moldavia* on him, by the interest of his younger brother, who was the *Soltân's* catamite; for having wounded him on his first attempt, he afterwards complied, to secure his safety. As for *Vladus*, he was a monster in cruelty: at his first entrance, he seized all the considerable men; and, not content to put them to death, impaled them alive. In a few



pay him homage (O), to bring with him 500 young men, and pay for the future 10,000 crowns a year tribute, that prince replied; that he was willing to pay the tribute, but would neither bring the 500 men, nor go and adore him. The *Soltán*, incensed at this answer, sent a considerable officer, with a secretary, to tell the *Waywode* to remit the tribute, and that their master would consider of the rest. But the *Waywode*, instead of complying, ordered them to be impaled: then, crossing the *Danube*, he ravaged *Disleta*, and took many prisoners; whom he also impaled. After that, he defeated *Hamza* (P), governor of the province; who opposed him with 10,000 men: and having taken him, with many others, impaled them all.

MOHAMMED, mad with rage at this cruel insult, entered *Walakhia* with an army of 150,000 men (Q): but as the inhabitants had withdrawn into the woods and passes of the mountains, the *Soltán* met with nothing but a solitude for seven days together. At length he arrived in a more agreeable country; but found it planted with stakes, bearing the bodies of those who had been impaled; among which was that of *Hamza*, dressed in purple silk. This struck him with fear; and, in the night, the *Waywode*, breaking into his camp, made a great slaughter (R): but, at day-break, re-

invaded  
by Mo-  
hammed:

few days, he destroyed above 10,000 people; and, having fixed himself in the province, engaged with the *Hungarians*, beginning to throw-off the *Turkish* yoke. *Kbalk.* l. ix. c. 12.

(O) *Dukas* places this before the expedition to *Mitilene*, or *Lesbos*; and in the year 1462.

(P) *Kbalkondylas* says, he was decoyed by the secretary into an ambuscade laid by *Khamuz* (or *Hamza*); and that *Vladus*, having defeated and taken them, impaled them, to punish their treachery. *L.* ix. c. 13.

(Q) *Kbalkondylas* says, 250 thousand; and that *Mohammed* himself, with 25 galleys and 50 transports, went by sea, and ascended the *Danube*, burning *Bidina*, and other places on its banks; among the rest

*Praylabum*, the chief mart in *Walakhia*. The *Soltán* undertook this war at the instigation of *Pogdan* (or *Bogdan*), prince of *Black Pogdania* (or *Kara Bogdania*), who was then at war with *Vladus*, and had besieged *Celium*, or *Kilia*, situate on the *Danube*. *L.* ix. c. 14—16.

(R) *Vladus* divided his forces into two parts; sending one to hinder *Bogdan* from entering the country on one side. With the other part, not exceeding 10,000 men, others say but 7000, he retired into the woods; and the first opportunity fell on the *Turkish* camp, where he made great slaughter: but, being pursued in his retreat, a great number of his men were killed, and 1000 taken prisoners. *Kbalk.* l. ix. c. 15, 16.

A. D. 1462. tired with his men<sup>1</sup>. However *Hali Beg*, son of *Mikhael* being sent in pursuit, slew a great number, and took 2000 prisoners; whom *Mohammed* ordered to be slain before his face.

*the country ravaged:* AFTER this *Vladus*, leaving 6000 horse to harraß the *Turks*, marched with the rest of his forces to attack *Pogdâ* (or *Bogdân*), who had invested *Celium*, or *Kilia*, a city of the *Danube* (S). The troops left to follow the *Othmân* had the rashness, contrary to their instructions, to engage the army, and were routed with the loss of 2000 men which gave *Mohammed* an opportunity to range the country unmolested, and carry-off 200,000 head of cattle, oxen, and horses.

*Vladus expelled:* THE *Soltân* left behind him *Drakula*, brother of *Vladus* who, by his intrigues, gained so strong a party among the *Walachians*, already disaffected to *Vladus* on account of his cruelty that, by help of the *Turkish* troops left on the frontiers, he began to conquer the country. Hereupon *Vladus*, finding himself abandoned by his people, retired into *Hungary*; where being accused before King *Mathias*, son of *Huniades*, by the relations and friends of those he had murdered, a rigorous sentence was passed upon him, pursuant to which he was sent prisoner to *Belgrade*<sup>k</sup>; where he remained in confinement ten years. At length, being set at liberty, he was slain in battle against the *Turks*.

*other conquests.* IN 867, *Mohammed* orders the *Katirga Ilimani*, that is the three-oar'd port, to be made towards the south, within the walls of the city. Whilst he was employed in this work the *Greeks*, in conjunction with the *Venetians*, raised commotions in the *Morea*; and, having taken *Ghingherjinlik*, *Sada Ghiuzelje hissar*, *Duraj*, and *Ezernik*, try to drive the *Turks* out of that province: but *Mehemmed Pascha*, being sent with a great army to chastise the rebels, came on them so unexpectedly, that he not only recovered those cities, but subdued the country of *Kojeh Hersek* (or old *Illyria*). The *Soltân*, by way of thanksgiving for his victories, orders the church of the holy apostles (T) to be demolished, and a large *Jami*

<sup>1</sup> DUKAS, c. 45. KHALK. l. ix. c. 14—16. c. 16, & l. x. c. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. ix

(S) At the mouth of that river, in the *Euxine* sea.

(T) It was built by the emperors of *Justinian the Great*, on a mount, near the middle of

the city, higher than the others. The *Jami*, built in its place by *Mohammed Fatih*, being 100 cubits square, is thought to be the largest temple next to *Santa Sophia*.

*Jami*, called, after his name, *Mohammedieh*, to be built in its room; which structure, scarce to be paralleled by the wonders of antiquity, was ten years in building. A. D. 1493.

IN 868, assembling a great army, he vanquished and slew the prince of *Bosna*, or *Bosnia* (U), then placed strong garrisons in the castles; and, in his return, strengthened the borders between that country and *Albania*, by erecting fortresses in the narrow passages of the mountains<sup>1</sup>. Hej. 868. A. D. 1463.

THE war of the *Morea*, which is placed first by the *Turkish*, is, as it frequently happens in other cases, placed last by the Christian historians; who are more diffusive in their relation of facts. *Mohammed* having, after the *Walakhian* expedition, built several castles, says *Khalkondylas*; and, among the rest, the *farây*, or *seraglio*, at *Constantinople*, and the castles on the *Hellepont*; next spring (X), made war on the *Illyrians* (Y), inhabiting *Bosfina*; because their prince peremptorily refused to pay the usual tribute of 50,000 dukats. At the same time he resolved to invade the country of *Sandal*, the bastard-son of him who before commanded the *Illyrians* (Z). The brothers, quarreling about the possession of their father's territories, referred the decision to *Mo-*

*Bosna invaded.*

<sup>1</sup> CANT. p. 108, & seq.

*Sophia*. The architect was, they say, a Greek Christian, named *Khrisodulus*; who, in reward of this vast and wonderful work, was presented with a whole street, and other imperial gifts. They add, that *Mohammed*, being told that he said he could build a *Jami* more large and elegant, ordered him to be impaled, that his successor might want an architect capable of raising a nobler structure. This story seems to be invented in order to account for an iron pale, fixed to the gate of the outer hall of the *Jami*, and inclosed by a little tower, so that only the point appears. For, supposing the *Soltân* could be induced by so idle a suggestion to put him to death, why in so cruel a manner? However, our author, Prince *Cantemir*, alleges very

good reasons to prove, that the said street was given to him as a reward by the *Soltân*.

(U) From Christian writers, he seems to have been *Stephen*, whose seat was at *Yaziga*. Cant.

(X) The more western writers place this war in 1464; which corresponds with the nine last months of the *Mohammedan* year 868.

(Y) The *Illyrians* are an ancient people, inhabiting the country now called *Bosfina*, *Bosna*, or *Bosnia*. The *Dalmatians*, *Myrians*, *Triballians*, and *Sarmatians*, use nearly the same language spoken by them. They extend from the *Ionian* sea to the higher *Istria*, or *Sklavonia*. Khalk.

(Z) Who was named *Stephen*, and had been dispossessed by his son.

A. D. 1463. *hammered*; who adjudged it to *Sandal*, and ordered *Isbâk*, governor of the *Skopians* (A), to assist him: hereupon *Sandal* made war on his brothers, and ravaged the country.

and subdued.

*MQHAMMED*, having crossed the river *Dorobiza*, which separates the *Triballians* from the *Illyrians*, marched to the *Illyriffus*; which having passed on rafts, he suddenly overran the country, and laid siege to the city of *Dorobiza*. This place, though exceeding strong, and of difficult approach, being situate on a high mountain, after a few days bombarding, capitulated. After this, he sent *Mahmûd Bâsha* to surprise the prince of the *Illyrians*; who, on his approach, fled to the city of *Klitia* (B), situated in a marshy soil, so that it was inaccessible in winter: but, the ground being dried by the heat of the summer sun, the *Bâshâ* advanced to the very ditch, and prepared to attack the place. Hereupon it was surrendered to him, on condition that the lives of the prince and the inhabitants, with their effects, should be saved. His wife had before retired to *Ragusa*, to avoid the inconveniences of war; and carried much wealth with her, by his consent.

Country of Sandal, THE country of *Sandal* reached to the very gates of *Ragusa*, with which he had some dispute. Having engaged in an amour with the wife of a *Florentine* merchant, he began to treat his princefs with contempt. She, not brooking this ill usage, retired, with her son, a youth, to the *Ragusans*; who refused to send her back unless *Sandal* parted with his mistress. Hereupon he declared war against them; and meeting their army, the command of which they had given to his son, he defeated the enemy, and then invited the *Soltân* to join him against the prince of the *Illyrians*: but finding the *Turks* came in greater numbers than he desired, he stood on his guard to defend his country, in case they invaded it.

subdued with others.

*MAHMUD Bâshâ*, having performed this service, went to meet the *Soltân*: who in the mean time had marched to *Jaytia* (C), the capital of all the *Illyrians*; which immediately surrendered to him, being frightened at the taking of *Dorobiza*, their strongest fortrefs. Several places submitted

(A) The *Skopians* inhabit a province only 25 leagues in length from the *Triballians* (or *Servians*), and the river *Dorobiza*, to the country of *Sandal* and the gulph of *Ionia*; but its greatest breadth, from its reaching to the *Pannonians* and *Triballians*, is 60 leagues. At the *Triballians* begins the government of *Isbâk*; that of *Paul* follows next, extending as far as the country of the *Illyrians* (or *Bessina*). Khal.  
(B) By others named *Kliffa*.  
(C) Rather *Jazika*.

to the *Basba* in his way, by order of their prince, whom *Mohammed* carried with him into the country of *Sandal*; for now all the *Illyrians* were subdued. The *Soltán* presently after sent to *Ragusa* to demand *Sandal's* wife; but she, who had foreseen as much, retired in time to *Italy*. Then gathering all his forces, he entered the country of *Sandal*; which he ravaged from one end to the other, and laid siege to his capital city: but not being able to reduce it, after a few days leaguer, turned his arms against the territories of *Constantine*, *Karagusa*, and *Paul*; who all submitted to him, and were carried away prisoners. As to the prince of the *Illyrians*, having been taken one morning, endeavouring to make his escape, *Mohammed* sent for him; and, notwithstanding the *Basba's* letters of security, had his head cut-off on the spot: some say, he was flay'd alive<sup>1</sup>.

## S E C T IV.

*Wars with Skander Beg, and the Venetians.*

THE *Venetians*, who were his next neighbours, saw, with Venetian a jealous eye, the successes of *Mohammed*; and although the *Turks*, on several occasions, had used their subjects ill, yet were afraid to take up arms. At length, *Joshua*, son of *Alban*, having seized *Argos* by the treachery of a priest, and *Omar*, son of *Turakan*, made inroads on the territory of *Naupactus* (D); while both of them plundered the lands near *Modon*, in the *Marea*, which belonged to the *Venetians*, *Victorio Capelli*, by a generous speech, prevailed on the senate to invite the *Hungarians* to a confederacy, and then declare war (E). Ambassadors being sent on that occasion, with 25,000 dukats as a present, King *Mathias* (or *Mathew*, son of *Huniades*) raised forces; and, entering unexpectedly into the *Othmân* territories, demolished the fortifications built by *Sabutin* to block-up *Belgrade*: then, advancing as far as the *Save*, routed the *Turks* and *Triballians*, who opposed him, and carried back 20,000 slaves; which was all the work performed by the *Hungarians*.

THE *Venetians*, on the other side, immediately put to sea 35 galleys and 12 great ships, filled with infantry, and 2000 the Mo- light horse, under the command of *Aloysio* (F) *Loridano*. They rea:

<sup>1</sup> KHALK. I. x. c. 7, & seqq.

(D) Now *Lepante*.

(E) This happened a little before the peace concluded with *Skander Beg* in 1461.

(F) In the original it is *Ja-como*, but the author was misinformed.

A. D.  
1463.

were joined also by 4000 outlaws from *Kandia*. These all landing in the *Morea*, excited the inhabitants to a general revolt. The *Turkish* governor, who resided at *Megalopolis* (or *Leontarium*) immediately sent advice of these motions to the porte: while the *Venetians* (G), marching from *Nauplium*, laid siege to *Argos*; which presently surrendered, there being no more than 50 *Janizaries* in garrison, who had liberty to withdraw with their baggage. But soon after *Jerónimo Bernardini*, entering within land, contrary to his orders, lost 400 men by an ambuscade of the *Turks*.

repair the  
wall.

THE first care of the *Greeks* and *Albanians* was to repair the wall of the *Isthmus*, as well to prevent the escape of the *Janizaries* dispersed in the garrisons, as to keep out the enemy; and by the assistance of the *Venetians*, who brought stones and other materials by sea, that fortification was, in a few days, put in a state of defence. Mean time, they solicited the people on every side to join them: but those of *Korinth* rejecting their proposals, they laid siege to that city; which yet they were forced to raise soon after (H). They failed also to disaffect *Akhaia*; nor did any city of *Lakonia* revolt to them, excepting *Sparta*: for the *Turks* continually scoured the roads on all sides, which much disconcerted their measures. In short, as it was winter-time, and very cold weather, the soldiers could hardly be prevailed on to guard the wall: so that news arriving that *Mahmūd Bâsbâ* approached with a great army, and was followed by the *Soltân* himself at the head of more numerous forces, it was thought fit to abandon the *Isthmus*, and retire to the places which were in their hands.

abandon  
it.

MEAN time, the *Turks* were no less afraid of the *Venetians*: for the *Bâsbâ* being come to *Larissa*, *Omar*, governor of *Thesaly*, advised him to proceed no farther, till he sent to inform the *Soltân*, that his presence was absolutely necessary, the affair being of too great importance for his generals to execute. But soon after, letters arriving with an account how matters stood, *Mahmūd* marched forward; and, finding the wall deserted, and the ships put-out to sea, took his road, by *Korinth*, directly for *Argos*, which was defended by 70 *Italians*; whom he took prisoners. Then, passing though the country of *Tegea*, he encamped near *Leontarium* (or *Megalopolis*); from whence he detached *Zogan* (newly made governor of the *Morea*, in room of *Josbua*, son of *Alban*) to furnish *Patras*,

Morea re-  
covered,

(G) With 15,000 men, under  
*Bertoldo Este*.

(H) Their general being  
killed.

and

and other neighbouring places, with provision and military stores. At the same time, he sent *Omar* to ravage the *Venetian* territories, with 20,000 men; who, near *Modon*, took a town by assault: the inhabitants, about 500 in number, being sent to *Constantinople*, were cut in two by the middle, in the presence of the *Soltân*. A. D. 1463.

THE *Bâsbâ*, finding the season unfit for attacking fortresses, left *Omar* and *Asan* at *Sparta*, to persuade the inhabitants of that city, *Tenarus*, *Epidaurus*, and other places, to return to their obedience: but although they were strangely alarmed at the unexpected entrance of the *Turks* into the *Morea*, and many had fled to the mountains for security; yet, buoyed-up by the *Venetians*, who promised great matters, from their own and the *Hungarian* invasion, they would hear-  
ken to no accommodation.

MEAN time, the *Venetians* recovered *Lemnos*, by means of *Venetian Komnenus* (I), captain of the fortress; who prevented the principal men of the island from selling it to those *Italians*, by delivering it up to them. After which, they returned to the *Morea*, with store of provisions to supply the fortresses.<sup>m</sup>

KOMINIUS (or *Komnenus*), who had surprised the island *Lemnos* from the *Turks*, was succeeded in his command by *Ursato Justiniani*, who scoured the *Egean* sea with 32 galleies; while *Andreo Dandolo*, by land, rashly engaging the *Turkish* horse, near *Mantineia*, was defeated and slain, with 1500 of his men. *Ursato* had still worse luck at the siege of *Mitylene*, in *Lesbos*; where, in two assaults, he lost 5000 men: for grief of which he died soon after in the *Morea*, and was succeeded in command by *Jacomo Laurentani*.

THE *Venetians*, much weakened by these losses, solicited the pope; who procured them great supplies from *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, and other countries. They also intreated *Skänder Beg* to renounce his league with *Mohammed*, and join with them. The *Soltân*, fearing that prince should be made general of the Christian forces, sent to him; offering to pardon some inroads of the *Epirots*, in case he would renew the league. But *Skänder Beg* having at this time received a letter from the pope, signifying that he, accompanied by the Christian princes, would speedily pass over to *Epirus* with a strong army, and exhorting him to declare war against the *Turks*. That prince, without any more ado, broke into the

*Skander Beg declares war:*

<sup>m</sup> KHALK. l. x. c. 7—11.

(I) *Kominius*, a famous pirate, according to others.

A. D. 1465. *Othmân* dominions; and, ravaging the country every-where, returned with considerable plunder.

*MOHAMMED*, to put a stop to *Skânder Beg's* career, sent *Seremet Bâsbâ* (K), with 14,000 men; who posted himself near *Okrida*, in *Macedonia*. The prince, on this advice, having placed 12,000 men in ambush, sent out 500 horse, with orders, in case they could not draw the enemy into the field, to retire on the least opposition, and so decoy them into the snare; which stratagem taking effect, the *Turks* were attacked on every side, and lost 20,000 men. The treasurer of the army, with 12 other considerable officers, were taken prisoners, and ransomed for 40,000 dukats. *Skânder Beg*, on this success, returns to *Epirus*, expecting the arrival of the Christian forces: but the death of Pope *Pius*, at *Amana*, as he was ready to embark with them, suddenly dispersed the army, to the great disappointment of those who depended on its assistance.

A. D.  
1464.

Venetians  
un-  
successful.

HOWEVER, the *Venetians*, having made *Vitorio Capelli* their captain-general, went on with the war; and, in a short time, took *Aulis*, in the isle of *Eubæa* (or *Negropont*), *Lirsum*, in the gulph of *Thessalonika*, and the isle of *Himber*. Then landing his men at *Pyraum*, surprised *Athens*; from whence he carried all the people, with the plunder, to *Eubæa*. Here, being informed, that *Pattras*, in the *Morea*, would be delivered up to him by the Christian inhabitants, he landed 4000 foot and 200 horse; who, advancing in disorder within a mile of the city, were routed by the *Turkish* garrison. In this action, *Barbarini*, who led the foot, was slain; and *Râgio*, who commanded the horse, being taken, was impaled; and scarce 1000 of the men escaped to the galleys. *Capelli* was so concerned at this loss, and that which he sustained in his second attempt on *Pattras*, that he soon after died suddenly in *Eubæa*.

Servians  
ravaged.

A. D.  
[1465.

THE *Venetians*, much discouraged with this ill success, applied for assistance to *Mathias Korvini*, son of the famous *Huniades* (L), king of *Hungary*; who, taking their territories under his protection, early in the spring passed the *Danube*, at *Belgrade*, with a great army; and, razing the forts which the *Turks* had built there, entered *Servia*, which he miserably ravaged, and then returned with 20,000 prisoners, besides vast plunder.

(K) Perhaps *Ser Ahmed*, or *Sari Ahmed*.

(L) He was the younger son of *Huniades*; for whose sake, on the death of *Ladislaus*, the

army elected him king, altho' he was then a prisoner at *Prague*; and he became a far greater terror to the *Turks* than ever his father had been.



MEAN time, *Mohammed*, to revenge the late overthrow of *Seremet Bâsbâ*, sent 15,000 horse and 3000 foot into *Epirus*, under command of *Balibanus Budera*, an *Epirot* born, but bred a *Mohammedan*, and the first who mounted the wall at the taking of *Constantinople*. This general, arriving at *Alchria*, on the frontiers of *Epirus*, attempted to surprise *Skânder Beg*; who was incamped with a few troops in the neighbourhood: but, missing of his aim, soon after advanced towards a rugged hill, which incloses part of the valley of *Val-khal*, where that prince then lay with 4000 horse and 15,000 foot, who, on the other's approach, retired to a hill behind them. *Balibanus*, taking this for a flight, hastily came forward to attack him: but, after a long and doubtful battle, was routed. However, some of *Skânder Beg's* best officers, pursuing the enemy beyond their orders, were beset; and, after a desperate resistance, taken prisoners. Among these were the famous *Moses Galanus*, *Musachius*, *Giuiza*, *Perlat*, and others. They were all sent to *Constantinople*, whither *Skânder Beg* dispatched an ambassador to obtain their freedom: but the *Soltân*, rejecting either exchange or ransom, after treating them in the most opprobrious manner, caused them all to be flay'd alive; in which torment they lived fifteen days.

*BALIBANUS*, after having corrupted *Skânder Beg's* scouts, would have surprised him in his camp at *Oronikheum*; if he himself, ever on the watch, had not, in the dead of night, perceived the enemy at a distance, by the noise of their horses. Then, quickly putting his army in order, gave them such a warm reception, that the greater part of them were slain; the general and the rest with difficulty escaping. *Balibanus*, finding artifice would not do, and having a recruit of 14,000 horse and 3000 foot, marched to the great plains of *Sfetigrade* to attack *Skânder Beg*; who, with only 8000 horse and 1500 foot, performed wonders. In the battle, his horse being slain, and himself bruised in the fall, the *Turks* flocked about to kill him: but he was rescued by his soldiers; and presently after having killed *Soleymân*, a great *Turkish* commander, whom he encountered with, the enemy fled: while the victors, pursuing, made a great slaughter, so that but a few, with *Balibanus* himself, escaped.

THIS commander, on his return to *Constantinople*, ascribed his ill success to the smallness of his forces; and, having applied for a strong body of troops, he was dispatched to *Epirus* with 40,000 men. Of these taking 20,000 horse and 4000 foot, he marched the nearest way to *Epirus*, leaving *Yakûb Arnaud*,

A. D.

1465.

Balibanus  
defeatedby Skân-  
der Beg.A third  
victory.

A. D.  
1465.

*Arnaud*, otherwise named *James* the *Epirot*, with 16,000 horse, to take another road, and so hem-in *Skänder Beg* between them. Being arrived at the valley at *Valkhal*, the prince, who had 8000 horse and 4000 foot, marched towards him. He would have waited till *Yakûb* came up : but his soldiers being impatient to engage, a fierce battle was fought ; when, in the midst of the engagement, the old garrison of *Kroja* arriving to the assistance of the *Epirots*, the *Turks* were overthrown with great slaughter, only *Balibanus* and a few more escaping. The Christians had scarce time to breathe, when *Yakûb* advanced with his forces, and, though much discouraged when he found *Balibanus* had been defeated, yet did not decline the combat. But *Skänder Beg* made short work of it : for, having singled out the general, he attacked and slew him ; on which the *Turks* fled, and in the pursuit were most of them slain or taken. They lost in the two battles 30,000 men, whereof 6000 were prisoners<sup>a</sup>.

*Yakûb*  
slain.

*Karama-*  
*nian*  
*troubles.*

DURING these transactions, *Karaman Oglı Ibrahim Beg*, the inveterate enemy of the *Othmân* race, dies (M), and leaves six sons. *İsbâk Beg*, the eldest, having driven out his brothers and seized the whole dominion, they fly to *Mohammed* ; whom they desire to appoint a successor according to his pleasure. The *Soltân*, glad of the occasion, names *Ahmed Beg* ; and, advancing the rest to honours in his own court, sends him back at the head of a considerable army ; with which he enters *Karamania*, and defeats his brother, who flies to *Uzân Hassn*<sup>b</sup>.

*Kroja be-*  
*sieged :*

To return to the affairs of *Skander Beg*. The *Soltân*, as the surest way to get rid of him, hired two *Turks* to assassinate him. The better to succeed in their design, they turned Christians ; but falling-out together, and letting-drop some suspicious words, on strict examination confessed the matter, and were executed. After this, *Mohammed* marched into *Epirus*, with 200,000 men, and invested *Kroja* : but fearing to be disgraced before it, as his father had been, left *Balibanus*, with 23,000 men and eight generals more, each with 7000 under ~~under~~ his command, to continue the siege. In his return to *Constantinople*, he took some forts from *Skänder Beg* ; and corrupting the governor of *Khidna*, where 3000 men were in garrison, the place was delivered to him, and all the inhabitants, contrary to articles, put to the sword.

<sup>a</sup> RICAUT, ubi sup.

<sup>b</sup> CANT. p. 109, & seq.

(M) In the year of the *Hjrah* 869 ; which began 2d Sep. 1464.

*SKANDER Beg*, unable to relieve *Kroja*, went privately to *Rome* to desire aid of Pope *Paul II.*; but could obtain none. However, on his return, finding the succours which he had demanded of the *Venetians* and other princes, he in a few days made up an army of 13,400 men; with whom he marched towards *Kroja*. By the way, he surprised *Ionima* and *Hadar*, going with a supply to their brother *Balibanus*, routed their men, and took them both prisoners. Then, coming-up with the besiegers, drove them from *Mount Kruma*, their greatest post, and nearest *Kroja*. Upon this relief, the city rejected the large proposals for surrendering, made by *Balibanus*; who at the same time advancing against part of the garrison, which had made a sally, was shot by *George Alexius* through the neck; of which wound he died. The *Turks* were so discouraged at this accident, that they silently retired, leaving their camp behind them; and, finding the passes of the mountains stopped, offered to deliver-up their horses and arms for liberty to depart: but this being denied them, they resolved to fight their way through; which after much loss they effected, to the great discontent of the common soldiers against *Skânder Beg*.

A. D.  
1466.relieved  
by Skander.Balibanus  
slain.

THE spring following, *Mohammed* marched once more with a mighty army into *Epirus*: where having rebuilt the city of *Valmes*, he advanced towards *Durazzo*, belonging to the *Venetians*, with a view to surprise it. Here mistaking his aim, after some time he decamped from before it, and laid siege to *Kroja*: but, finding he could not prevail on the inhabitants, either by threats or promises, to surrender it, he went and razed *Khiuril* (N), a city newly founded by *Skânder Beg*; and then returned to *Constantinople*.

Moham-  
med in-  
vades  
Epirus.  
A. D.  
1466.]

SOON after this, *Skânder Beg*, having made a progress through his kingdom to view the state of it; went to *Lyssa*, a city of the *Venetians*, there to consult with the ambassadors of the confederate princes, particularly about taking *Valmes* above-mentioned; which was a great annoyance to the *Epirots*. Here, being seized with a fever, he died 17th *January*, 1466, after he had recommended his wife and son to the protection of the republic; having lived 63 years, and reigned 24. His body was buried in the cathedral, and there rested till about nine years after, when the *Turks* took *Lyssa*, and with great respect dug up his bones. Some thought themselves happy to see and touch them; and such as could get a

Skânder  
Beg dies.

(N) Perhaps the city of retreat, spoken of before by *Khal-kondylas*.

bit,

A. D. 1466. bit, set it in gold or silver, to wear about them; superstitiously imagining, that they should partake of the owner's good fortune<sup>o</sup>.

Albania reduced.

THE *Turkish* historians take no notice of *Skānder Beg's* death; but speak, as if *Epirus* was entirely subdued about this time. Crouding the transactions of several years into one, they only tell us, in short, that *Mohammed*, to finish the reduction of *Arnaud*, or *Albania*, which his father *Morād* had begun, by vanquishing *Skander Beg*, its rebellious prince, and subduing most of the fortresses, marched thither in 870, and took all the remaining towns from the rebels. Some of them he demolished, and, to prevent future commotions, commanded a strong city (O) to be built at the entrance of the province.

Hej. 870.  
A. D. 1465.

Karamania subdued.

THE *Soltān*, having now subdued almost all his intestine enemies in *Europe*, passes over into *Asia*; and, resolving to revenge the injuries done to his ancestors by the *Karamanian* kings, enters their country with a great army; and expelling *Ahmed*, with his brothers, makes his eldest son, *Mostafa*, king of *Karamānia*; which next year he thoroughly subdues, placing garrisons in *Ak Saray* (P) and (Q) *Ghiulluk* P.

Bosnia recovered.

DURING the transactions in *Epirus*, the *Hungarians* by land, and *Venetians* by sea, kept the *Turks* in continual play. King *Mathias*, pursuant to his promise to the latter, entered *Bosnia*, and never ceased till he had wrested the whole kingdom out of the hands of the *Turks*. These afterwards endeavoured to recover *Jaziga*, the capital, but were forced to raise the siege; and being followed by the king into *Servia*, he took part of that kingdom also from them: by which actions his name became as dreadful to the *Othmāns*, as that of his father *Huniades* had been.

Venetian success.

ON the other side, the *Venetians*, and their captain-general, *Canalis*, burned several towns and villages about the bay of *Saloniki* (or *Thessalonika*) fortified *Legostinum*, in the gulph of *Patras*, and surprised *Ænus*; at the mouth of the river *Hebrus*; from whence *Canalis* returned to *Negropont* with 1000 captives. At the same time, the *Venetians*, assisting *Nicholas Du Chaine* against his brother *Alexius*, then at variance about the principality of *Zadrina*, gave the *Turks* a great overthrow, near the river *Drino*, in *Epirus* (or *Albania*).

RICAUT. ubi supr.  
110.

P CANTEMIR's Othm. Hist. p.

9 RICAUT. in Mohammed II.

(O) Perhaps *Valmes* above-mentioned.

(Q) *Rosetum*, a town in the same country.

(P) Or *white palace*.

THE

THE island of *Egriboz* (or *Negropont*), the antient *Eubœa*, being the only place in *Europe* which seemed formidable to *Mohammed*, he, in 874, marched with a great army, attended by a fleet, into *Greece*; and, in one month, takes the strongest city of that age, in sight of a considerable fleet of the *Venetians*; who, after coming to the assistance of the besieged, retired to their great dishonour, without firing a gun<sup>r</sup>. With regard to this remarkable action, the Christian writers tell us, that, as the island of *Negropont* lay very convenient for invading the *Othmân* sea coast, and afforded the *Venetians* an easy retreat, *Mohammed* resolved to take it from them. With this view, he sent thither 300 galleys, under *Mahmûd*, the great *Bâshâ*, and followed himself with a great army. At his first landing, he took and razed *Stora* and *Basilikon*. Then, laying a bridge of boats over the strait between the island and *Akhaia*, raised batteries against *Khalcide*, or *Negropont*, the capital city, by the direction of a traitor, who shewed his engineers the weakest parts of the wall; for which, being discovered, he was hanged. After 30 days leaguer, the *Venetian* admiral came in sight of the city; at whose appearance, *Mohammed* was inclined to raise the siege, for fear the enemy should break his bridge, and so cut-off his communication with the firm land: but the admiral basely slipped the opportunity, while the *Turks*, pushing on the siege with double fury, at length carried the place by storm. The assault lasted a whole day and night; yet, after they had been twice beaten-off the breaches, they entered, and slew all who were in it (with the governor and a few more, who retired to the castle), contrary to their agreement. His daughter was spared, and presented to *Mohammed* as a mirror of beauty; but she, with great constancy, refusing to gratify his passion, he ordered her to be slain. This great loss the *Venetians* endeavoured to repair not long after, by surprising the island; but failed in the attempt<sup>s</sup>.

THESE conquests induced several strong cities to submit to the *Soltân*; and, in 876, *Kizul Arslân Beg*, lord of *Alach* (R), voluntarily surrenders his dominions. In return for which, *Mohammed* bestows on him the province of *Ghiumo'ljina* (S) for ever<sup>t</sup>.

<sup>r</sup> CANT p. 111.  
p. 111.

<sup>s</sup> RICAUT. ubi sup.

<sup>t</sup> CANT.

(R) Perhaps the province of *Philadelpia*; which is called *Alla Sbâbr* by the *Turks*.

(S) The *Turkish* name of a province and town in *Rûm elî* (or *Thrace*), near *Larissa*. CANT.

**A. D.** **1472.** **THE Venetians**, to prevent farther mischief, not only entered into a confederacy with Pope *Sixtus IV.* *Ferdinand*, king of *Naples*, *Lewis*, king of *Cyprus*, and the grand master of *Rhodes*, but sent *Katarini Zeno* to *Uzûn Hassan*, with large presents, to induce him to make war on *Mohammed*; who, by his ambassadors, also endeavoured to dissuade him. Mean time, their captain-general, *Mocenigo*, with his fleet, ravaged the island of *Lesbos*, or *Mitylene*, and the country about *Pergamus*, in *Lesser Asia*. Afterwards, landing at *Knidus*, he carried-off a great booty. Then, joining 17 gallies of King *Ferdinand* at *Modon*, returned to *Asia*; and, pillaging the coast for four days, set sail for *Hallikarnassus*, where they took an immense spoil. There being joined by 20 gallies of the pope, and two from *Rhodes*, they sailed to *Samos*, and thence to *Attalia*, capital of *Pamphilia*, whose suburbs they plundered and burnt: but, not being able to take the city, they ravaged the coast, and returned to *Rhodes*. There they met with the king of *Persia's* ambassador, sent to the pope and *Venetians* for great guns by his master, who had entered into a league with the Christian princes against *Mohammed*. The fleet next sailed to *Karia*; and carried from thence great spoil to *Naxos*. Here the gallies of *Naples* returned home, while *Mocinego*, with the legate, sailing back to *Asia*, took *Smyrna*; which they plundered and fired. Then, winter coming on, returned home likewise.

**A. D.** **1473.** **NEXT** year *Mocinego* sailed again to the coast of *Asia*; and, assisting *Kassam Beg*, prince of *Cilicia*, who with his brother *Pir Ahmed* had been dispossessed by *Mohammed*, they recovered *Sikhium*, *Korikus*, and at length *Seleucia*, which restored him his territories. Then, having ravaged the country of *Lydia*, he returned to the *Morea*<sup>t</sup>.

**The Sol-** **tan defeats** **ABOUT** the same time *Yusef Beg*, general of *Uzûn Hassan*, in conjunction with a great army of *Tatars*, enters the *Othmân* dominions, and burns *Tokâd*: but, invading *Karamania*, he is met by *Mostafa* the new king; and, after a long and bloody battle, being defeated (U) and taken, is sent in chains to the *Soltân*. To revenge this blow, *Uzûn Hassan* himself, the next year, enters the *Othmân* dominions with a powerful army. *Mohammed*, who expected this invasion, hastens over

<sup>t</sup> *RICAUT*, ubi supr.

(U) The Christian historians place this action in the year 1474; and say, that *Mostafa* was defeated, with the loss of 30,000 men; and that *Morâd, Bâsbâ* of *Romania*, who had been sent with forces to assist the prince, was slain. *RICAUT*.

to *Asia*, and meets the *Persians* at *Payas* (X); where a battle was fought with various success: but at length *Mosîtafa*, the *Soltân's* eldest son, who commanded the left wing, meeting *Zeyno'ddîn*, *Uzûn Hassan's* son, who led the enemy's right-wing, after a fierce combat, unhorses him, and before he can recover himself, runs him through the body. Upon this, the right-wing flying, the *Othmâns* attack the left so furiously, that at length they betake themselves also to flight, *Uzûn Hassan* escaping with a few attendants only<sup>u</sup>.

ACCORDING to the Christian historians (Y), who compute each army at 320,000 men, the *Turks*, having lost 40,000 in the first encounter, the *Soltân* thought fit to fortify his camp with a trench, the carriages, and artillery. The *Persians*, flushed with success, came boldly to attack it: but their horse, terrified by the unaccustomed noise of the cannon, fell into confusion. This *Mohammed* perceiving, advanced with his cavalry, and, after an obstinate resistance, put them to the rout. But although the *Turks* had the honour of the field, and took the enemy's camp, yet their loss was computed to be double that of the *Persians*<sup>x</sup>.

THE roads being too difficult for a pursuit, *Mohammed* besieges *Kara Hissar Sharki* (Z), which he soon reduces, and then returns with part of his army, leaving the rest under the command of *Ghiedik Ahmed Pâsâ* (A); who not only took

<sup>u</sup> CANT. p. 111.

<sup>x</sup> RICAUT, ubi sup.

(X) A city and noble mart of *Paphlagonia*. *Cant.* We know none such in that part of *Asia Minor*: but there is a port, called *Payâs*, or *Bayâs*, on the south coast in the bay of *Skanderin*, or *Alexandretta*. Perhaps a mistake for *Ayâs*, a little to the west of *Enguri*, or *Ancyra*.

(Y) They say also, that *Uzun Hassan* made war on *Mohammed*, as well at the request of the Christian princes, as to support his claim to the empire of *Trebizond*, in right of his wife (*Despina Katun*), the daughter of *Kalo Joannes*; by whom they say he had a daughter called *Martha*, who was the mother of *Shâh Ismael Sofi*.

(Z) A noted city of *Paphlagonia*, near *Payas*. Perhaps the *Arfinga* of the antients. *Cant.* That cannot be; for *Arfinga* is the present *Arfingân* on the *Euphrates*, far from *Paphlagonia*. *Kara Hissar Sharki* signifies the *Eastern Kara Hissar*, or black castle. There is a *Kara Hissar* near *Kaysaria*, or *Cæsarea*.

(A) A famous general, afterwards prime *Wazir*. He was called *Ghiedik*, because he had lost a fore tooth: and gave his name to a quarter or ward of *Constantinople*. *Cant.* The Christian writers say, that a sudden peace succeeded this battle, and frustrated the hopes which the Christians had on that side.

A. D. 1476. *Ermenak* and *Zilifkeh*, but subdued the whole province of *Varsak* (B).

*Kaffa* taken. Hej. 876. A. D. 1471. NEXT year, under the conduct of the same *Pâşbâ* (C), he wrests from the *Genoeses* *Kieffe* (or *Kaffa*), the strongest place in *Krîm*, which by that means is reduced to his obedience. Here he found *Mengli Ghieray*, descended from the princes of *Kapchâk* (D); who, after a long war with his brother, was forced to fly to the *Genoeses*. Him the *Soltân* appoints *Khân* of the *Krîm*, or *Taurica Kherfonesus*, and sends with an army to recover his country; which he effected, after killing his brother in battle. This was the first *Khân* of *Tartary* appointed by the *Turks*, and the first who in *Krîm* ordered the *Khotba* to be used in the prayers in the name of the *Othmân* emperor.

defeated in Moldavia; WHILST these things passed in the *Krîm*, *Soleymân Pâşbâ* leads a considerable army into *Moldavia* (E); where, being met by *Stephen* (F) near *Falchi* (G), on the *Prut*, a long and doubtful battle ensues; but at last, by the negligence of their

(B) Prince *Cantemir* takes it to be *Paphlogonia*: but *Leunclavius* says, *Varsak ili* is the ancient *Pisidia*.

(C) The Christian historians call him *Geduces Achmates*; that is, *Gbeduk Ahmed*. And say, that the fleet was fitted out against *Kandia* (or *Krete*); but that the admiral, being disappointed in his design, sailed into the *Euxine* sea, and besieged *Kaffa*: that the *Genoeses*, weakened by their losses at *Constantinople*, not being able to relieve the place, it surrendered on articles; which the *Turks* did not scruple to break. They place this surrender in 1476, four or five years later than the *Turkish*.

(D) *Kapchâk*, *Kaschak*, or *Kischâk*. Instead of the *ch* an *j* consonant is often used. This nation and country lies to the north of the *Caspian* sea. Prince *Cantemir* supposes it to be the same with the kingdom of *Tibet*, or *Turkestan*: but they are

widely different. See before, vol. v. p. 101.

(E) The Christian historians tell us, that the eunuch *Soleymân* was sent first with 80,000 men to besiege *Skodra*, or *Skutari*, in *Albania*; but that *Mathias*, king of *Hungary*, did on that news so harass the *Othmân* territories, that, after he had lost 14,000 men in three months before the place, he was called home, to defend the frontiers. They place this transaction in the year 1475. *Ricaut ubi supr.*

(F) This was *Stephen*, surnamed *the Great*, mentioned in a former note. He is called *Tekkiur*, or king of *Moldavia*, which is frequently named *Bogdan* by the *Turks*, from *Bogdan*, the son of this *Stephen*. *Cant.*

(G) A city and country of *Moldavia*. Distant from *Huffi* (where *Peter I.* of *Russia*, made peace with the *Turks* in 1711) ten miles southward from the *Ister* (or *Danube*). *Cant.*

general,



general, the *Othmâns* are overthrown, and himself killed (H). *Mohammed* at this news marches next year with all his forces into the same country; which he lays waste, and carries away an infinite number of cattle and inhabitants, no enemy appearing to oppose him.

A. D.

1478.

MEAN time *Kroja* in *Albania* being besieged by the *Turks*, beseges the *Venetians*, under whose protection it was, sent *Francisco Kroja*. *Contareni* with an army; who, meeting the enemy in the plains of *Tyranna*, routed them, after a very sharp contest: but the soldiers falling greedily to plunder, the *Othmâns* rallied and defeated them, killing 1000, with their general. After this they not only made divers incursions into the countries of *Dalmatia*, *Istria*, and *Carniola*, but, having routed some *Venetian* troops at the River *Sontium* (I), ravaged the province of *Friuli* at their pleasure. They committed the same spoil the following year in the mountains towards *Germany*; and, after a twelve-month's siege, *Skodra* surrendered for want of provisions. *Venetians routed.*

A. D.

1477.

A. D.

1478.

MOHAMMED, to revenge the repulse he met with before *Skodra*, or *Skutari* (K), a strong city of the *Venetians*, in *Albania*, about four years before, sends *Ali Beg* to besiege it a second time with 80,000 men; who in their march burnt and destroyed the country. May 14, they arrived at the suburbs, and in a month were joined by 50,000 troops more. Having cast cannon, and built a wooden bridge over the river, they began the 20th of *June* to batter the walls with their artillery and mortars. July 2d, the *Soltân* himself arrived with his whole force, amounting in all to 350,000 men. At length, breaches being made, the *Turks* gave several desperate assaults; and, though they fixed their standards four or five times on the rampier, were still beaten off, *invested*;

Y CANT. p. 112, & seqq.

(H) The Christian writers say, he was so bewildered in the woods and fens by *Stephen the Waywode*, that he lost his whole army, and had much ado to escape himself. *Ricaut ubi supr.*

tians might not have kept as exact registers of their affairs as the *Turks*.

(I) The *Turkish* historians place this defeat at the *Sontium*, in the year 1480 or 81. On which side the error lies in these greatly disagreeing dates we cannot pretend to determine; but see no reason why the *Vene-*

(K) Prince *Cantemir*, from his *Turkish* authors, relates, that in 882 *Mohammed* took *Skanderûn*: which must be a mistake for *Skodra*, or *Skutari*; and the rather as we find *Eskudâr* in the *Turkish* annals of *Gaudier*, which place its surrender a year later; viz. in 883 of the *Hejrab*, which began April 3d, 1478.

O 3

once

A. D. 1379. once with the loss of 12,000 men; while the besieged lost no more than 400. *Mohammed*, despairing of taking the place by force, after seven fruitless attacks, changed the siege into a blockade. Mean time *Daud Gayola*, great *Bâshâ* of *Constantinople*, being sent to take in the lesser cities of the *Venetians*, reduced *Zabiakhe*, on the lake of *Skutari*; and *Lyssa*, which the inhabitants deserted and fired. *Drivasta* also was subdued by *Mos̄tafa*, *Begler Beg* of *Asia*. After this the *Soltân*, leaving *Ghedûk Ahmed* to take care of the blockade with 40,000 men, returned to (L) *Constantinople*.

surrendered on peace

MEAN while the *Venetians*, seeing things go to wreck with them, sent *Trevisano* to the *Port*; who at length, in 1478, concluded a peace, by giving up *Skodra*, the isle of *Lemnos*, and the strong castle of *Tenarus* in the *Morea*, besides paying yearly 8000 ducats; for which they were to traffick freely to the *Euxine* sea, and other parts of the *Soltân's* dominions<sup>2</sup>.

Hej. 884. IN 884, *Mohammed* furnished *Alao'ddîn Beg* with an army; A. D. by whose assistance he vanquished his father *Badak Beg* (M), 1479. and obliged him to fly to *Cherkassi* (N), king of *Mesr*.

with the Turks.

THE next year (O), he equips a great fleet, under *Ghiedîk Ahmed Pâshâ* (P), to lay waste *Italy*. But this general, after ravaging *Apulia*, and taking some fortresses, is in the midst of his progress recalled, on account of the new attempts of *Uzûn Hassan*. He is soon followed by a *Venetian* ambassador, who humbly sues for peace; which the *Soltân* at that juncture readily grants. But it was not lasting: for, in 886,

Hej. 886. A. D. *Mesîh Pâshâ* (Q) is sent with a great fleet to subdue 1481.

<sup>2</sup> RICAUT, ubi supr.

(L) Where, in *Hejrah* 883, A. D. 1478, he built a new palace; which is now the *Soltân's* court. *Cant. Othmân Hist.* p. 114.

(M) It seems to be the province of *Sina*, or name of some king of those times, unknown to us. *Cant.*

(N) This is to be understood of *Al Mâlek al Affrâf Kayet Bey*, the *Cherkassian Soltân* who reigned in *Mesr*, or *Egypt*, at that time.

(O) Here the defeat of the *Venetians* at the river *Sentium* is mentioned.

(P) The Christian historians in the room of this *Pâshâ* substitute one *Alabekkus*, or *Marbekkus*; by what authority I know not. *Cant.* Some Christian historians mention this *Ghiedîk* or *Ghedûk Bâshâ*, as they call him; though perhaps his name is taken from the *Turkish* authors, or the annals translated by *Gaudier*.

(Q) *Mesîh* signifies the *Messiah*; thus *Issa Mesîh* is *Jesus Christ*. *Cant.* The Christian writers call him *Mesîtes Pakologus*, and a kinsman of the late *Greek* emperors.

*Rhodes*; yet is forced to raise the siege, with great loss and dishonour<sup>a</sup>.

A. D.  
1481.

THE facts here related are ranged, as in many other places, in a different order from what they are in the Christian historians, as appears from the instances of the defeat of the *Venetians* at the river *Sontium*, and their suing for peace. The latter also place the invasion of *Italy* subsequent to the siege of *Rhodes*. But first they inform us, that *Mohammed*, after the said peace, sent *Gbedik Ahmed* with his fleet against *Leonardo*, prince of *Neritus*, *Zakynthus*, and *Cefalonia*, whose countries he soon took: but that his army of 100,000 men, sent about the same time into *Transilvania*, under *Ali Beg*, and other generals, was, after a very bloody battle, overthrown by the *Hungarians* at *Alba Julia*<sup>b</sup>.

Cefalonia  
taken.

A. D.  
1480.

THE Soltân was urged to this siege of *Rhodes* by *Antonius Rhodes Meligalus*, a fugitive knight; who, falling sick by the way, was thrown overboard by the *Turks*, and drowned. The *Othman* army, consisting of 80,000 men, conducted by *Demetrius*, another treacherous knight of *Rhodes*, landed the 22d of June. The *Bâsbâ* (R), after battering the walls for some time, made a breach; but *Peter D'Amboise*, the grand master, raised such works before it, that *Mesûh* would not venture to enter it. However, a report being spread, that *Mohammed* was coming with 100,000 men, and 150 pieces of cannon, it much terrified the besieged, especially the *Spaniards*. At the same a plot was discovered, to poison the grand master, set on foot by the *Bâsbâ*; who, having made a bridge over a narrow arm of the sea, in order to batter *St. Nicholas's* towers, *Gervaise Rogers*, an *Englishman*, found means in the night to cut the cables, and break it. However, a new bridge being made, the tower was battered for a while both by sea and land, till that bridge also was broken by the cannon of the place.

A. D.  
1481.]

THE *Bâsbâ* then tempted the grand master with great promises to surrender the city: but, finding he could not prevail with him either to do that or pay tribute, he renewed his batteries with double fury; and, a large breach being made, the *Turks* advanced to storm the same, but were gallantly repulsed; while 500 of those who had scaled the walls in another place, were slain. The whole loss amounted to about 5000 men. The grand master received four wounds in the

<sup>a</sup> CANT. p. 114, & seqq.

<sup>b</sup> RICAUT, ubi supr.

(R) The Christian writers call him *Mesûh*, his true name, and very common among *Mohammedans*.

A. D. 1481. attack. The *Bâsbâ*, discouraged with his ill success, and the rumour that the Christian princes were coming to the relief of *Rhodes*, raised the siege, and left the island the 17th of August.

Italy invaded. *MOHAMMED*, in the hopes that if he failed in one place he would succeed in another, embarked a great army at *Vallona* (or *Aulona*), a maritime town in the borders of *Macedonia*, under the command of *Ghedûk Ahmed*, with design to get footing in *Italy*. The *Bâsbâ* landed in *Apulia*, near *Otranto*; and, after ravaging the coast, took the city; which being the key of that part of *Italy*, he caused to be strongly fortified, and victualled for eighteen months. Then went back to *Constantinople*, with an intention to return in the spring, and prosecute his designs: but, luckily for *Italy*, he was diverted by the troubles raised in *Asia* <sup>c</sup>.

Mohammed dies. THAT summer the *Soltân* assembles all the forces of the *Othmân* empire; and, passing the *Bosphorus*, near *Tuzkinder*, pitches his tent under *Maltepè* (S), with a view to frustrate the designs of *Uzûn Hassan* (T): but, being in this place attacked with a violent fit of the gout, accompanied with other disorders (U), he in a few days was carried-off, the 5th of *Jemazio'lauwel*, leaving the empire to his son (X) *Bâyezîd*.

*MOHAMMED* lived fifty-one years, and reigned thirty, (Y) and three months, exclusive of the time he ruled in his father's life-time.

<sup>c</sup> RICAUT, ubi supr.

(S) That is, *the rich mountain*, or *mountain of riches*. It is a very high one, not far from *Nicea*; which takes its name from a treasure once found at the foot of it. Ships in the *Euxine* sea, when they come within eighty miles of the *Bosphorus*, discover and direct their course by it, altho' it is nearer the *Propontis* than that sea. *Cant.* The Christian historians say, that falling sick at *Geirwisin* (perhaps *Gebezi*), a day's journey short of *Nikomedia*, he died in three days, supposed to have been poisoned.

(T) The Christian historians say, that the king of *Karamania*, aided by those of *Persia* and *Egypt*, having defeated the

*Soltân*, with *Ghedûk Ahmed*, hastened over to *Asia*.

(U) The cholick, which Christian writers say he was seized with three days after he began this expedition, might have been one of those disorders. *Cant.*

(X) *Mosfafa*, his eldest son, is said to have been strangled by his father's command, for ravishing *Ahmed Pâshâ's* wife.

(Y) The Christians ascribe to him fifty-three years of life, and thirty-two of reign, including perhaps the three years of his reign during his father's life. *Cant.* Others only a life of fifty-two years, and a reign of thirty-one.

BESTIDES

BESIDES his warlike virtues, of which he gave eminent proofs, he was famous for learning, wisdom, and a thirst after knowledge; for his proficiency in languages, and patience in labours. He was also religious. In short, an accomplished prince, if he had made a conscience of breaking his word for the good of the state<sup>d</sup>.

A. D.

1481.

His character

ACCORDING to the Christian writers, he had nothing in his outward appearance answerable to the greatness of his mind. He was low of stature, and square set; large limbed (Z), and of great strength. His complexion was, *Tartar*-like, fallow and melancholic; as were most of his predecessors. His looks were stern, his eyes a little sunk in his head; yet piercing. His nose so high and crooked that it almost touched his upper lip (A). He had very acute parts; was skilled in the *Turkish* learning, especially astronomy; and could speak *Greek*, *Latin*, *Arabic*, *Khaldee*, and *Persian*. He delighted much in history; was very courageous, and fortunate. He punished theft and all sorts of injustice with great severity. He had a great esteem for men who excelled in any art or science. But, to balance these virtues they say, that he had no regard for religion, or his treaties; was very ambitious, and a great dissembler: that he delighted in blood; and that his least displeasure was death<sup>e</sup>.

## C H A P. IX.

*The Reign of Bâ-yezîd II.*

AT Mohammed's death, his elder son Bâ-yezîd, who was 8. Soltân Sanjâk, or governor, of *Amasia* (B), was thinking of the Bayezid Hâj (C), or pilgrimage to *Mekka*, when a message came II. from

<sup>d</sup> CANT. p. 115.<sup>e</sup> Ibid.

(Z) *Philip de Comines* says, one of his legs was swelled to a monstrous degree; which was the reason that he commonly rode in a chariot.

(A) His nose is not represented so much hooked in his picture given us by prince *Cantemir*. This Soltân sent for *Gentil Bellin* from *Venice* to draw his face, and nobly rewarded him.

(B) Before *Pâshâs* (or *Bâshâs*) and *Begler Begs* were instituted, all governors of provinces went by the name of *Sanjâk*; which is at present restrained to those who are set over provinces without the distinction of the *Tug* or horse-tails, and is subordinate to a *Beg*, as a *Beg* to a *Pâshâ*, and a *Pâshâ* to a *Begler Beg*. Cant.

(C) Hâj is a pilgrimage to the

A. D. 1481. from the *Wazîr*, signifying that his father was dead, and had appointed him his successor. At the same time he received a letter also, signed by the *Wazîr* and other great officers, exhorting him to come and take possession of the throne, and leave his intended pilgrimage to men of lower birth and more leisure; adding, that it would be much more for the advantage of the Mohammedan religion, to prevent, by his valour and counsels, his enemies from recovering their courage and strength.

goes to  
Mekka.

*BÂ-YEZÎD*, surprised at this message, was for a while in doubt what course to take. Piety called upon him to perform his vow, and it seemed dangerous to leave the throne so long vacant. At last religion surmounts the care of the commonwealth, and fortune affords an opportunity to preserve both. Therefore he answers the *Wazîr*, that it was not in his power to lay aside his more than blessed pilgrimage; and had rather forfeit the empire of the whole world than leave his vows unperformed: but, lest the Othmân state might suffer any detriment, it was his advice, that they should reverence as sovereign his son *Korkûd* till his return. This *Korkûd* was of such sweetness and modesty that he excelled those more advanced in years. He had, on account of his good qualities, been kept by *Soltân Mohammed* about his person for two years; and at his death was in the army.

*Korkûd*

*enthroned*: *BÂ-YEZÎD*, without staying for an answer, sets out for *Mekka*: and the great men, according to his directions, confer the government on *Korkûd*; who caused his name to be mentioned in the prayers, and stamped on the coin. At the end of nine months *Bâ-yezîd* returns from his pilgrimage, and sends letters to his son, and chief officers of state; desiring him to keep the empire, and them to obey him; while he lived privately at *Nicea*. It is doubtful whether *Bâ-yezîd* was led to this contempt of the crown by a zeal for divine worship kindled at *Mekka*; or that, fearing his son's power, ambition, and popularity, he thought it better to undermine him at *Nicea* by subtil arts, than hazard both his life and empire by an unreasonable demand of the supreme authority. The prime *Wazîr Ali Pâshâ*, having read the letter, assembles a council; and after some debate decrees, with their consent,

the holy places, *Mekka*, *Medina*, and *Jerusalem*; which every Turk is obliged to perform once in his life, at a time when half his substance will discharge the expences. And thus he obtains the title of *Hâjî*,

or pilgrim. The *Karavân* is commonly escorted by the *Bâshâ* of *Damaskus*, with soldiers and water-bearers; who takes care that their number is never less than 14,000. *Cant.*

that *Mohammed's* appointment should be strictly adhered to, and *Bā-yezīd* alone acknowledged emperor.

A. D.

1481.

HOWEVER, they resolve first to sound *Korkūd*; and the prime *Wazīr*, having obtained an audience, says to him, "Your majesty's resplendent father, by the divine aid, is returned in safety from *Mekka* to *Haleb*; which we deemed it our duty to tell your majesty, in order to know your pleasure concerning him and his arrival." *Korkūd* to this discourse replies, "The services you have done the empire, ought to pass for so many proofs of your fidelity: but whilst, by so artful a speech, you endeavour to shake mine, I can scarce refrain from taxing you with treachery. For you know my father did not absolutely and for ever resign the crown to me; but only commanded me to rule in his stead, till his return from a pilgrimage, undertaken for his own and the public advantage. This I have done, because I would not disobey a father's commands. Let him, now he is returned, receive his own empire; and I, resigning the scepter, will for ever profess myself both his son and vassal."

His final  
pict

A FEW days after *Korkūd*, hearing of his father's approach, passes the *Bosphorus*, attended by all his *Wazīrs* and *Bā-yezīd*. Other officers, and meets him not far from *Nicæa*; where he pays him obeisance, and commands the rest to follow his example. Then, ordering the *Mimbar* (D) to be raised, he takes his father by the hand, leads him to the throne, and, turning to the spectators, says, "This is indeed my father and lord; but he is also the governor and emperor of the *Othmāns*. I have hitherto been his shadow: now the light is come the shadow vanishes: to him alone therefore pay obedience and reverence." After this he waits on his father to *Constantinople*; where, arriving the 29th of *Jomazi-ol Akhīr*, in the year 1581, *Bā-yezīd* is invested with the imperial crown (E); and next day *Korkūd*, with an allowance fit for an emperor, departs for *Magnésia*².

² CANT. Oth. Hist. p. 116, & seqq.

(D) *Mimbar* (or *Member*) is a chair like a bishop's throne; on which, raised with three steps, both the imperial throne, and, in great churches, the *Vaidz*, or preacher's pulpit, is erected. *Cant.*

(E) The Christian historians know nothing of *Bā-yezīd's* pil-

grimage, and the cause of ex-throning *Korkūd*. They only say, that in a contest between *Bā-yezīd* and *Zemes* (or *Jem*) the three great *Basbas*, *Isbāk*, *Mefites*, and *Abmed*, returning from *Otranto*, set up *Korkūd*; who, on his father's arrival from *Amassia*, freely resigned to him.

THIS

A. D.  
1481.Jem re-  
bels;

THIS unexpected change of affairs seemed very unlucky to *Jem* (F), *Sanjâk* of *Konia* (or *Ikonium*); who from *Korkûd's* youth had entertained great hopes of seizing the empire: but on *Bâ-yezîd's* mounting the throne, he reckoned his expectation intirely frustrated. He pretended the crown belonged to him, because *Bâ-yezîd* was born before *Mohammed* was *Saltân*; and alleged, it was a dishonour that the empire should be given to the son of a private man, in prejudice to the imperial issue. He charged his father's will with falshood, as not being written, but only coming from the mouth of a treacherous *Wazîr*. By such discourses he persuaded not only several cities, but also most of the *Asiatic* forces, that he was the right heir; and caused himself to be proclaimed emperor at *Prusa*. The inhabitants of this city and other places assisting him with money, he soon after raised a considerable army. But his dominion was neither firm nor lasting: for *Bâ-yezîd*, being informed of his brother's proceedings, passes hastily into *Asia*, with numerous forces; and meeting him near *Prusa* (G), after a bloody battle, put him to flight. *Jem*, escaping with only a few attendants, fled first to *Hâlep*, and then to *Kaytê Bay* (H), king of *Mesr* (I), whose assistance he implores against his brother; who had not only seized the empire in his wrong, but had put his children to death.

his troops  
defeated;

*KAITE BAY* advised him to lay aside the thoughts of war, and go in a pilgrimage to *Mekka*, for that *Bâ-yezîd* had then great armies on foot; promising, at his return, in case the face of affairs were altered, to assist him to the utmost of his power. *Jem*, not liking dilatory measures, writes to

(F) Whether he derives his name from *Jem*, a delicious kind of grapes, or *Jemm*, a fabulous name of *Soliman*, or *Alexander the great*, Prince *Cantemir* knew not. The Christian writers have out of it made their *Zemes* and *Zizem*. Cant.

(G) The Christian writers say, *Jem* was defeated by the conduct of the great *Basha Ahmed* near *Neapolis* (or *Eski Shâhr*).

(H) Not *Caitheban*, or *Caith Bey*, as the western writers give it: for it is a *Tartarian* word, compounded of *Kait*, *Conversion*, and *bay*, rich: which is

added to avoid the ill sound of the *Jistân* (or *Astân*), which commonly stands for *e*. The *Tatars* of quality add *Bay* to their names, as the *Turks* do *Chelebi*. *Kaite Bay*, who was a *Cherkassian* (*Mamluk*, or slave), was the *Hannibal* of the *Othmân* empire. Cant. Prince *Cantemir* seems to be mistaken, for *Bay* or *Bey* signifies in *Turkish* a lord, as well as *Beg*; tho' not so much used as the latter, except in *Egypt* and the coast of *Barbary*.

(I) *Mesr* is the *Arab* and *Turkish* name for either *Egypt* or *Kayre*.

some



some of the great men of *Varsak* and *Turgad* (K), with whom he had contracted a strict friendship, intreating their aid. This being readily granted, he feigns himself desirous to undertake the pilgrimage, and applies to *Kaytê Bay*, who furnishes him with every thing, and attendants suitable to his quality. However, *Jem*, instead of going to *Mekka* (L), takes the first opportunity to give his attendants the slip, and flies with a few followers to his friends; who assemble the forces of those countries: but, being undisciplined troops, they are easily routed by the army of *Bâ-yezîd*.

*JEM*, after his defeat, for some time wandered alone in disguise about the maritime places, and at length gets a ship bound for *Italy*; but first for *Rhodes* (M): from whence sailing, with some of the natives, he visits the pope; who recommended him to the king of *Naples* (N). Here, in an elegant speech, he sets forth the cause of his flight, and implores the assistance of the Christian princes: promising, with an oath, that, in case he obtained their help, the *Othmâns* should never set foot in any Christian dominions. The Christian princes, who had been terrified with the *Othmân* arms, bad him take courage; assuring him, that they would do their utmost to restore him the first opportunity. One day, as *Bâ-yezîd* was talking of these things, there happened to be present an Italian captive, turned *Mohammedan*, who for his address in shaving was made *Berber Bâshî* (O). This man, whose name was *Moskafa*, being full of craft, hearing what the emperor spoke, fell at his feet and said: "If your majesty will vouchsafe to commit so weighty an affair to my management, I will free your mind from all care; and dis-

(K) A province near *Varsak*, which is thought to be *Paphlagonia*. *Cant.* Rather *Pisidia*, as hath been remarked in a former note. The Christian writers say, the invitation was sent him by the king of *Karamânia*, at that time living in a poor condition in *Armenia*; and that, joining their forces, they were defeated between *Ikonium* and *Laranda*.

(L) The Christian writers say, he made the pilgrimage to *Mekka* after his first defeat; but the *Turkish* historians ought to know best.

(M) The Christian writers

tell us, that the grand master furnished him with a good retinue, and sent him to pope *Innocent VIII.*: also that *Bayezîd* agreed to pay him 30,000 ducats, on account of his honourable usage to him.

(N) Here the *Turkish* historians are mistaken: for he was delivered not to the king of *Naples*, but to *Charles VIII.* king of *France*, then preparing for the *Neapolitan* expedition: *Cant.*

(O) Or chief barber, the sixth great domestic officer at the *Turkish* court. *Cant.*

A. D.  
1481.

“ patch your brother, although he lurked in the most secret corner of *Italy*.”

Moſtafa's  
ſtratagem:

THE *Soltân* not only gave him power to commit the deed; but swore by the holy ſouls of his (P) ancestors to advance him to the dignity of prime *Wazîr*, provided he accomplished an undertaking ſo divine (Q) and advantageous to the *Othmân* empire. *Moſtafa*, encouraged by theſe promiſes, flies to the *Franks* (R) dwelling at *Pera*, and conjures them to aſſiſt him to make his eſcape to his own country. Being arrived at *Naples* by their means, *Jem*, who happened to be there, hearing that an excellent barber was come from *Turkey*; and, curious perhaps to know what paſſed at *Conſtantinople*, orders the man to be ſent for. When he came, being aſked about the preſent ſtate of the *Turkiſh* affairs, he replied: that as he had followed the buſineſs of a barber for ſome years in that capital, he never minded any thing but the improvement of his art, and how to procure his liberty; which, after long waiting, he had, he ſaid, obtained by the help of ſome good men; ſo that now he could freely enjoy his country, and profeſs the *Chriſtian* religion.

becomes  
Jem's  
barber;

IN answer to this *Jem* told him, that he had nothing to do with his religious affairs, for God had given to every man a free will (S); but, as he lived in a land where barbers ſeemed to be very unſkilful, he only wiſhed that he would become his tonſor: “ for, added he, ſince you have ſojourned for ſome time among my countrymen, who you know ſhave with ſo light and pleaſant a hand, that a man can ſcarce forbear ſleeping under the operation, I hope you have acquired ſome ſhare of their art.” *Moſtafa*, the better to

(P) By the bleſſed ſouls of my ancestors, or by the ſoul of my grandfather, is the only oath uſed by the *Soltâns*, except in their covenants with the *Chriſtians* they add, by the name of the moſt high God: by the truth of the *Korân*: by the pure ſpirit of the prophet, &c. *Cant.*

(Q) The *Soltân's* orders, of whatever kind, are received by the *Turks* as coming from God: and to diſobey them is reckoned the higheſt impiety, though it be to the prime *Wazîr* to ſend him his head. *Cant.*

(R) It is cuſtomary with the *Turks* to call all *Chriſtian* na-

tions (the *Poles*, *Hungarians*, and others, excepted, who wear long habits), and eſpecially the *Italians*, by the general name of *Iſrenj*, vulgarly *Fixeng*. Giving alſo to each its particular name, tho' very different from thoſe uſed by the reſpective people. *Cant.*

(S) This notion of free will in man, ſo contradictory to their doctrine of abſolute predeſtination, is admitted by many, that the *Chriſtians* may not at the laſt judgment excuſe their not embracing the *Mohammedan* faith, from a plea of their wanting free will. *Cant.*

deceive

deceive *Jem*, at first declined the office; but at last consents: pretending, "that he could not in conscience refuse the honour of serving so great a prince, and shaving the head of one whose face all good men desired to see at *Constantinople*."

A. D.

1482.

HEREUPON he is received among his chamberlains, to shave him on the usual days; and, for some time, discharged his office well. But *Jem* happening to fall asleep one day under his hands, when none of the other servants were in the room, *Mosîtafa* cuts the prince's windpipe with a sharp razor (T): then, binding the wound very hard with a handkerchief to prevent its bleeding, leaves the chamber, and tells those in waiting, that their lord was asleep; bidding them not to make a noise to disturb him. This done he posts to a ship, which lay ready to receive him, and escapes to *Constantinople*. At his arrival he repairs to *Bâ-yezîd*, and acquaints him with what he had done. The *Soltân*, who could not believe the story, was soon after convinced by a report that *Jem* had been murdered by the treachery of some Christians.

HEREUPON *Bâ-yezîd*, mindful of his promise, promotes *Barber Mosîtafa* to the dignity of prime *Wazîr*. Then sending ambassadors to *Naples* for the body, it was delivered to them, and buried at *Prusa*, near the tomb of *Morâd*.

NOTHING was wanting in *Jem* which could be called virtue, prudence, magnanimity, fortitude, and wisdom. He had no equal of his age. He is chiefly praised for rhetoric and eloquence. When among the Christians, he was strictly observant of the *Mohammedan* rites; said his daily prayers, and finished *Telaveti Korân*, or reading of the whole *Korân*, every week.

THE rival of his empire being thus removed, *Bâ-yezîd*, in 887, made a progress into the *Morea*, and fortified the isthmus with two strong castles, towards the *Corinthian* bay. These he provided with good garrisons, in order to restrain the Christians, who frequently invaded the *Othmân* dominions on that side. Next spring, he ordered a *Jâmi*, *Madresch*, *Daro'lybiya*, *Imaret*, and public bath, to be built at *Adriano-*

Moldavia

bridled.

Hej. 887.

A. D.

1482.

(T) The *Turks* here acquit pope *Alexander VI.* from the execrable crime charged on him by Christian and even catholic writers, and believed for so many ages: namely, that the pope, fearing *Charles* might give him up, to ingratiate himself

with *Bâ-yezîd*, had him poisoned at *Tarascia*, in his march to *Naples* with that king. The reader is left to embrace which report he pleases. *Cant.* They place this event in the year 1495; whereas the *Turks* mention no date.

ple,

A. D.  
1482.

ple, on the river *Tinje*. Then, marching with all his forces towards *Moldavia* (U), governed now by *Stephen*, he takes the bulwarks of the whole country, the strong cities of *Kili* (X), on the *Danube*, and *Akkiermân* (Y), near it, on the *Euxine* sea. By this means he not only prevented the *Moldavians* from exercising piracy on that sea, but opened himself a way to annoy by incursions a province often attempted in vain.

Karamania conquered.

THE same year, the *Begler Beg* of *Asia* took the famous cities of *Tarfu* (or *Tarsus*), *Kurshunli*, and *Kosunli* (Z), while the great general *Ghiedik Pâshâ* is put to death<sup>b</sup>. This is all the *Turkish* historians afford us concerning these two events, while the Christian writers, who place the latter first, and both before the *Moldavian* expedition, are more explicit. With regard to the first, they tell us, that *Bâ-yezîd* being at leisure to call *Pîr Ahmed*, king of *Karamania*, to an account for assisting his brother *Zemes* (or *Jem*), marched into the country, and took *Tarfu*. Mean time the king, having obtained aid of the *Soltân* of *Egypt*, met *Bâ-yezîd*, and fought a fierce battle; but, towards sun-set, rushing boldly to support his troops in the midst of the *Turks*, he was slain. The consequence of which was the defeat of his army, and intire conquest of his country. In the same expedition the prince of *Trakhea* was induced to submit to the *Othmân* yoke, and receive in exchange some other territories of *Asia Minor*.

<sup>b</sup> CANTEMIR *Othman Hist.* p. 119, & seqq.

(U) Prince *Cantemir* had often admired, in looking on the maps of *Hungary*, whence it was that the limits of *Walakbia* and *Moldavia* were so erroneously marked. Nor had he ever seen one antient or modern map but what abounded with gross errors: thus, the cities of *Kili* and *Ak Kiermân*, commonly placed in *Walakbia* are distant more than 300 miles from its borders; nor ever belonged to it, but to *Moldavia*. *Cant.*

(X) Called by the *Moldavians* *Cîlia*, the antient *Lycosomos*, a city situate at the northern mouth of the *Danube*, which is larger and deeper than the other four. It is distant from *Galakh*, a considerable mart of *Molda-*

*via* on the same river, thirty-eight hours or leagues. *Cant.*

(Y) Formerly *Moncaſter*, the *Ozla* of *Herodotus*, now called by the *Moldavians*, *Czetate Alba*, or *White Town*; which the *Turkish* name also signifies. It is a most antient city, famous for the exile of *Ovid*, from whom a lake near it, called *Ovid's Lake*, seems to have received its name latterly from the *Moldavians*. *Cant.*

(Z) *Kurshunli* signifies *lead*; but prince *Cantemir* knows nothing of the name or situation of *Kosunli*. There is another *Kosunli* in the *Krâm*, called *Grimne* by *Herodotus*, or, according to others *Kberſonefus*. *Cant.*

As to the death of *Ahmed Pâşâ*, the *Turkish* historians ascribe this great man's fall to his being falsely accused of an attempt to dethrone the *Soltân*, in favour of his eldest son (A); but the Christian writers assign another cause and manner of his death. According to them, while *Ahmed Bâşâ* was absent from court, *İsbâk*, an ancient *Bâşâ*, bearing a grudge to him, for having divorced his daughter on suspicion of incontinency, represented him such a very dangerous man, on account of his great interest with the *Janizaries*, that *Bâ-yezîd* resolved to destroy him. With that view the *Soltân*, at his return to court, invited him to supper; and, having drank plentifully, ordered vests to be given to his guests: but that for *Ahmed* was of black velvet. The *Bâşâ*, enraged at this token of death, is said to have cried out, *Thou son of a whore, since thou intendest so much cruelty, why didst thou not inflict it before thou hadst forced us to drink this impure and forbidden wine?* Then, sitting on the ground, and being ordered to stay after the rest, as the executioners were going to do their office, the *Soltân* was prevailed on by a favourite eunuch to defer his death, for fear of the soldiery. In effect, being informed by his son of the danger *Ahmed* was in, the *Janizaries* ran in shoals to the court.

A. D.  
1489.  
Ahmed  
Pasha  
traduced,

*BÂ-YEZÎD*, then appearing at a window, demanded and slain the reason of their tumult. They insolently answered, that they would teach him, as a drunkard, beast, and rascal, to discharge his high office with more discretion and sobriety: calling him, by way of contempt, *Batchelor* or *Scholar*. Being obliged to release the *Bâşâ*, they carried him with them on their shoulders; often asking him, *how he did, and how he felt himself*. *Ahmed* not only thus escaped death for this time, but was also restored to his places, and seemingly to the *Soltân's* favour; yet, some time after, he was slain by his order as he sat at supper in his court. *Bâ-yezîd*, being likewise incensed at the *Janizaries*, for what they had done in *Ahmed's* favour already, and having reason to believe they might attempt something farther in revenge of his death, formed a design to cut them all off. But from this bloody act, as very dangerous, he was dissuaded by some *Bâşâs*, whom he consulted; and the *Janizaries* having at length penetrated his design, he, to divert their resentment, marched into *Moldavia*, where he took the cities, as above-mentioned.

AND

c LEUNCL. Hist. Musulm. and KNOWLES edit. Ricaut, in Bajazet.

(A) This *Bâşâ* was accused eldest son to rebel: but, his in-  
of soliciting *Ahmed Bayezîd's* innocence appearing after his  
MOD. HIST. VOL. XII. P death,

A. D. 1489. AND now began to be kindled between the *Othmâns* and *Mamlûks* of *Egypt* those seeds of war, which, after numberless battles, ended in the ruin of the latter. *Bâ-yezîd* and *Kaite Bay* long beheld each other with jealous eyes; but neither dared to attack the other; believing both empires so firmly established, as scarcely to be subverted by human strength. The *Othmân* was superior in extent of dominion and number of armies: the *Egyptian* was strengthened by the annual accession of *Cherkassian* troops, the most warlike of all nations. *Kaite Bay* gave *Bâ-yezîd* a plausible pretence for a war, by protecting his brother *Jem*, and supplying him privately with money: but the latter thought proper to stifle his resentment till a more favourable opportunity, which shortly after presented itself.

Alaidu-  
let tribu-  
tary.

*ALAI DULET* (B), a petty prince of some provinces in *Asia*, to enlarge his dominion, attempted to take some cities belonging to the kingdom of *Misr*, or *Egypt*: but, being defeated, and unable to withstand the *Cherkassians* (C), he flies to *Bâ-yezîd* for assistance (D); offering, on that condition, to subject his territories to him as a fief, by having his

death, the *Soltân* often lamented the loss of so able a counsellor, as well as soldier. *Cant.*

(B) Possibly one of the *Persian* governors, often before mentioned, who left his name to the country possessed by him, which some maps corruptly ascribe to *Aladuli*. It is a country shut in with the *Taurus*, and *Antitaurus*; or *Cappadocia*. *Cant.* The same author, in a note, p. 181, more distinctly tells us, that this country is bounded on one side by mountains of *Kappadocia*, and people called by *Cedrenus* *Manzures*; on another by *Syria*; on the east by *Armenia Major*; towards the *Othmân* dominions by *Anassia*; and towards *Karamania* by *Adana* (near *Tarsus*). The *Turks* call it *Alaideulet Mamlekyeti*; that is, the province of *Alaideulet*; also *Zuul'kadir*. See other notes hereafter in *Selim I.* and *Soleyman I.*

(C) They are the most noble of all the *Scythian* people, inhabiting a mountainous country between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas. The *Russians* call them *Czerkiesi Patigori*, to distinguish them from the *Kozak Cherkassians*: for all the *Ukrain Kozaks* are in the *Russian* tongue called *Cherkassians*. Prince *Cantemir* gives a farther curious account of the former, and in another note, p. 156, says, none of them are ignoble.

(D) The Christian historians represent this matter quite differently: they say, that *Karagusa*, invading *Syria* in 1487 with a strong army, his van was defeated in the straits of mount *Taurus* by *Aladeules*, a mountain king, and *Isfender Basha*, who commanded it, taken prisoner; which obliged *Karagusa* to retire. Perhaps *Aladeules* is mistaken for *Kior Shâh*.

name stamped on his coin, and mentioned in the public prayers. Some *Turkish* auxiliaries being thus obtained, he re-attacks the *Cherkassians*; and, after several battles, fought with various fortune, takes from them *Gyullek*, *Sues* (E), *Adana*, *Kaysaria*, and *Antâb*.

*KAITE BAT*, perceiving *Bâ-yezîd's* policy to weaken his forces by the sword of another, follows his example, and opposes *Kior Shâh*, his neighbour, to *Alaidulet*. These little princes, thus supported by the two *Soltâns*, contended for some time with such various success, that their respective countries were sometimes subject to the *Cherkassian* and sometimes to the *Othmân* dominion<sup>d</sup>.

THE Christian writers, who make the *Turks* principals in Syria this war, tell us, that *Ahmed Pâshâ*, being sent into Syria, invaded<sup>A. D. 1489.</sup> was by the *Egyptians* and *Arabs*, at *Tzukur Ova*, overthrown, and taken prisoner (F). Hereupon the *Soltân*, next year, sent a great fleet, as well as army, against the *Soltân* of *Egypt*, who met the *Turks* near mount *Taurus*, in *Cilicia*; and, tho' much inferior in force, attacked them. The battle having lasted all the day, both parties retired to their camps. The *Egyptians*, finding their carriages and provisions taken away without knowing by whom, renewed the battle next day with double fury, and fought again till night parted them. But the *Turks*, having lost 67,000 men out of 100,000, fled<sup>by the</sup> in the night, leaving their tents and provisions behind them. *Turks*. The *Egyptians* likewise, having lost half their number, retired to mount *Taurus*; till, being informed by their spies of the flight of the enemy, came down and seized their camp. Hence those in the battle itself scarce knew which side got the victory. The *Turkish* fleet had no better fortune, having been destroyed by a tempest at the mouth of the river *Orontes*. Hereupon *Bâ-yezîd* made a peace with the *Egyptian Soltân*, restoring to him all the places he had taken from him. Nor is this account inconsistent either with what is before related, or follows after, from the *Turkish* authors; who indeed may be supposed better acquainted with the springs of action than the Christian writers<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>e</sup> LEUNCL. & RICAUT, ubi supr.      <sup>d</sup> CANT. ubi supr. p. 125, & seqq.

(E) It should, perhaps, be *Sis*; which was the capital of *Lesser Armenia*; whereas *Sues*, or *Sawiz*, is in *Egypt*.

(F) This affair is placed in the year 1488, by the Christian authors: but falls in 1483, or

84 at most, according to the *Turkish*; and, generally speaking, we find a difference of three or four years between the two sorts of authors, with respect to the transactions in the former part of this reign.

A. D. 1484. *BA-YEZID* at length, by experience, found that the power of the *Cherkassians* in *Egypt* could never be subverted, or weakened, unless their native country was destroyed, and the way shut-up by which so many forces were every year conveyed to *Egypt*. Therefore, pretending to make peace with the *Soltân* of *Egypt*, he recalls his troops; and, in 889, unexpectedly invades *Cherkassia*, over-runs the country, and, carrying-off a great number of captives, shuts-up the entrances of the mountains (G), by which it is surrounded, with castles, and intirely hinders the inhabitants from coming-out. The supply of soldiers being thus cut-off, *Kaitebay*, who daily saw his own forces diminish, and those of his enemies increase, is said to fall sick with grief and die; as did the same year *Abdo'llah*, *Bâ-yezid's* son.

Moldavia In 890, the *Soltân* sent an army into *Moldavia*; where a great slaughter was made of the inhabitants: and next year harraffed. again reduced the rebellious country of *Varfak*†. The success of the *Moldavian* expedition is represented very differently by the Christian historians. They say (H), that *Ba-yezid*, being freed from his fears by the expulsion of the *French* out of *Naples*, and the death of his brother *Zemes* (or *Jem*), sent *Bali Beg* to invade *Podolia* and *Russia*; where he did great mischief: but that, being forced home by the approach of winter, and about to pass through *Moldavia*, the *Waywode* denied him either passage or provisions; which made his army straggle: and thus such numbers of them perished, either by fatigue, hunger, cold, or the hands of the *Moldavians*, that the *Turkish* historians relate, they lost 40,000 men in this expedition &. To return to them.

Mohammedans expelled Spain.

WHILST the *Othmân* affairs thus flourished in the east, the *Mohammedan* religion received a grievous blow in the kingdom of *Endelos* (I). After several defeats, the *Musulmans* are every-where expelled, put to the torture, and compelled to

† CANT. p. 129.

§ LEUNCL. & RICAUT. ubi supr.

(G) Those of *Arzerûm*, *Demur Kâpu*, and *Derbend*. Cant. *Derbend* itself is also called *Demur Kapu*.

(H) They place this expedition in the year 1497, twelve years later than the *Turkish* historians; so that there must be some very great error on one

side or other: but we must leave it to future writers to examine more thoroughly where the faults lie.

(I) Or *Andalos*, that is, *Andalusia*; which name the orientals formerly gave to *Spain* in general: but at present the *Turks* distinguish *Spain* from *Portugal*.

abjure



abjure their religion. In this distress, they set forth to *Bâ-yezîd*, by their ambassadors, the cruelty of the *Spaniards*, and implore his assistance, as head (K) of the *Mohammedan* common-wealth. Accordingly, next summer he sent a great fleet into the *Mediterranean*, under *Kiemal ali Pâsbâ*; who defeated the Christian naval force, laid waste the island of *Mûlta*, and plundered the coasts of *Spain* and *Italy*.

A. D.  
1489.

FLUSHED with this success, he, in the year 894, sent general *Yakûb*, with an army, into *Kroatia* and *Bosnia*, to make a thorough conquest of the countries. After he had taken several castles, and marched over the whole region, he met the Christian forces; and, having made a great slaughter of them (L), took many prisoners of quality, with their leader, general *Yami* (M). The same year, *Bâ-yezîd* married his daughter to *Ahmed Mirza Oghir Ogli* (N).

Kroatia reduced.  
Hej. 894.  
A. D.  
1489.

IN the year 895, *Soltân Yakûb* (O), king of *Azerbejdân*, dying, the great distractions, which ensued, gave *Bâ-yezîd*, as well as the king of *Egypt* (P), an opportunity of seizing the provinces destitute of governors. The armies engaging, the *Turks* became victors; and, after six years roaming over the east, at length, in 901, all those countries, for which *Bâ-yezîd* and the *Cherkassians* had contended, were annexed to the *Othmân* empire.

Conquests in Asia.  
Hej. 895.  
A. D.  
1490.  
A. D.  
1496.

IN 902, the *Rhodians* were defeated, with great slaughter, by the *Turkish* general, *Nafu Beg*. At the same time, *Ahmed* the *Rhodians* defeated.

(K) The historian gives him this title too soon; for the *Soltâns* did not assume it till *Selim I.* conquered *Egypt*, and carried away the *Khalifah*.

vanquished but tired with victory. Which of the two accounts shall we believe? *Cant.*

(L) The Christian writers, who place this war also in the same year with that of *Moldavia*; viz. 1497, say, that *Kadum Pasha*, being sent into *Illyria*, spoiled that country, with part of *Kroatia*; that, being met near the *Morava* by 9,000 *Kroats* and *Hungarians*, he slew 7000 of them; and that, cutting off their noses, he sent them to *Constantinople*. *Leunclav. & Ricaut.* in *Bajezet*.

(N) He seems by the title of *Mirza* to have been a *Persian* prince. The additional *Oghir Ogli* signifies *the son of a happy omen*. It signifies also, *son of a thief*. *Cant.* This seems to be a *Turkish* corruption, or nickname; for *Ahmed* was son of *Ogurlu Mohammed*, son of *Uzûn Haffân*.

(O) He was son of *Uzûn Haffân*, or *Haffân Beg*; and third *Soltân* of the *White Sheep* dynasty of *Turkmâns*.

(M) This is the famous count *John Torquatius*; who, according to the Christian writers, died in this engagement, not

(P) He must have been *Kaite-bay*, or *Kayte-bay*, and not his successor, as in the text of *Cantemir*; for *Kaite-bay* did not die till the year 901.

A. D. 1499. *Mirza*, married seven years before to *Bâ-yezîd's* daughter, on pretence of hunting, flies from *Constantinople* to *Tibris* (or *Tauris*); where he is chosen king (Q).

Hej. 905. A. D. 1499. NEXT year, *Bâ-yezîd* laid the foundations of a *Jâmi*, an hospital, a *Taalim Khara*, and school; which were finished in eight years. In 905, the *Soltân*, marching with great forces into *Greece*, takes *Anibakht* (R) at the first assault; and next summer, on the first day of *Moharram*, becomes master of *Mothone*, or *Madon*, by storm; and of *Korani*, by surrender<sup>b</sup>.

Friuli invaded

THE Christian historians join together this invasion of *Greece* and that of *Italy*, hinted before by the *Turkish*, but without mentioning either the circumstances or cause of it. According to the former, *Bâ-yezîd*, having been solicited by *Sfortia*, duke of *Milan*, to engage in a war against the *Venetians*, who had confederated with *Lewis XII.* king of *France*, to conquer his territories; the *Soltân*, mindful of former injuries done him by the republic, made great preparations both by sea and land against them; and, on a sudden, ordered *Skânder Pâshâ*, with 12,000 horse, to break into *Friuli*, in *Italy*; from whence he returned with the spoils of the country.

by the  
Turks:

AT the same time, the *Soltân* put to sea a very numerous fleet, and marched in person with a great army along the coast of the *Morea* to keep a communication with it. *Grimani*, the *Venetian* admiral, delayed attacking the enemy's ships for several days; expecting that they would put from the shore, and advance to fight him. At length, *Andrea Lauradano* and *Albani Armerio*, newly arrived from *Korcyra* to be present at the action, impatient of delay, began the engagement; and quickly boarded a great vessel, commanded by *Bârûk*, of *Smirna*, a famous pirate; who blowing up his ship, the other two perished with her. Some others fought also; but the greater number of *Venetian* galleys lay looking on at a distance, and did nothing: for which the admiral was mightily blamed, and afterwards banished by a decree of the senate. Mean time, the *Turks*, in great fear, with some difficulty, got into the gulf of *Lepanto*; where they besieged the city closely by sea and land, and in some time had it surrendered to them.

they take  
Lepanto,

<sup>b</sup> CANT. ubi sup.

(Q) He made himself king, *Rostam Beg*, fifth *Soltân* of the *White Sheep* race.

(R) Or *Lepanto*.

THE

THE year following, which was 1500, *Bâ-yezîd* fitted out a yet greater fleet for the *Morea*; and at the same time, entering by the *Isthmus* of *Korinth*, sat down before *Modon*. His batteries having made four breaches in the walls, the *Turks* gave two fierce attacks; but were repulsed both times. In the interim, the *Venetian* admiral, *Trevifano*, coming from the isle of *Zant*, where he had lain with three great gallies, laden with necessaries, under three resolute commanders, they broke through the *Turkish* fleet, and ran themselves aground under the walls of the town. But while the soldiers, as well as citizens, overjoyed at their arrival, ran in crouds to welcome them, leaving several places to the landward unguarded, the *Janizaries*, seizing the opportunity, entered the city without much opposition, and put most of the people to the sword; among whom were the governor and bishop: besides 1000 who were slain before the *Soltân's* tent.

HOWEVER, to make some reparation for this loss, next year, Admiral *Pisaurio* (for *Trevifano* was dead) pursuing the enemy's fleet to the mouth of the *Hellepont*, took above 20 of their gallies; and the isle of *Ægina* in his return. Then, joining with *Gonsalvo the Great*, sent by King *Ferdinand* of *Spain* to aid them, he at length, by that general's conduct, wrested the city of *Cefalonia* from the *Turks*; which was followed by the reduction of the whole island. Not long after, being informed, that part of the *Turkish* fleet lay in the bay of *Ambracia*, he sailed thither from *Korfu*; and sending the greater part of his fleet to the isle of *Neritos*, with eight gallies only entered the bay, burned one great galley of the *Turks*, and carried away eleven more laden with ammunition and provision. Soon after, he took the castle of *Pylos*; but it was quickly recovered by *Kamalia*, a notable *Turkish* pirate. *Pisaurio* had not the like success in his attempt to burn the enemy's gallies in the river *Eante*, on the coast of *Macedonia*: for the 200 soldiers, sent in their vessels up the river to set them on fire, being hindered to return by a contrary wind, were beset by the enemy, and all slain.

ABOUT this time, *Bâ-yezîd* took the city of *Durazzo* (S) from the *Venetians*; who were now sore pressed with the long war: but, receiving some aid of shipping from the *French*, the admiral failed to the isle of *Lefkos*, and laid siege to the strong city of *Mitilene* (T). While a breach was making in

(S) The *Turks* do not mention this conquest, no more than the taking of *Cefalonia* and other losses.

(T) The *Turkish* historians only say on this occasion, that, *Hëjrah* 907 (A. D. 1501), the *Isfrangi* (or *Franks*), with a great fleet,

A. D.  
1503.

the wall, he went with part of his fleet to *Tenedos* in quest of the enemy. Mean time, the *French*, contrary to the advice of his vice-admiral, having attacked the breach, were repulsed : as they were on a second attempt at their return. Discouraged at this ill success, they sailed homewards, and in their passage many were cast away. Of which proceedings the *Venetian* admiral highly complained to the grand master of *Rhodes*, whom he found at *Paros* coming to their assistance. However, next spring, being joined by some of the pope's galleys, he suddenly besieged and took *Neritos*, or *St. Maura*, with the whole island. But this they held not long : for, the year following, a peace was concluded between *Bâ-yezîd* and the republic ; whereby *Neritos* and *Leukadia* were restored to the *Turks*. On the other hand, the *Soltân* obliged himself to restore all the merchant-goods taken in the late war, to allow the subjects of the republic safe traffic to the *Euxine* sea and *Constantinople*, with the privilege of having a consul in that city ; and, lastly, to settle the limits between the two powers.

A. D.  
1503.  
Peace concluded.Bâ-yezîd  
in danger.

THE same year, *Bâ-yezîd*, having ravaged *Albania*, in his return was met by a *Derwîsh*, or *Turkish* monk ; who advancing, as if to receive alms, struck him with a short scimeter : but, the *Soltân's* horse starting, he missed his blow ; and, being knocked down by *Isfandiar Bâsbâ*, was torn in pieces by the soldiers. *Bâ-yezîd* after this, having made peace with all his neighbours (U), disbanded his army to take their pleasure after so many toils<sup>†</sup>.

Hej. 916.  
A. D.  
1510.

IN 916, *Sheytân Kuli* (X) began at *Beg Bazâr* (Y) to broach

† LEUNCL. &amp; RICAUT. ubi sup.

fleet, besieged *Mitilin* ; but that, 50 galleys coming to its relief, the enemy retired. On which peace ensued. *Cant. Othm. Hist.* p. 133.

(U) Peace was made with the *Venetians* by the assistance of one *Andreas Grittus*, then a slave at the court of *Bâ-yezîd* ; by which *Leukas* and *Neritus* were restored to the *Turks*, and *Cesalonica* to the *Venetians*. *Cant.*

(X) The *Turks* gave him this name, from a belief that he was a magician, and dealt with the devil ; or rather maliciously, because he undertook to correct the *Korân* ; and give a new

explanation of it, changing his true name of *Skâb Kûli*, or the slave of the *Shâh*, into that of *Sheytân Kuli*, the slave of *Satan*. Prince *Cantemir*, in a note, says, that he was, by the *Persians*, held for a saint, and called *Sofi*, or *Sophus*, that is, he says, wise. But on what authority we cannot imagine ; for *Sofi*, not *Sophus*, signifies a person clothed in woollen, or a religious man.

(Y) *Beg*, or *Bek*, *Bazâr* is a town of *Anatolia* in the road from *Isnik*, or *Nicea*, to *Engûri*, or *Ancyra* ; but far from the latter,

his.

his hereby in the *Korân*; which he supported by miracles, and thereby so bewitched the credulous vulgar, that in a short time he had an army of followers. Hereupon *Bâ-yezîd* instantly sends forces to disperse those riotous assemblies, under *Ali Bâsbâ*; who, defeating the impostor in battle, compelled him to fly into the dominions of *Shâh Ismael*; where, meeting with more liberty to spread his poison, he infected the king (Z) and the whole *Persian* nation<sup>k</sup>.

A. D.

1510.

Shâh Kuli, an impostor,

THE annals of the *Soltâns* afford a better, and, in our opinion, more impartial, account of this transaction. According to them, *Shâh Kuli* was the son of *Hassan Khalif*, one of the principal men of the province of *Tekin*, or *Teke-ili* (A); and, having retired for six or seven years to a secret cave, without ever stirring out, was looked upon as a holy man. *Bâ-yezîd*, not knowing that he was a *Kezil Bâsb* (B), and of a different sect in religion, sent him yearly 7000 aspers. At length, leaving his cavern, and being joined by many of his followers, he, on a fair day, entered *Antalia* (C), and plundered it; slaying the judge, and hanging up his quarters. By the artifices of his emissaries, having in a little time gathered 10,000 men, he marched against *Karagosa*, *Beglerbeg* of *Anatolia*; whom he defeated and took prisoner. Then, advancing to *Kutahia*, the capital of that country, summoned the inhabitants to deliver it up to him; and, on their refusal, impaled the *Basba* in their sight. On this, *Korkûd* set out from *Manissa* (or *Magnesia*), with forces to oppose *Shâh Kuli*; but, being put to flight, wrote to acquaint his father with this rebellion. *Bâ-yezîd*, enraged at *Ali Bâsbâ*, and the other *Wazîrs*, for not informing him of this affair, sent him with troops into *Asia*, and ordered his son *Ahmed* to join him from *Amasia*. Mean time, *Shâh Kuli*, breaking into *Karamanja*, defeated and slew *Hayder*, its *Bâsbâ*, with *Zindis Kemal Beg*. Then, marching to the plain of *Zibukkia*, was met by *Ali Bâsbâ*; who attacked him. *Hassan Khalfa*, father of *Shâh Kuli*, having been slain with an arrow, a tumult arose in the rebel camp; on which the *Bâsbâ*, rushed into the midst of the enemy, and was killed by them; whereupon his army fled.

rebels in Asia:

defeats the Turks:

<sup>k</sup> CANT. p. 134, & seqq.

(Z) This is a slur, and not fact; for *Shâh Ismael* had his religious principles from his father *Sheykh Hayder*: from whom, with more probability, the Christian writers say, *Shâh Kuli* took his opinions.

(A) A part of greater *Pbrygia*.

(B) That is a *Red Head*, a nickname given the soldiers of *Shâh Ismael*, from their red caps.

(C) The same with *Attalia*, or *Sattali*, in *Pamphilia*.

After

A. D. 1510. After this victory, *Shâh Kâli* bent his course towards *Tabrîz*, in *Persia*; and, in the way meeting a karawân with goods belonging to *Shâh Ismael*, though he did not know so much, plundered it, and slew all the men: for which, on his arrival at *Tabrîz*, he, and his chief officers, were put to death by *Ismael's* orders <sup>1</sup>.

retires to  
Persia.

THIS transaction is told with some variation by other authors. The *Turkish* historians, used by *Leunclavius* <sup>m</sup>, mention nothing of *Shâh Kâli's* robbing the karawân; and say, he was graciously received by the king of *Persia*. The Christian writers have added many circumstances from report, not to be depended on.

Great  
earth-  
quake.

THE same year, 1509, there happened a dreadful earthquake at *Constantinople*, on 14th September; which lasted 18 days, and destroyed 13,000 people, besides a great many buildings. It was followed also by a mortality, which carried-off numbers of people <sup>n</sup>.

Selim re-  
bels:

ABOUT the same time, the *Soltân*, being much afflicted with the gout, contracted by luxury, and old age drawing on, he resolved to resign the empire to his eldest son *Ahmed*: with this view, sending for him from *Kontyah* (or *Ikonium*), he declares him heir of the empire, and proposed to retire to *Magnesia*. But as he had discovered his intention, before he had gained the great men to *Ahmed's* interest, it did not succeed to his wish: for *Selim*, who was governor of *Trapezond*, on this news, crosses the *Euxine* sea, with the forces of his province, and marches to *Adrianople*. From thence, under pretence of paying his duty to his father (D), he hastes with 20,000 men to *Constantinople*, hoping the *Janizaries*, who were in his interest, would join him. *Bâ-yezîd*, perceiving his son's design, with what forces happened to be in the city, bravely meets him at the village *Ogrîs*, near *Chorlo*; where, in *Jomazio'l arwel* (E), 917, after a long and doubtful battle, *Selim* is put to flight. The *Soltân* forbids all pursuit, in hopes, he said, his son would lay aside his fierceness,

is defeat-  
ed.

A. D.  
1511.

<sup>1</sup> Annales Soltan. in Bajazet II.  
Turk. in Bajazit II: p. 662.

<sup>m</sup> See Hist. Musul.

<sup>n</sup> RICAUT. ubi supr.

(D) The *Turks* are enjoined by their law to visit their country and parents, if in their power, after a long absence; so that, if a servant asks leave to visit his country, the master cannot deny him, without being

chargeable with the servant's sin. This was *Selim's* pretence; for he had not seen his father since he ascended the throne. Cant.

(E) The fifth month.

and be convinced by this fatherly correction, that God approves not the rebellion of children against their parents. Thus *Selîm*, escaping by the goodness of a parent, got safe to *Varna*; and thence, by sea, to *Kâffâ* (A), in the *Krîm*.

*BÂ-YEZID*, on this, sends again to hasten *Ahmed*; who, *Invited by* instead of coming (B), made answer, that his father in vain attempted to confer the crown on him, since he knew not only the *Janizaries* but all the great men were inclined to *Selîm*, and wished him to be emperor. *Bâ-yezîd*, finding *Ahmed's* diffidence, and desirous to debar *Selîm* from the throne for his disobedience, thought to defer his purpose till a proper opportunity : but as it seemed difficult to revoke his declared resolution of resigning, because whatever is said or done by the *Soltâns* is believed un retractable, he privately endeavoured to induce the great men to petition him to alter his mind. But these, on the contrary, encourage the *Janizaries* (weary of ten (C) years rest), to favour *Selîm*, and acquaint that prince by letters; that they have unanimously resolved to salute him emperor, and not suffer *Bâ-yezîd* to depart from his declaration of resigning.

*SELIM*, terrified perhaps by his former danger, at first re- *the Jani-* fuses his consent, and tells the conspirators : " that he is far from *zaries,* " despising the throne, but was unwilling to do any thing contrary to his father's pleasure ; especially as he had been taught " by late experience, that the hand of God was against him." The *Janizaries*, notwithstanding this answer, repeat their instances by the *Zemberekchi Pâşî*, or chief of the military engines ; affirming, that they would all swear not to desist till

( A ) He is said to have married the daughter of *Mohammet Gbieray*, *Kbân* of the *Krîm* ; who assisted him with shipping to pass into *Europe*.

(B) The *Turkish* annals say, he came and encamped at *Êskûdar*, or *Skutari*, opposite to *Constantinople* ; and then returned, seizing the provinces of *Asia Minor*. *Korkûd*, being forced out of *Manissa*, retired to *Constantinople* ; and afterwards had a friendly conference with his brother *Selîm* : but, on his being raised to the throne, went back to *Manissa*. The Christian writers say, both *Ahmed* and *Selîm*

rebellng against their father, *Korkûd* repaired to *Constantinople* ; and that, pleading the merit of his dutiful resignation 30 years before, *Bâ-yezîd* promised, as soon as *Selîm* was gone into *Asia* against *Ahmed*, to resign the empire to him : that *Selîm*, on advice that *Korkûd* was at court, hastened thither ; and, being there proclaimed *Soltân* by the *Janizaries*, *Korkûd* fled to *Magnesia* (or *Manissa*).

(C) So Prince *Cantemir* computes the space. The *Turks* say only some time.

they

A. D. 1510. they saw him raised to the throne, even against his father's will. Persuaded at length by these promises, *Selîm* departs from *Kâffa*, with a few attendants; and, under the former pretence of saluting his father, goes to *Constantinople*. On news of his arrival, the *Janizaries* flock together in the streets; and, joyfully meeting him at the *Top Kâpu* (D), accompany him to the *Eni Bâghche* (E), where they had prepared tents for him.

repairs to Constantinople : *BA-YEZID*, troubled at this new unexpected affair, and perceiving nothing could be done by force, on the eighth day sends *Koja Mostâfa Pasba*, his prime *Wazîr*, to tell his son, *If he desired to visit him, why did he delay? But if, under those proceedings, he only concealed his impiety, why did he vainly spend the time?* *Selîm*, who perceived *Bâ-yezîd's* policy, returns a no less ambiguous and acute answer. Saying, "he would not in the least disobey his father's orders, but was ready to go where-ever he thought fit to send him; provided he pleased to satisfy some doubts he had entertained concerning the present administration of affairs. *Sofî Ogli* (F), a man of no account, has risen in the east, and with a swift progress laid waste the *Othmân* empire, as far as *Kaysariya*; whilst you, instead of defending the provinces, are an idle spectator of his victories. On the other hand, a *Cherkassian* (G) of obscure birth and name, who ought to be prostrate under the sword of the *Othmâns*, has made himself master not only of *Egypt*, but also of many countries in *Syria*, formerly subject to our dominion (H); and holds them to this day as if they were his lawful inheritance. To such contempt the majesty of the empire, revered under our ancestors, is fallen, that they, who formerly, under the reign of *Bâ-yezîd*, were feared by the neighbouring nations as invincible heroes, are now, under the same reign, as men unactive and effeminate, scorned and affronted. Where is now the honour of the *Ali Othmân*?"

his artful speech.

• CANT. p. 136, & seqq.

(D) Or gate of the warlike engines, in the western part of the city. *Cant.*

(E) That is, the new garden; but at present a pasture about a mile in compass, and called *Khayr*.

(F) *Ismail*, king of *Persia*.

(G) The king of *Egypt*.

(H) This is all rhodomontade.

When were any countries of *Syria* under the *Othmân* power before the time of *Bâ-yezîd*? The *Mamlûks* were an older monarchy than that of the present *Turks*; and held *Syria*, as well as *Egypt*, before the time of *Soleyman Shâh*. Perhaps they claim under the *Seljûks*.

"scepter?"



"Icepter? Where the military discipline? Where the  
 "zeal of propagating the law? Where the art of go-  
 "vernment? Is it thus the empire is enlarged? Is it thus  
 "the order of our hitherto invincible soldiery is preserved?  
 "—These things duly weighed, let my father himself judge,  
 "whether they, who, by their own consent, permission, or  
 "negligence, have been the cause of these mismanagements,  
 "can escape punishment: for unless a timely remedy be  
 "applied to these corruptions, we shall be obliged to as-  
 "cribe the approaching, and almost unavoidable, ruin of  
 "the empire to our sloth, and not to the bravery of our  
 "enemies."

A. D.

1510.

THE *Wazîr* having reported to the *Soltân* his son's an-  
 swer, *Bâ-yezîd* is said to have replied: "I too plainly see  
 "my son's business is not to visit his father: but right or  
 "wrong to seize the empire. However, I am convinced it  
 "is designed for him by heaven, from my dreaming (I) last  
 "night, that my crown was, by the soldiers, placed on his  
 "head. Since therefore I deem it impious either to act or  
 "attempt any thing against the will of God, with an humble  
 "resignation to divine providence, I lay down the ensigns of  
 "government, and will and command that *Selîm* be by all  
 "saluted emperor." With this his resolution he instantly  
 acquaints *Selîm*, and desires his permission to live privately at  
*Dymotika*. *Selîm* intreats his father to remain in the new  
 palace; for that he would be contented to reign in the old  
 one. But *Bâ-yezîd* still urged his request; alleging, that  
 one scabbard could never hold two swords. At length, hav-  
 ing prevailed, he took with him the most precious things out  
 of the treasury, and departed from *Constantinople*, accompa-  
 nied by *Yunus Bâsbâ*, and a few friends, the 18th of *Sefr*,  
 in the year 918.

*SELIM*, with the great men, attended his father to the *made*  
*Kuchuk Chekmeje* (K), or *Little Bridge*, two hours distant  
 from the city. In the way, he talked to him about settling  
 the state; and desired his blessing. After which, taking  
 leave of his father, he returned to the palace; where he re-  
 ceived the imperial diadem with the usual solemnities.

(I) The *Turks* are very su-  
 perstitious about dreams; and  
 think, that the pure soul of a  
*Musulman* foresees, and is ad-  
 monished of some things in a  
 dream. *Cant.* Or was not this  
 to make a pretence for doing,

what he saw must be done?

(K) It is the town formerly  
 called *Athyra*, in the road to  
*Arianople* and six hours from  
*Bujûk Cheknieje*, or *Great Bridge*.  
*Cant.*

MEAN

A. D.  
1510.

MEAN time, *Bâ-yezîd* pursued his journey so slowly, halting, on pretence of indisposition, in almost every village, that it bred a suspicion in his son, that he hoped to be restored to the government, which he had unwillingly resigned, by some popular commotion. Perhaps this was the cause, that, when he was scarce 40 miles from *Constantinople*, he ended his days by an unexpected martyrdom (L). The *Wazîr* and great men being ordered to bring back the body, *Selim* himself meets them on foot in a mourning habit without the city; and, in a pompous procession, orders the corps to be buried in the *Jâmi* founded by *Bâ-yezîd*.

THIS *Soltân* lived 62 years (M), and reigned 32.

His cha-  
racter :

HE was, according to the *Turkish* historians, a valiant active prince, of an invincible mind, even in adversity; and had, by exercise, acquired such strength, that few could equal, and none surpass him. He was a punctual observer of the law, and a great patron of the learned; to each of whom he not only gave every year 10,000 *Akche* (N), but also bountifully supplied them with *Softa* (O), and provisions. He was himself so well versed in all parts of literature, that he was esteemed by his people the prince of learning. By his conduct, or good fortune, the *Othmân* empire was enlarged, and grievous wars waged with great honour. He repaired the walls of the city, demolished in many places by an earthquake; and, in the *Brasier's Market* (P), raised a stately *Jâmi*, of admirable workmanship, with another at *Amasia*, no less beautiful, though not so large: not to mention the many *Madrefeh* and *Imârets* erected by him in several cities. He built, near *Ozmânjik*, over the river *Kizîl Ir-mâk*, or red stream, a marble bridge of 19 arches; and another of square stone, with the same number of arches, over

(L) From hence may be inferred, that what *Philip Lonicerus*, tom. i. part 5. c. 22. relates of his death out of *Antony Manewin*, is not a fiction; viz. that he was murdered on his journey by the hands of a *Jewish* physician, though the *Turks* do not plainly confess the deed. *Cant.* What regard then is to be paid to their authority as historians?

(M) The Christian writers make him 76 or 80.

(N) *White*, a translation of

the Greek word *Aspron*. It is a piece of money less in weight and value than all other coin, the brass half-penies, called *Mangbir*, excepted; 120 of them make a *Leonine*, and 300 a *Venetian* crown. *Cant.* These are the money commonly called *aspers* by Europeans.

(O) *Softa* are a kind of clothes, made of woollen.

(P) Not far from the old palace called anciently *Khal-kotrater*. *Cant.*

the

the river *Ghioz Sui*, that is, *water of the eyes*, in the province of *Sârikhân*.

A. D.  
1510.

HE is said to have carefully preserved the dust, which stuck to his cloaths in his expeditions, through the whole course of his life; and in his last hours conjured those present, with direful imprecations, to make a large brick of it, and place it in his monument; under his right arm, instead of a cushion; declaring, that he had always regarded the *Hadis*, or *saying* (Q); viz. "If any man's feet have been sprinkled with the dust in the path of the lord, him will God preserve from hell-fire." This is commended by the *Turks* as a singular instance of piety in *Bâ-yezîd*.

superstitious conceit:

HE had five sons, *Ahmed*, *Selim*, *Shehîn Shâh*, *Alem Shâh*, *his sons*: and *Korkûd*°. The Christian writers say, he had a numerous issue, although only four were remarkable; *Ahmed*, *Mohammed*, *Korkûd*, and *Selim*. Of these they relate, that the second seemed most worthy of the empire, as having a lively spirit, acute parts, and generous disposition: however, the immoderate affection of the people to him hastened his death. As *Ahmed* and he were by the same venter, they loved each other greatly: but *Mohammed*, having the curiosity on a time to see how his brother behaved, went from *Magnesia*, which was his government, with two friends, disguised in religious habits, to *Amasia*; where they received no more than five aspers from *Ahmed* for their music and devotion. This so offended *Mohammed*, that at his return he wrote his brother a reprimanding letter; in which he so rallied him for his niggardliness, that *Ahmed* was never after friends with him. Not long after, *Mohammed*, with some friends, disguised in sailors cloaths, went to *Constantinople*: of which *Bâ-yezîd* being afterwards informed, it raised so many suspicious thoughts in his head, that at last he wrote to *Asmehedi*, who was *Mohammed's* secret enemy, to poison him; which was soon after effected. Yet the *Soltân* shewed great concern for his son's death, and condemned the murderer to perpetual imprisonment. This happened a little before the rebellion of *Selim P.*

fatal frolics.

• CANT. ubi supr.

• P. RICAUT. al. supr.

(Q) That is, *Saying of Mohammed*. There is a collection of these sayings, or prophecies, called *Hadis an Nebevi*, or *sayings of the prophet*, to distinguish

it from the *Hadisi Kudûs*, or *divine sayings*, contained in the *Korân*; which were dictated by the angel *Gabriel*. Cant.

A. D.

1512.

## C H A P. X.

## The Reign of Selîm I.

## S E C T. I.

## Transactions to the War with Egypt.

9 Soltân  
Selim I.  
Hej. 918.  
A. D.  
1512.

*marches  
against  
Ahmed:*

**S**ELIM, who was surnamed *Yavûz* (R), ascended the throne on the 19th of *Sefer*, 918, in the 46th year of his age, having been born in the year 872, whilst his father was lord of *Amasia*. His brothers, either on account of his interest with the soldiery, or else to avoid the fallies of his passion, did not dare to contradict his election. Only *Ahmed*, who knew he could no where be safe whilst *Selim* was on the throne, resolved, through despair, to remove him if possible. Hereupon, allured by a false expectation, that some great men, who favoured his brother only in appearance, would espouse his cause, he, with all the forces of *Amasia*, prepares to pass into *Europe*. *Selim*, having had early notice by his spies of *Ahmed*'s design, leads his forces into *Asia*, in order to surprize him before his whole army was assembled; as in effect he did. However, *Ahmed* bravely met his brother with what troops he had at *Enishâhr*, and fought in the foremost ranks; so that he more than once rallied the broken wings: but at last, his army, being overpowered by numbers, was intirely broken, and most of his men slain; few endeavouring to escape by flight, among whom was *Ahmed*: but, being taken, he was immediately strangled, and buried at *Prusa* <sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> CANT. p. 143, & seq. LEUNCL. in Bajazit II.

(R) *Yavûz* properly signifies *fierce*, or *savage*, and from thence *passionate*. This name, it is said, was applied to *Selim* for his rage and tyranny, with which he pursued not only criminals, but also the innocent, even his father and brothers. Having once ordered his prime *Wazîr* to pitch his tents in a proper place, and the *Wazîr* only asking to what quarter he would have them pitched, he was immediately put to death without any answer made him. His suc-

cessor met with the same fate the same day: but the third, made wiser by the examples of the other two, pitched the tents to the four quarters of the world. So that, being asked by the *Soltân* to what quarter the expedition was prepared, he answered, that every thing was in readiness, let him design his march what way he thought fit. Hereupon *Selim* replied, *the death of the two first has saved the life of the third, and procured me a good Wazîr*. CANT.

OTHER

OTHER writers say, that *Ahmed*, on *Selîm's* approach, fled to the mountains bordering on *Armenia*, and endeavoured to raise forces; while his brother, unable to winter in so cold a country, retired to *Prûsa*. From thence he dispatched *Ufeghi Bâsbâ* to surprise *Morâd* and *Alao'ddîn*, two of *Ahmed's* sons, in *Amasia*: but having notice of his design from *Mosîtafa*, the old *Bâsbâ* (who detested his cruelty to his other nephews, although he was the main promoter of his advancement to the throne), they laid an ambuscade for *Ufeghi*; who was taken, and most of his men slain. The captive *Bâsbâ*, however, discovered the treachery of *Mosîtafa*, and gave advice of it to *Selîm*, who immediately put him to death: on which news, *Ahmed* served *Ufeghi* the same sauce.

SPRING drawing nigh, that prince was solicited by his friends, in his turn, to fall suddenly on *Selîm*: who, for want of his *European* forces, might easily, they said, be vanquished. Accordingly, he set out for *Prûsa* with 15,000 horse, leaving for haste his foot to follow by easy marches: *Selîm*, advised hereof, prepares to oppose him; and, having intercepted the letters of some friends of *Ahmed*, directed from his own camp, urging him to come before his brother's forces were joined together; he first puts the conspirators to death, and then sends letters in their names, renewing their instances to hasten his march, and not stay for his foot: for that, as soon as the signal of battle was given, they would raise a tumult in the army, and slay *Selîm*.

*AHMED*, on this encouragement, advances as far as the river *Parthenius* (S); where *Sinân Bâsbâ*, who was sent before with 15,000 *Asiatic* horse to try the enemy's strength, fell unexpectedly in their way, and was defeated, with the loss of one half of his men. *Selîm*, however, not discouraged, marched on to the river *Elata* (T); and crossing to the other side, where his brother was encamped, placed 1000 men in ambush in a wood, under the command of *Khân Ogli*, a young *Tatar* prince, his brother-in-law, with orders to fall on the enemy's rear, when the battle was begun. Next day, both armies being ready to engage, *Ahmed* sent to challenge *Selîm* to decide the quarrel by a single combat; and, on his refusal, charged his right wing, sword in hand, with his *Persian* horse, who made the *Turks* retire. Then going to the support of his other troops, who were worsted by *Selîm's* left wing, and main body, where the *Janizaries* fought, he

(S) Now *Bartin*, a corruption of the old name.

(T) Now, it is thought, called *Halbebli*.

A. D.

1513.

put to  
death.

renewed the battle, bearing down all before him, with great courage and order. But while he was in great hopes of victory, *Khân Ogli*, issuing forth out of the wood, attacks his rear; so that his small army, being every way hemmed-in, fled as well as they could, to save themselves. *Abmed* got off among the rest: but falling with his horse into a ditch, he was there taken, and put to death by his brother's order: but his two sons, before-mentioned, escaped; the first into *Persia*, and the other into *Egypt*.

Korkûd  
strangled.

A FEW days after, *Selim* leads his victorious troops against *Korkûd*, who had hitherto chosen to reverence his brother, and see what fortune would allot him, rather than imbrue his hands with fratricide: but finding his submission disregarded, and his blood thirsted after, he meets *Selim* with such troops as he could raise in haste (U); proposing rather to die not unrevenged, than to conquer. Accordingly, being easily vanquished, and deserted by his people, he wanders alone in the night through desert ways, and by day conceals himself in obscure caves; intending, as it was thought, to fly, like his brother *Jem*, to the Christians. *Selim*, to prevent this, having ordered him to be more diligently sought after, he was at last discovered by a soldier, and brought to his brother; who, without giving him an opportunity to speak for himself, though he earnestly desired it, delivers him to the executioner to be strangled.

Selim  
marches

*SELIM*, after settling the affairs of *Asia*, returned to *Europe*, and went to reside at *Adrianople*; because his capital was afflicted with the plague, which swept away 160,000 persons.

\* LEUNCL. Hist. Musul. & Annal Soltan. RICAUT. in Bajazet II.

\* CANT. p. 144, & seq. LEUNCL. ubi supr.

\* RICAUT. ubi supr.

(U) According to others, *Korkud* made no opposition, but fled towards the sea, in hopes of getting a passage to *Kandia*, or *Rhodes*: but being prevented by the *Turkish* galleys, which lay on the coast, he hid himself in a cave by the sea side, not far from *Smyrna*; whence sending his man for relief to a cottage hard by, he was discovered by a peasant, and taken. Before his death, being allowed to

write his mind, he did it very readily in *Turkish* verse; setting forth his brother's cruelty, and praying for vengeance in so pathetic a manner, that *Selim*, on sight of it, burst into tears, and professed great sorrow. He likewise caused 15 of those, whom he sent to search for him, to be put to death. *Ricaut. in Selim I. See also Leunclavius in Selim.*

THE

THE *Soltân* having thus destroyed the rivals of his empire, as well as some domestic enemies (X), turns his thoughts to foreign conquests. The chief object of his resentment was *Soltân Gauri*, king of *Egypt*, with whom *Bâ-yezîd* had made a peace; but fearing lest *Kizilbâsh Shâhi* (Y) should fall upon him in the interim, he resolves to humble the *Persians* first. With this view, in the year 920, leading a numerous army into *Asia*, he marched to the plain called *Kaldirân* (Z), at *Tibrîz* (or *Tauris*); where, finding the enemy's troops not inferior to his own, he calls a council of his *Wazîrs* and friends, who were for deferring the battle till next day, that his forces might have time to recover from their fatigue. *Sellm* did not think this reason good, because the enemy was equally fatigued, and therefore gives orders to prepare immediately for battle. Then sending for *Pîri Pâshâ*, his *Defterdâr* (A), or *treasurer*, he bids him give his opinion in the case; which happening to be agreeable to his own (B), *Sellm* cries-out, *that assuredly, to his own and the empire's great loss, this man had been till then uninvested with the prime wazîrship* <sup>into Persia</sup> <sup>Hej. 920.</sup> <sup>A. D. 1514.</sup> <sup>against the Shâh.</sup>

“ CANT. p. 145, & seqq.

(X) These were some great courtiers who privately favoured *Bâ-yezîd* [or *Abmed*], and were all put to death. *Cant.* Among them also may be reckoned the sons of his brothers, Or *Khân*, son of *Alem Shâh*; *Mehemet*, of *Jebân Shâh*; Or *Khân*, *Armisa*, and *Musa*, sons of *Mohammed*: all young princes of great hopes, especially *Mehemet*, who had admirable perfections both of body and mind. He slew two of his executioners before they could do their work.

(Y) That is, *king of the red beads*; meaning *Ismael Sofi*, so nicknamed in hatred by the *Turks*, for the reformation of the *Korân* before mentioned; which he gave a sanction to. *Cant.*

(Z) According to the opi-

nion of many, it is a spacious plain, under the walls of *Tibris*, and still retains the name of *Khaldirân*. Others think, it is a small town not far from that city. The word signifies a man who exposes any thing to theft, from the verb *khalarum*, to steal: hence *khaldîrîrum*, to cause to steal. *Cant.*

(A) Spelt also *Tefterdâr*.

(B) Among other things, he said, it was a good omen to attack the enemy at first sight, and fall on them before they can open their eyes: on which Prince *Cantemir* observes in a note, that the *Turks* are persuaded, if they make the first onset, the victory will be theirs: yet that, in the last war with the *Germans*, the best and most prudent of their generals were entirely of another opinion.

A. D.

1514.

A great  
battle.

HEREUPON he commands the enemy, who had invested the city with their forces, to be invested and attacked. The battle began with the great guns; which were discharged by the European troops, stationed so unluckily, that an opposite hillock either received the balls, or sent them over the Persian camp. Upon this *Sinân Pâshâ* (C), advancing with the Asiatic forces, drawing their field-pieces after them, when he came within cannon-shot, ordered the foremost ranks to open, and give room for the artillery to play; which made such a slaughter, that the Persian troops, before like a wall, seemed now to resemble streets and lanes (D). The enemy's ranks being thus broken, the signal is given to charge them hand to hand with swords and javelins; by which means one half of their left wing being slain, the rest are forced to fly. The *Shâh*, perceiving the danger they were in, leaves the right; and, with the best regiments, coming to their relief, bravely repels the Othmâns, now intent on the destruction of the rest. *Selîm*, on the other hand, perceiving his right wing oppressed with numbers, places 13,000 *Janizaries* on their flank, with orders first to charge the enemy at a distance with ball, then attack them sword in hand; and thus, by bearing the brunt of the battle, give the others time to rally.

Shâh Is-  
mael de-  
seated.

THESE orders having been duly executed, the Persians were so fiercely attacked, that they began slowly to give ground, and at last to fly: the right wing, who still bravely maintained the combat, perceiving this, and despairing of victory, fled likewise, to their eternal dishonour. The *Shâh* himself could not have escaped by the swiftness of his horse, if the night coming on had not put an end to the pursuit. Besides many thousands slain (E) and taken prisoners, the Persians lost the leaders of both wings, *Mehemed Khân* and *Tekieli Khân*, the bravest generals at that time in the *Shâh's* dominions. *Selîm* found in the Persian camp the immense treasure and rich furniture of *Ismael Shâh* (F). After this, he declared *Pîri Pashâ*, the adviser of the battle, *Wazîr*; and orders all the *Nîsa* and *Sabian* captives to be dismissed, saying, it was

(C) A very famous general among the Turks. At *Constantinople*, a stately building of his stands on 50 marble pillars, in the entrance of the inner port, over-against *Pera*: where the *Bostânji Pashâ* is wont to reside in the spring. *Cant.*

(D) *Sok-k be sokâk*, street by

street, a Turkish phrase, signifying confused heaps here and there. *Cant.*

(E) But the number on either side is not mentioned by the Turkish historians. *Cant.*

(F) Instead of *Shâh Ismael*, perhaps by way of contempt.

unjust



unjust to make slaves of men who were Sunni (G), and forced into arms; and that the vanquished were rather to be treated with clemency than cruelty. A. D. 1514.

NEXT day, the inhabitants of *Tibriz*, finding themselves deserted by their king, surrender the city to *Selîm*; who enters, and refreshes his soldiers for a few days. Then, leaving a strong garrison, returns to *Anasia*, his farther progress being obstructed by the enemy laying waste the country. From hence he sent to *Constantinople* many captives famous for birth and learning; among whom was *Hussayn*, son of (H) *Bikarrar*<sup>x</sup>. This is the account given by the *Turkish* historian or historians made use of by Prince *Cantemir*: but other writers of the same nation, as well as Christian, relate this war in a different manner; and affirm that *Ismael* began it first, on the following occasion.

THE *Shâh* having sent an ambassador to compliment *Selîm* on his accession to the throne, and withal a lion by way of present; the *Soltân*, thinking it was done to affront him, sent back two dogs by way of return. *Ismaël*, more incensed at this contemptible usage, resolved to make *Morâd*, son of *Abmed*, the instrument of his revenge. The *Shâh*, taking compassion on this young prince, had given him his daughter in marriage, and early in the spring next year sent him with 10,000 horse into *Kappadocia*, as well to make trial of the people's affection to him, as the enemy's strength. At the same time, he ordered *Vasî Oglî*, a famous commander, to follow with 20,000 horse more, keeping still a day's march behind, while he himself, with a much greater power, staid in *Armenia*, for fear he should want provisions. When *Morâd* had entered *Kappadocia*, several places surrendered to him; others he took by force, which he destroyed. His de-

A. D.  
1514.

<sup>x</sup> CANT. p. 148, & seqq.

(G) This is an inviolable law with the *Turks*, unless they be rebels; and then they must either be put to death, or released: but the *Tatars* do not observe this maxim, of which Prince *Cantemir*, on this occasion, gives an instance.

(H) He was the *Mecenas* of the oriental musicians; and had the greatest regard for *Hoja*

*Musikâr*, the *Orpheus* of the *Persians*, and his scholar *Gulâm*, the *Arab*. All *Turky* and *Persia* were delighted with their melody and songs, till the time of *Sultân Mohammed* (the 4th), in whose reign the art of music, almost forgotten, not only revived, but was much improved by *Osmân Effendi*. Cant.

A. D. 1514. sign was to have proceeded to *Amasia* : but was prevented by *Khemdem*, *Beglerbeg* of *Anatolia*, an old experienced commander; who, with a great army, met him at *Sirwáz*, or *Sebastia* <sup>1</sup>.

*Selim* sets out : By this time *Selim*, being arrived at *Prusa*, quickly assembles an army of 40,000 ; and, setting forward, in thirty days comes to *Arsingân*. There understanding how the enemy had ravaged the country, and retired, he resolved to follow them close : but, when the affair came to be proposed in council, a great many difficulties were started, as the length of the march, the cold of *Mount Taurus*, and heats of the *Armenian* plains, besides the danger from the petty kings of *Armenia* ; especially *Alaidulet*, lord of the mountains, who, it was thought, ought not to be left behind. *Khemdem* therefore advised him to refresh his men, and wait for the enemy in *Kappadocia*. But *Selim*, disliking this counsel, spoke contemptibly of the giver ; which affording his enemies an occasion to ruin him with the *Soltân*, they went so far, as to procure false witnesses to swear that he had received a great sum of money from *Morâd*. Whereupon *Selim*, without more ado, ordered him to be put to death.

enters Armenia : AFTER this, he marched to the borders of the *Lesser Armenian* kings, whom he desired to join him against the *Persians* ; promising to bestow on them all the conquest : but their answer was, that they had taken-up arms for no other end than to secure their territories, and without any design to offend either him or the *Shâh*. At the same time, they offered him a free passage through their states, provided he would commit no hostilities ; and promised, when he was entered into the *Greater Armenia*, to supply him with such provisions as their poor countries could afford. Hereupon *Selim*, dissembling his resentment, passed the mountains, and in eight days came to the *Euphrates* ; along which he kept, for fear of wanting water, till he came to its source, in *Mount Perardo* (I) ; where he encamped. From thence he sent scouts to get intelligence ; who, after two days search, returned without one prisoner, and told him, that all the country lay waste, and was deserted by the inhabitants. On

\* PAUL JOVIUS. LEUNCL. RICAUT. in Selymus.

(I) *Minadoi* says, it was in his time called *Kbielder* ; but *Tavernier*, *Tournesfort*, and other later travellers, assure us, that the *Euphrates* rises about six

hours journey from the city of *Arzerum*, in the mountain called at present *Mingbiol*, or the *thousand springs*.

this

this he began to fear treachery, and called to mind the advice of *Khendem* : yet he appeared cheerful, and understanding, by his guides, that to the right, beyond the mountain, was the most fruitful country of all *Armenia*, he bent his course that way ; and having (after a long progress) crossed the *Arâs*, above *Koy* (K), he marched to the *Kalderân* plains (L), which are in its neighbourhood.

*SHAH Ismael*, who was near at hand, to prevent the enemy taking that city, resolved forthwith to give them battle. But first he sent a herald, with some attendants, to expostulate with *Selâm* about invading his master's country, and bid him prepare for battle next day ; while those in company observed his camp. The *Soltân*, in answer, required *Morâd* might be given-up ; and, on that condition, promised to return home. Next day, he set forward against *Ismael*, in order of battle ; though he could by no means learn what force he had : so faithful were the *Persians* to their prince, that not one of them deserted to the *Soltân*, though many of the *Turks* went over to the *Shâh*.

*SE-LIM*, who had 80,000 cavalry in his army, posted *Hassan Pâshâ*, with the *European* horse, in the right wing ; and *Sinân Pâshâ*, with the *Asiatic* horse, in the left, having the *Ak-anji* before them : the *Asapi* were placed in the main battle ; and behind moved the artillery guarded by 4000 horse. Then followed *Selâm* himself and his *Janizaries*, encompassed with small field-pieces and carriages, besides a double fortification of his chained camels. He also ordered his foot, who were in the van, on the approach of the enemy's horse, immediately to open for the cannon to play upon them.

THESE dispositions being made known by deserters to *Ismael*, he divided his forces into two bodies likewise ; one commanded by himself, and the other by *Vasfi Oglî*. *Ismael's* force was very small (M), compared with that of the *Turks*, consisting of 30,000 horse, without any foot : but among them were 10,000 men at arms. These were all brave troops,

(K) That must be to the north of the city *Koy* ; which may be about 60 miles to the west of *Tauris*.

(L) These plains, according to *Minadei*, and others, lie near *Koy*, possibly between that city and *Tabriz*, or *Tauris*, but rather nearer the first than the last ; drawing, perhaps, northward

towards the river *Arâs*, the ancient *Araxes*. See p. 234.

(M) But it seems incredible, that so small a number should make such a stand against, and almost vanquish, 300,000 ; especially considering the *Turks* had near double the number of horse, and fight nearly on a par with the *Persians*.

A. D.  
1514.

armed with lances, simeters, and maces : the rest, who fought with arrows, or staves, wore cuirasses and helmets. The *Persians*, not regarding the number of their enemies, reckoned to amount to 300,000, boldly advanced against them ; and the *Shāh*, observing that the *Asafi*, on his approach, divided for the artillery to play, he did the like with his troops, and presently charged the *Turks* right wing. After a terrible fight, he slew *Hassan Pâsbâ* himself, and a great number of his men ; forcing the rest to retreat to the place where *Selîm* was with his *Janizaries* <sup>2</sup>.

the battle  
doubtful :

ON the other side, *Vaſti Oglî*, having received no small harm from the enemy's artillery, because he was not so nimble as his master in opening his troops, charged the *Asian* horse in the left wing, and made a great slaughter. But that general happening to be slain, the *Othmans* renewed the battle with great fury, and with their *Harquebusers* drove the *Persian* horse headlong upon the *Turks* common foot. Yet the *Persians*, valiantly breaking through those foot, pierced even to their cannon, which they took ; and like conquerors came to the right wing, where *Ismael* was vigorously charging the *European* horse, who, retreating, sent to *Selîm* for help. Hereupon, the *Soltân* opened in two places the carriages, with which he had barricaded his horse, and detached part of them to succour the distressed *Europeans* : but could neither by fair or foul means make the *Janizaries* go briskly on. So that the *Persians*, in this heat, surrounding the cavalry, hewed them down like sheep ; and were ready to attack *Selîm* in his greatest strength, when *Sinân Pâsbâ*, though his wing had been in a manner overthrown, following the enemy over heaps of the slaughtered foot, came seasonably to the *Soltân's* assistance, and restored the battle now almost lost, with so much fury, joined to the thundering of the *Turkish* cannon, that the *Othmans*, among their dismal days, term this only *the day of doom*.

Persians  
over-  
thrown.

THE fortune of the day now began to change, chiefly thro' the invincible courage of *Ali Beg*, and his brother *Mehemed*, of the noble family of *Mikail Kassi* ; and *Ismael* happening to be shot in the left shoulder, was persuaded by his officers to retreat. This he the readier did, on hearing of the death of *Vaſti Oglî*, and in so good order, as to have no resemblance of a flight. As he passed by *Tauris*, he required the citizens to open their gates to *Selîm*, rather than be utterly ruined. The wearied *Turks* did not pursue the *Persians* at all : but,

<sup>2</sup> PAUL JOVIUS, &c. ubi supr.

entering their camp, took all their tents, and many noble ladies; who, after the *Persian* manner, had followed their lords to the wars. And what is very remarkable, there were found among the slain the bodies of many women, armed, who had fought beside their husbands in the battle. These *Selim* ordered to be decently buried; and set at liberty all the rest, excepting one of *Ismael's* wives, whom he gave in marriage to a *Pashâ*. In this famous battle, fought the 7th August 1514, *Selim* lost 30,000 men of the flower of his army, with *Hassan Pashâ*, and seven *Sanjaks*; among whom were the two valiant brothers before-mentioned.

FROM the *Khaldirân* plains, *Selim* marched to *Tauris*, and *The Turks* lodged his army in the suburbs. Some say, he was afraid to *barressed* go into the city but in disguise: others affirm, that he made a great feast in the *Shâh's* palace. His design was to have spent the winter in those parts: but the *Janizaries* declaring they would desert him if he staid, and *Selim* at the same time being informed, that the *Shâh* was making great preparations against him, he, contrary to his promise, exacted a great sum of the inhabitants of *Tauris*, and carrying along with him 3000 workmen, best skilled in making armour and weapons, he marched back with all speed to the *Euphrates*. But, before his whole army had crossed that river, the *Georgian* horse, the vanguard of *Ismael's* army, came in sight; which struck the *Turks* with such a fright, that 2000 of them were drowned, several field-pieces were left sticking in the mud, and great part of their baggage carried away with the stream: for all this the enemy got a considerable booty there.

THEIR passage over the *Antitaurus* was yet more dangerous *in their* than that of the *Euphrates*; for they were continually *turn.* alarmed and attacked by the mountain people, who did them much harm. This was all done by the orders of *Alaideulet*, though he pretended it was not in his power to help it. However *Selim*, who knew to the contrary, put-off revenging the ill-offices of that prince to a more favourable opportunity; and at last, with much ado, got safe to *Trapezond*. From thence he proceeded to *Amasia*, where he spent the winter in recruiting his army; designing, in the spring, to go and call *Alaideulet* to an account for the damage done him in his last march<sup>a</sup>.

THIS is the account given by *Paulus Jovius* of the wars *Cause of* between the *Turks* and *Persians*; with whom, for the general, *the war:* *Angiolello*, who served in the army of *Uzûn Hassan*, *Ismael's*

<sup>a</sup> PAUL JOVIUS, ubi, sup.

A. D. predecessor and father-in-law, agrees (N). According to that author, the *Soltān* would never have undertaken the war against *Ismael*, but for the encouragement given him by several of his lords, who dwelt upon the frontiers of *Turky*; particularly the *Kurdi*, inhabiting the mountains of *Bitlis*, who were the *Shāh's* (O) enemies. These having invited him to invade *Persia* at a time when *Ismael* was at war with the *Tatars*, and his forces at a great distance in *Khorassān*; *Selim* fearing, that, if the *Shāh* routed the *Tatars*, he would soon make up matters with the *Soltān* of *Egypt* to his prejudice, in 1514, marched with a great army to *Amasia*; from whence, in May, he set forward, passing by *Tokād* and *Siwās*, where the dominions of the *Shāh* began (P), to *Arfingān*, making great spoil in his way.

the armies  
meet :

*ISMAEL*, being informed of these proceedings at *Tauris*, sent *Stuji ali Mehemed beg*, and *Kara bek Saru pira*, two of his best generals, to raise forces in *Diyārbekr*, his army being still in *Khorassān*. These commanders, having gotten together 20,000 men, advanced to the passage of the *Euphrates*: yet, finding that *Selim's* forces were greatly superior to their own, did not think proper to wait for him; but, turning-off, marched to *Koy*, where there is a large valley, like a plain, called *Kalderān*; in which they encamped, and were joined by *Ismael* in person. Mean time, the *Turks* destroyed all the country through which they passed; and being at length arrived, at such time as the *Shāh* was returned to *Tauris* to raise more forces, the two generals thought fit to attack them; which they did with inexpressible fury. On the other hand, the enemy fought out of necessity, as they wanted provisions, and knew they should all perish if they lost the victory.

Persians  
defeated :

THE 23d of *August*, the first *Persian* Squadron, composed of half the army, led by *Stuji ali Mehemed beg*, attacked the troops of *Anatolia*; which he worsted, and broke: but, *Sinān*

(N) *Ja, Ant. Manavini*, a *Genoese*, who pretends to have served in the *Turkish* army, relates, that, though *Selim* defeated the *Persians* at the river *Euphrates*, yet having afterwards been defeated himself in his way to *Tauris*, turned back without going to that city; which, being contrary to the testimony of all other authors, shews his history of those wars,

quoted by *Knowles*, to be fictitious.

(O) Our author gives him the name, or title, of *Sef*, instead of *Shāh*.

(P) Hence it appears, that, in the time of *Ismael*, the *Persian* empire, which is now bounded by the *Tigris*, extended on this side of the *Euphrates*, six or eight days journey within *Asia Minor*.

*Pâsbâ* coming on with the forces of *Romania* (Q), an infinite number of men were killed; and at length, *Stuji ali's* squadron being broken, he was himself taken prisoner, and his head struck-off; which was afterwards sent to the *Shâh*. Hereupon the second *Persian* squadron engaged, and fought so bravely, that the *Soltân* was obliged to retire with his camp to the place where the *Janizaries* and the artillery stood, his army being broken and almost ruined. But by the conduct of *Sinân Pâsbâ*, who inspired them with new courage, the *Persians* were at length defeated, and *Karabek*, their general, taken prisoner; whom *Selim*, after giving him very injurious language, ordered to be put to death. They likewise lost all their tents, and one of the *Shâh's* wives was found among the captives.

THE *Soltân*, after this victory, which he bought with the lives of a great many soldiers, rested at *Koy*; while the news of the defeat being brought to *Tauris*, the *Shâh* departed immediately, with those who escaped, and all his treasures, for *Kasbîn*, in order to raise new forces. Hereupon the inhabitants of *Tauris*, seeing themselves exposed to the *Turks*, sent two ambassadors, with several presents, to *Selim*; who, going to that city, picked-up 700 families of different trades, and sent them to *Constantinople*. As provisions grew short in his army, and he was apprehensive the *Persians* would return with more forces to attack him, he staid there but three days. In his way back, he suffered much for want of provisions, and by the attacks of the *Hiberi* (or *Georgians*); but, at length, he got safe to *Amasia* <sup>b</sup>.

As *Selim* had learned by this year's experience, that nothing could be effected in those cold and mountainous regions, which bounded *Perfia*, unless by early expeditions; in the year 921, soon in spring, he marches from *Amasia*, and suddenly takes *Ghiumah* and *Bayburud* (R) from the *Persians*; who little expected so early a visit (S). Then sending part of his army,

Alaïden-

let con-

quered:

Hej. 921.

A. D.

1515.

<sup>b</sup> ANGIOLELL. Vita & Fatti del Uffun Cassano, cap. 18. in Ramusio's Collect. Voyages, vol. ii. p. 74.

(Q) The author mistakes; he commanded the *Asian* troops in this war, although in that against *Alaïdenlet* he is said to have been made general of the *European* horse.

*burt*, a town, midway between *Terabozûn*, or *Trebizond*, and *Arzerûm*.

(S) *Angiolello* says, he sent one part of his army under *Skânder*, who took *Tania*, a great city of the *Persians*, inhabited by

(R) Rather *Baybird*, or *Bey*

A. D.  
1515.

army, under *Ferbâd Pâsbâ*, against *Alaideulet*, son of *Zuo'lkadir* (T), who was believed to have favoured the *Persians*, the *Pâsbâ* came on him unawares; and, having routed his forces, cut-off his head. Hereupon *Selîm* gives his dominions to *Ali Beg* (U), son of *Shâh Suvar*, who had faithfully served him at court, on condition the *Soltân's* name should be mentioned in the public prayers; and, towards the end of the year, returns to *Constantinople*.

his stout  
defence:

THIS war is more circumstantially related by the Christian than the *Turkish* historians before us. The former tell us, that, on *Selîm's* approach, *Alaideulet* brought all his horse, to the number of 15,000, into a large valley; commanding his foot, which were numerous, to keep the mountains on the right and left. In this situation he waited for the *Soltân*; who, relying on the multitude of his forces, made no scruple to attack the enemy, though at so great disadvantage. Accordingly, he ordered *Sinân Pâsbâ* (X), now made general of the *European* horse, to form himself into a square body, and charge them in front, since the place would not permit him to use wings; while he himself, with the *Janizaries* and *Asiatic* horse, followed in the rear. Mean time, the soldiers of *Alaideulet* fought valiantly, and still kept the advantage of the ground against the *Turks*; who were grievously galled by that prince's foot from the sides of the hills, with arrows and darts.

forced to  
fly.

*SELIM*, finding such unexpected resistance, sent some companies of musketeers to support their fellows; and, at the same time, commanded his *Janizaries* to ascend the hill. The mountaineers, terrified with the shot, and not able to endure it, presently fled; but, not being able to make great speed through the roughness of the way, were killed in

\* CANT. p. 152.

by 150,000 people. Others mention *Klamassum*, a strong town on the *Euphrates*. A mistake perhaps for *Kamak*, about 21 miles south of *Arfingân*; which the *Turkish* author, given by *Leunclavius*, says, was taken by *Selîm* in this expedition.

(T) The annals of the *Soltâns* say, that *Alaideulet* was prince of the province of *Dbu'lgadîr*, or *Zuo'lkadîr*, as it may be pro-

nounced, though written the same way.

(U) One of the noble *Persian* refugees to *Soltân Selîm*. An instance of fidelity (confidence, or gratitude), among the *Turks*. Cant.

(X) Prince *Cantemir's* author substitutes *Ferbâd Pâsbâ*; but the other *Turkish* writers before us, as well as the Christian, ascribe this service to *Sinân Pâsbâ*.



heaps : so that these foot suffered most, while the horse, being at length put to flight in the plain, retreated with their king to their strong holds, without much loss. The *Soltân* pursued the enemy in that rough and barren country for seven days ; but, finding it to little purpose, encamped, and sent the *Pâsbâ*, with the light horse, to hunt them out. Mean time, *Selim* was informed by the prisoners, that *Alaideulet* had intrenched himself on a strong rock, whither he had conveyed store of provision, and was resolved not to venture another engagement, till he had drawn his enemies to the straits leading to his camp ; especially as he was afraid of being betrayed by his kinsman *Ali Beg*, who first fled out of the battle.

A. D.  
1516.

THE *Soltân*, on this advice of the captives, ordered their chains to be knocked-off ; and, loading them with presents, sent letters by them to *Ali Beg*, to excite him at so proper a juncture to revenge his father's death. The young lord, being thus easily prevailed on to join *Selim*, went over to *Sinân Pâsbâ*, with a considerable part of *Alaideulet*'s horse. Upon which, that prince, flying to hide himself in a cave, was there taken, and a few days after by the *Soltân*'s order put to death. His head, in derision, was carried about as a spectacle through all the *Lesser Asia* ; and afterwards sent by *Selim* to the senate of *Venice*, as a loathsome evidence of his victory. He reduced the conquered kingdom into the form of a province, dividing it into three parts, where *Sinân Pâsbâ* commanded in chief, and then returned to *Constantinople*. In his absence, this same year, *Yonus Bâsbâ*, Sanjak of *Bosnia*, recovered that country which King *Mathias* of *Hungary* had wrested from *Mohammed II*. He likewise took several frontier places, and even cities in *Hungary* itself. The *Hungarians* hereupon raised great forces, and besieged *Semendria* ; of which notice being given to *Selim*, who then besieged *Kamakh*, on the *Euphrates*, before-mentioned, he ordered the *European* forces to assemble ; who, coming on the Christians unexpectedly, obliged them to raise the siege<sup>d</sup>.

Bosnia  
recovered.

NEXT year, a fresh opportunity offers of enlarging his empire. The nation of *Kara Amîd* (Y), inhabiting the province of

Hej. 922.  
A. D.  
of 1516.

<sup>d</sup> LEUNCL. Hist. Musul. & RICAUT. in Selymus.

(Y) *Kara-Emîd*, that is, the *Black Midi*, who inhabit the country between *Urfa* and *Vân*, in *Asia*. Cant. We meet with no such nation as the *Black Midi*. By *Kara-Emîd*, or *Kâra Amîd*, are to be understood the inhabitants of the province of *Dijârbekr*,

A. D. 1516. *of Diyarbekr (Z)*, having long endeavoured to throw-off the Persian yoke, attempted to do by stratagem what they could not effect by force. With this view, they contrive a counterfeit letter to be brought from the *Shâh* by a messenger to the governor *Kâra Khân*, commanding him to march out of the city within five days, and encamp in a place called *Kavakilder*, and there wait for farther orders. *Kâra Khân*, not suspecting any deceit, departed accordingly, with all his forces and family: after which, the citizens, shutting the gates, put the garrison to the sword; and then sent a letter to *Selîm*, promising to surrender the city to him, with a request, that he would appoint for their prince *Mohammed Beg*, son of *Bilikli Ogli (A)*, their countryman; who was then at his court. This proposal was very agreeable to the *Soltân*: but, suspecting some fraud from that deceitful people, deferred sending an answer for a whole year, choosing to lose them rather than hazard his troops. At length, being tired with the continual hostilities, which they had with *Kâra Khân*, *Chemfid Beg*, a rich nobleman, who possessed above 300 villages in that country, gains credit at last for his nation, after several messages to *Selîm*, and obtains what was desired.

revolt  
from Is-  
mael:

Mehemmed Beg

THE treaty being ratified, the *Soltân* creates *Mehemmed Beg*, *ibn Bilikli*, *Beglerbeg* of *Diyarbekr*, with sovereign authority, and gives him the whole kingdom; allowing him, moreover, an annual pension of 40 *Yûk (B)*, on the sole condition of being faithful. Hereupon the new prince hastes to take possession of his dominions; which, with consent of all orders and degrees of the people, he annexes to the *Othmân* empire.

*Diyarbekr*, who take their name from the city itself; which is called also *Kâra Amid*; *Kâra*, or *black*, being only an epithet added to *Amid*, which is the antient *Amida* of the Greeks. The inhabitants of *Diyarbekr* were a mixture of *Arabs*, *Kurds*, and *Turkmâns* of the *Kâra Koyunlu*, or *Black Sheep*, family; who reigned in this country before their dynasty was destroyed by *Uzûn Hassan*, founder of the *Ak Koyunlu*, or *White Sheep* dynasty.

(Z) *Diarbekir* signifies the pro-

vince of *Bekir*, a country on the borders of *Kurdestân*, containing at present all *Mesopotamia* to the confines of *Mosul*, the *Niniveh* of the antients. *Cant.* *Diyâr Bekr* signifies the country of *Bekr*, or perhaps of the girl; which *Bekr* signifies in Arabic.

(A) *Bilikli* is a nickname given those who have prominent whiskers. *Cant.*

(B) *Yûk* is a certain sum of money used in the accounts of the treasury, consisting generally of 100,000 aspers. *Cant.*

SELIM,

**SELIM**, knowing that *Kara Khân's* ardor would not be extinguished by *Mehemmed's* presence alone, he, in 922, sends a good body of troops to his assistance, with a letter upbraiding his backwardaels in chastising that *Persian's* insolence. *Mehemmed*, stung with this reprimand from the person to whom he owed his life and fortune, without waiting for the imperial forces, with what troops he could raise, marched against *Kara Khân*: but, while both armies stood ready to engage, a great cloud of butterflies appear in the air between them; and dividing themselves into two parties, the white go to the *Turks*, and the red to the *Persians*: presently the white charge the red, and, after a fierce conflict, rout them. The *Turks*, encouraged by this good omen, bravely fall on the *Rafazi* (C), and easily defeat them, already dispirited by superstition. The commander himself being found among the prisoners, his head was instantly struck-off by the victor's order.

**MEHEM MED** Beg, flushed with this unexpected victory, besieges the strong city of *Mardûn* (D); which was forced at length by pestilence and famine to surrender. A few days after, having taken *Musol* (E), at the first assault, he destroyed it with fire and sword. These two bulwarks being thus reduced, the lesser cities (F) were easily subdued: so that, within a short space, the whole kingdom of *Kyûrdi* (G), and of *Jazîreh* (H), was annexed to the *Othmân* dominions,

to

(C) Or *heretics*. So the *Turks* call the *Persians*, as being of a different sect in religion. They likewise slanderously ascribe other heresies to the *Persians*, because the knowledge of them first came from *Persia*. Cant. The *Arabs* pronounce *Rafedbi*.

(D) Vulgarly called *Mardin*, a very noted city of *Mesopotamia*. Cant.

(E) A famous city, supposed to be the ancient *Nineveh*. Cant. The ruins of *Nineveh* are said to be in the neighbourhood of this city, which is variously named by authors, *Mosul*, *Musul*, *Mozul*, &c.

(F) These were *Anna*, *Hadiza*, *Hegheti*, *Sujari*, *Hesn Keyfa*, *Jemîsborg*, *Amadia*, *Sudek*, *Jeid-*

*jeon*, *Baldir*, *Ham*, *Zerbak*, and *Khayzan*. Cant. Our author writes *Hafnkesfi* for *Hesn Keyfa*, *Amadia* should more properly be *Ommadiya*.

(G) This kingdom (if I rightly remember) extends from the borders of *Syria* to *Shebrexiûl* and *Vân* (or *Wân*) on the borders of *Persia*. The inhabitants are called *Kiurdi*, and speak broken *Persian*. Cant. These are the people commonly called *Kûrds*, which is pronounced as if the *û* had something of an *i* in it, therefore better expressed in writing by a *y*; which reduces the name to a monosyllable, as in effect it is.

(H) *Jazîreh* signifies an island, and is the same country with

A. D.  
1517.

to the great reputation of *Mehemmed Beg*, as well as joy of *Selim*; who, by the rapid course of his victories, is inspired with a thought of subverting the *Persian* empire, or, at least, of entirely weakening it<sup>m</sup>.

## SECTION II.

### The Conquest of Egypt.

War with  
Egypt:

Hej. 923.

A. D.

1517.

WITH this view, in the year 923, he departs from *Constantinople*, with a more numerous army than before, and encamps near *Halep*: not far from which city *Soltân Gauri* (I), King of *Egypt*, met him with equal forces; and, sending him ambassadors, offers friendship (K), and assistance against the *Persians*. But while these things were in agitation, a party of *Cherkassians*, either with or without their sovereign's connivance, intercepted certain camels going to the *Othmân* camp, and plundered them. *Selim*, taking this as done to affront him, of a sudden lays aside the *Persian* expedition; and, declaring war against *Soltân Gauri*, turns his arms against *Egypt*<sup>n</sup>.

IN an account of this war (L), written by a very consider-

<sup>m</sup> CANT. p. 152—157.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid.

with *Mesopotamia*, lying between the rivers *Frât*, or *Euphrates*, the *Morâd*, a branch of that river, and the *Sbât*, or the *Tigris*. Cant. *Jaxîreb* signifies also a peninsula, which is more applicable to *Mesopotamia* than an island.

(I) Or *Kansu al Gauri*, commonly called by the European historians *Kampson Gaurus*.

(K) The *Turkish* author translated by *Leunclavius* says, he sent ambassadors from *Egypt* to expostulate with *Selim* the cause of invading his dominions, and offering to make peace in very modest terms: but the *Christian* writers, in conformity to some *Turks*, say, that *Kansu Gauri* was already in *Syria* with an army, designing to aid the *Persians*, his friends and confederates, in case *Selim* should proceed against the *Sbâb*; and that *Selim* having sent ambaf-

sadors to desire him not to interfere between them, the *Egyptian Soltân* declared he would oppose him in case he proceeded; and that he would make no peace with him, unless he restored the son of *Alaideulet* to his father's kingdom, which had been under his protection. At the same time, reproaching him with his restless disposition, cruelty, and parricide.

(L) It is inserted by *Angiolello*, at the end of *The Life and Actions of Uzûn Hassan*, published in the second volume of *Ramusio's Italian Collection of Voyages*. The account of *Selim's* war against the *Soltân of Egypt* was written originally in *Turkish* by a *Kadbi'l Asker*, or judge of the army, to a *Kadbi of Constantinople*, and translated into the *Italian*, we presume, by *Angiolello*.

able

able *Turkish* officer, who was in the expedition, we find that it was expressly designed originally against the *Soltán of Egypt*. The *Kadi'lasker* informs us, that, in the year 1516, *Selím*, having been apprised of the treaty concluded between *Kansu al Gauri* and *Sháh Ismael*, determined to go against the former with a powerful army, the rather as he knew *Ismael* had work enough cut-out for him by the *Green Heads* (M). With this view, his army in *May* passed over into *Anatolia*, and *Sinán Pásbá* was sent before, with a body of musketeers and a train of artillery, into *Karamania*. The *Sháh*, on this advice, dispatched ambassadors to advise *Kansu* to march with his forces on that side, in order to rout *Sinán Pásbá*, while he proceeded on the other. Accordingly the *Soltán*, with a numerous army, came to *Hálep*. As soon as *Selím* heard of this, he left *Constantinople* on the 5th of *June*, in order to succour his general. On the way, he sent the *Kadi'lasker* (N) and *Zakharia Pásbá*, his ambassadors, to the *Soltán of Egypt*, to know the reason of his coming to *Halep*, which was not customary: and, as they had not an expeditious answer, they concluded that he held intelligence with the *Sháh*.

A. D.

1517.

occasion of it.

Embassy to Kansu,

HEREUPON *Selím*, having assembled all the doctors and learned men, asked them, *what the law of God commanded on this occasion?* He was answered, *that it was lawful first to cut-off that evil thorn, and then proceed where God should guide him*. On this, he marched joyfully towards *Halep*, and encamped in a fine plain, near the venerable grave of the prophet *Dávid*°. This is the *Kadi'lasker's* account of the occasion of the war; which differs in many other particulars from that of *Saadi Effendi*, to whom we shall now return.

AT the same time *Selím* receives letters from *Khair Beg*, who is *beg*-governor of *Damaskus* (O), and *Gazel Beg*, of *Hálep*, who bore a mortal enmity to the *Soltán*; wherein, having set forth his tyranny, ingratitude, avarice, and design against their lives, they promise to desert to him in the heat of the battle, and become his subjects; requiring no other reward

° See ANGIOLELLO, ubi sup. cap. 20. ad finem.

(M) The *Yeshil Bâshi*, or *Green Heads*, are the *Uzbek Tartars*, so nicknamed from the colour of their caps; as for the same reason the *Persians* are named *Kexil Bâshi*, or *Red Heads*.

(N) The author, as we conceive, of this narrative.

(O) The *Kadi'lasker* calls the governor of *Damaskus*, *Sibes*; and says, he was slain in the battle: and makes *Kayer Bek* governor of *Hálep*.

A. D.  
1517.

than that one of them should have for life the government of *Egypt*, the other of *Damaskus*. *Selîm*, having granted these conditions under his hand, and confirmed them by an oath, the traitors, following his directions, urge-on *Soltân Gauri* to a battle. The *Soltân* believing this advice of his generals was the effect of their valour, draws up his forces in *Burj Vaik* (P), and marches against the *Othmâns*: who were so placed, that they might receive the enemy from what quarter soever they came. The *Cherkassians* (Q), with a slow pace, approach within bow-shot: then, rushing with a great cry on the *Turks*, furiously charge them, and, notwithstanding their gallant resistance, force them to give ground.

his forces  
defeated:

BUT, while they are in the greatest hopes of obtaining the victory, *Khair Beg* in the right, and *Gazeli Beg* in the left wing, going over to the enemy (R), strike the *Cherkassians* with the utmost terror. However, chusing rather to die than be overcome, they renew the battle, and so fiercely press the *Othmâns*, that, notwithstanding the numbers against them, victory seemed to incline to their side.

HEREUPON *Selîm*, observing that the *Cherkassians* by their nimbleness and agility of body (S), avoided the strokes of swords,

(P) That is, the tower or fortress of *Vaik*, a place near *Halep* or *Aleppo*. The *Turks* give the name of *Burj*, or *Zodiac*, to the turrets of their fortresses, in allusion to their surrounding those places, as the zodiac does the sphere. *Cant.*

(Q) The *Turkish* author affects every-where to call them *Cherkassians*, and not *Mamlûks*, or slaves. Perhaps because that appellation may be as well applied to the *Janizaries* (and indeed all the officers military and civil of the *Othmân* empire, of whom he was himself one), as to the soldiery of *Egypt*, in imitation of whom they were perhaps instituted; although the custom of training bought slaves to arms was practised by the *Arab* monarchs, and their successors, in *Asia*. Besides, the *Egyptian* soldiery consisted of the slaves of other nations as well as *Cher-*

*kassians*: whence, in the *Turkish* annals of *Gaudier*, we find them distinguished into *Cherkassians* and *Mamlûks*, or slaves; that is, we presume, other slaves.

(R) Other *Turkish* as well as Christian writers make *Jambur-di Gazel Beg* true to his master, and not to have joined with *Selîm* till *Egypt* was conquered. Particularly the *Kadi-lasker* says, that the *Mamlûks*, being pursued by *Yanus Pasha*, and overtaken at the city *Kamau*, *Al Gazali* fled to *Kayro*: but *Kayer Bek*, lord of *Halep*, submitted; and, being brought to *Selîm*, was kindly received, seated near the great lords, and loaded with rich presents. So that, according to this author, he did not go over to *Selîm* in the battle.

(S) *Baumgarten*, who travelled into *Egypt* in 1507, about ten years before this revolution, gives

swords, spears, and darts, orders the horse to halt, and placing the *Janizaries* in the front, commands them to fire on the enemy. A. D. 1517.

His orders were so well executed, that the *Cherkassians*, astonished at the sudden slaughter of their men, fell-back, to close their ranks (T). The *Turks* seeing this gave them no time to renew the fight, but, rushing on them like a deluge, easily routed the broken troops. *Soltân Gauri*, finding all hopes of victory vanished, resolves not to survive the disappointment: so, piercing into the thickest of his enemies, he overthrows all he meets, and flies through their ranks, as if they were so many sheep. He looks and calls for *Selîm*, challenging him to single combat: but, fortune not throwing the *Soltân* in his way, he returns as he came; and, imagining that he slew *Selîm* in every *Turk*, makes a dreadful havock among his troops. At length, not wounded amidst so many swords, (which is wonderful) but tired with wounding, and his breath failing through heat, he falls down dead among his slaughtered foes?<sup>falls down dead:</sup>

THE other *Turkish* historians give a very succinct account of this battle: they only tell us, that *Selîm*, after drawing up his forces like an expert warrior, made use of stratagem, sending *Ali Beg* before-mentioned to lie in ambush, and when the two armies were engaged, to attack the *Egyptians* in the rear; who by this means, being put between two fires, were soon defeated<sup>against advice</sup>. But the Christian writers relate some particulars not mentioned by any of the *Turkish*, excepting the *Kadi'asker*, with whom they in the main agree. They impute the loss of the battle, in good measure, to the pride and vanity of *Kanfu Gauri*, who could not be persuaded that *Selîm* intended to attack him, till he was informed by his spies, that the *Soltân* had crossed mount *Amân*, and lay encamped with his army two days march distant. Being much perplexed at this unexpected news, and in doubt whether he

<sup>P</sup> CANT. p. 157, & seq.  
Selymus.

<sup>9</sup> LEUNCL. Hist. Musal. in

gives a surprising account of their feats of agility, in riding and shooting. Book i. ch. 20. in *Church. Collect.* vol. i. p. 398.

(T) The *Kadi'asker* says, both sides were repulsed by turns, five or six times: that the lord of *Halep* at length fled

with his troops before *Sinan Peshva*; who then fell on the lord of *Damaskus*; but, not able to stand the attack, he fled also; and in his flight had his head cut off. Soon after which followed the death of the *Soltân Kanfu Gauri*. And this is all that officer says about it.

A. D. 1517. *of Gazeli Bey.* should fight or retire, *Jamburd Gazel Beg*, governor of *Apamia* (or *Afamiya*), advised him not to think of so rash an attempt as to engage such numerous well-disciplined troops with so small a force (not exceeding 12,000 *Mamlûks*, with their armed servants), but retire towards *Damaskus*: adding, that there he might recruit his army out of the garrisons, and with *Arab* troops, before the *Turks* with their heavy carriages could come-up; and thus, protracting the war till winter, distress the enemy for want of provisions, as well as give the *Persians* time to join them, while cannon might be procured also from *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*.

*Order of battle.*

*KANSU* was inclined to follow this advice: but the foolish hardness of the *Mamlûks*, eager for battle, and especially the influence which the treacherous *Kayer Bey*, governor of *Halep* (whose brother the *Soltân* had poisoned some years before), determined his mind the other way. Upon this he went and encamped ten miles from that city, on the river *Singa* (U), and divided his army into four bodies. The first was commanded by *Kayer Bey*, the action being in his province: the second by *Sibes*, the brave governor of *Damaskus*, surnamed *Batvan*, or the *Tumbler*, from his agility. After these followed *Gazel Bey*, to relieve the other two, as occasion might require; and *Kansu* himself, in gilt armour, led the fourth. On the other hand, *Selm* placed his *Asiatic* horse in the right wing, his *European* in the left, the *Janizaries* and artillery in the main body: before these, in the middle between the wings, he posted his brave pensioners, among whom, contrary to his custom, he chose to serve that day.

*Kayer Bey's treachery.*

*KAYER BEY*, as soon as he approached the enemy, briskly charged the *European* horse; and presently, as if he would have surrounded that wing, wheeled to the rear of them; and there, falling on the cutlers and other followers of the camp, pretended to make a great slaughter among them. Mean time *Sibes* in the other wing, forbearing to charge in front, entered athwart the enemy's ranks, where his *Mamlûks* made a terrible slaughter of the *Asian* horse, and penetrated to their very standard. So that, having broken in two the right wing of the enemy, and fallen in between the front and rear of the pensioners, they brought no small

(U) By *Singa* here must be understood the river of *Halep*, called *Kowik*, or *Kaik*. For the *Singa* runs seventy or eighty miles to the north. Great confusion arises in history from au-

thors making use of antient names of places (whose situations they are generally unacquainted with) instead of the modern.

terror



terror on the main body : for *Selim*, by this brave action almost cut-off from his foot, in whom he placed his greatest confidence, was now in imminent danger of being overthrown, and the rather as the *Janizaries* were at the same time furiously charged by the faithful *Gazel Bay*, who, seconding the design of *Sibes*, had set-upon the front of the enemy's battle. The *Asian* horse also, broken and cut to pieces as aforesaid, found no means to rally and renew the fight.

BUT in this extremity *Sinân Pâsbâ*, coming-in with his *The Mam-* horse, mightily encouraged the *Turks* to continue the battle ; lûks de- and *Selim's* cannon playing at the same time on the *Mamlûks* seated. made a great slaughter among their troops : who, though forsaken by *Kayer Bey*, lost neither courage nor conduct, but closing together in a body, broke thro' the enemy with great slaughter, and so retreated to their camp. Mean while *Kanfu Gauri*, who advanced to relieve them, being informed of their flight, and the desertion of *Kayer Bey* (but for whose treachery the *Turks* must have been infallibly overthrown) was greatly dismayed. At the same time, the enemy coming-on, soon put the troops about him to flight, while he, being a corpulent man and very old, fell off his horse, and was trodden to death. This famous battle was fought August 17th, 1516, the same day on which, two years before, *Selim* overthrew *Shâh Ismael* in the *Kalderân* plains. The *Egyptians*, beside their *Soltân*, lost above 10,000 of their brave *Mamlûks*, and the *Turks* 3000 horse. To return to the *Turkish* historians'.

AFTER the victory, the inhabitants of *Hâlep* with their *Hâlep* keys meet *Selim*, who receives them with much honour, *surrendered.* and presents each of the principal citizens with a *Khilaat* (X), or vest. Next *Friday*, going to the *Jâmi*, he hears his name mentioned in the prayers, and commands the reader, whilst yet in the pulpit, to be cloathed with a vesture wrought in gold, and alms to be distributed liberally not only to the ecclesiastics, but persons of all conditions. This clemency caused not only the lesser towns in that region to offer themselves to the conqueror, but also the inhabitants of *Damaskus* to send their elders to meet the *Soltân* on his approach (Y), and

† RICAUT. in Selymus.

(X) It is a robe of various colours, distinguished with a gold or silver border, given by the *Soltân* as a token of honour to persons at their entrance into office, or for some notable ser-

vice done. It is also commonly called *Kaftan*, and is of three sorts. *Cant.* — Also *Kalât*.

(Y) The *Kadbi'lasher* says, *Selim* first encamped by the city, with great magnificence ; and

R 3

A. D. 1517. and implore his mercy as well as goodness. These he receives with a pleasant countenance; and, after twice reading their petition, promises to do every thing they desired.

**Damaskus submits.** NOT content with these instances of clemency, he thought proper to gain the hearts of the superstitious people by some testimonies of his piety. With this view, the day of his entrance into *Damaskus* he ordered divine service to be performed in the *Jāmi* of *Bani Ommiyah* (Z), and prayers offered for his welfare. Next he visits the monument of the famous *Mubiddin* (A), without the city. The old men could scarce remember to have heard their fathers mention the burial of this hero; and the monument itself was not only laid in a vile place, but so covered with filth by such as were ignorant of the precious relics it contained, that it looked more like a dunghill than a religious place. *Selim*, having expressed a due abhorrence of the impiety of the inhabitants, orders the dirt to be instantly removed, and finds a marble stone, with an inscription to this effect: *This is the Monument of Sheykh Mohammed Ebn Arabi, conqueror of Spain.* The emperor, being from hence satisfied that the hero's body lay there, erects over the monument a large *Kubbeh* (B), and near it a *Jāmi*, with an hospital, where he orders the poor to be daily

*Selim's piety.*

that, as there were people here of seventy-two different nations, a more splendid appearance was never seen.

(Z) In Prince *Cantemir*'s history it is, by some mistake, both in the text and note, written *Beni Ummie*, for *Ummie*, or rather *Ommiyah*. It was first a temple of the *Sabeans*, then of the Christians; who being dispossessed by the *Khalifah Walid*, son of *Abdo'malek*, of the house of *Ommiyah* (in *Hej.* 86, A. D. 705), he for several years laid out the whole revenue of Syria in beautifying it. It was reckoned one of the finest structures in the world, till ruined by *Timur*, in the year 1400. See *Ebu Al Amid*, cap. 13, and *D'Herbelot. Biblioth. Orient.* p. 291, art. *Demscbak*.

(A) Prince *Cantemir* will have this person to be one of the *Khalifas*, and the same with

*Musa*, who sent his general *Tarif*, in *Hejrah* 92, to conquer Spain: but *Musa* was no *Khalifah*. As *Mohammed* was his proper name, and *Mubiddin* a surname, he may possibly have been *Mohammed Abdo'lmu'men*, son of *Tomrūt*, who took the name of *Mahadi*, or the conductor of the faithful. This commander, after driving the *Moravideh*, or *Marabuts*, out of Africa, drove them also out of Spain, in *Hejrah* 519, A. D. 1125, and founded the race of princes called *Moabeddin*, for which we suppose, by some mistake, *Mubiddin* has been inserted in the text. But then he is here called *Ebn Arabi*, not *Ebn Tomrūt*. And, if he reigned in Spain, how buried here?

(B) Of this word *Kubbeh*, or *Kobbat*, signifying in general an arch, our cupola is a corruption.

supplied

supplied with meat and drink. He moreover exempts the whole from taxes, and confirms these appointments with a *Khâti-Sharif* (C). The *Turks* believe these pious works were amply made-up to *Selîm*; since they ascribe to the virtues of this *Sheykh*, and his favour with God (D), the victories which he obtained against so large and powerful a kingdom.

WHEN he had thus spent some days at *Damaskus*, he leads and sends his forces, big with the hopes of victory, towards *Elkair* (E) *city*: (or *Kayro*). In this march, being arrived at *Khâni Yunus* (F), and

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(C) That is, *holy character*. Under which appellation is properly comprised the *Soltân's* name, confirming any mandate or letter. It is placed in a sort of cypher or flourish over the mandate, and is commonly called *Turreb* (or *Tura*). *Cant.*

(D) Although the *Turks* believe, that the souls of the deceased can give no assistance to the living; yet we read in the best *Mohammedan* divines, that the dead are appeased by the prayers of the living; and, in their turn, intercede with God to grant their petitions. They likewise own it meritorious to reverence departed saints, and religiously visit their monuments: but are chiefly commanded by their law to invoke the names of *Mohammed* and his successors; and write them on tablets or boards, which they hang up in the *Jâmi* and other buildings. They also inscribe them against the walls in large letters. In the middle of the tablet they describe the person of *Mohammed*, with a ruddy complexion, long visage, straight nose, bluish eyes, black beard, eight inches long, broad chest, slender waist, round hands, long fingers, straight legs, broad feet with longish toes, &c.: but never dare paint any part of him but his hands and feet:

though the *Persians* are not so superstitious. *Cant.*

(E) It is commonly by our countrymen falsely written *Alkair*; so *Alkorân*, instead of *Elkurân*. *Cant.* With regard to this note, which seems to contradict the *English* manner of writing those words, it may suffice to observe here, that the *Alif* in the article *Al* must be pronounced like *a* in fat, hat, or art; not like *a* in all, nor like the *English e*, as pronounced at present: thus, altho' *Erpenius*, a foreigner, writes *Elif*, Mr. *Vaughan*, in his grammar, writes *Alif*. The like may be understood of *Korân*. Altho' the pronunciation differs among the orientals according to time and place; the *Turks*, *Persians*, and people of *Marokko*, sounding the *Alif*, in some words softer than the *Arabs*, and in others changing it: thus, instead of *Irân* (*Irâwn*), the *Persians* say *Irûn* (*Iroon*). As to the word *Alkair*, it is like *Kayro*, a corruption of *Kahera*, the Arabic name of the capital of *Egypt*, which is also called *Misr* by the *Turks*.

(F) That is, *John's Inn*. *Cant.* The other *Turkish* authors instead of this place put *Ramla*, supposed to be the ancient *Rama*: and we the rather think them in the right, because *Khani Yunus* seems

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and talking freely with his officers, *Hüsan Paşâ*, one of his *Wazirs*, with more boldness than prudence, asks, *Most auspicious emperor, when shall we enter Kuthulr Kais (G)?* *Selim*, perceiving his too great familiarity with his friends bred disrespect, replied, *We shall enter indeed when God pleases, but for thee, it is my pleasure that thou stay here;* and immediately ordered his head to be struck-off.

wisits Je-  
rusalem.

FROM thence he marched to *Gâza*; where, hearing that *Kûdsbaris* (or *Jerusalem*) was not far-off, he became exceedingly desirous to see a city the fountain of so many prophets, and the scene of so many miracles. Accordingly he went thither with a few attendants; and, in three days, performing what religion required, returned to his army. Then, pursuing his route, he takes by the way *Sifido'lbâhr* (H), and *Khano'ljuni* (I), where he leaves such as were disabled by wounds or fatigue. As soon as he was gone, the people of *Gâza*, imagining that he would be cut-off with his army by the *Cherkassians*, killed all the sick, and their physician, committed to their trust<sup>1</sup>.

The Turks  
in danger

THIS part of the expedition is represented differently by other historians, particularly the *Kadhi'lasker*, before-mentioned; whose account we shall here follow, supplying it from the rest in the notes. According to that officer, when *Selim* had been a few days at *Damaskus*, he ordered *Mamet Bey* and *Skander Bey*, two lords of *Greece* (K), to march with their troops to *Gazzara* (or *Gaza*), at the entrance of the isthmus of *Egypt*. In their way they were often attacked by the *Moors* (L) and *Arabs*. News of this being carried to

<sup>1</sup> CANT. p. 159—163.

seems to be the same name with *Khano'ljuni*, mentioned afterwards, and inserted here by some oversight.

(G) A village or suburbs of *Kayro*, seeming to have been some narrow and difficult place. *Cant.*

(H) That is, *White Sea*. But the ancient name of this city, and the next was unknown to prince *Cantemir*.

(I) This signifies, *the inn of the Ionians, or Greeks*, and seems to be the *Daro'l Rûm*, or *House of the Greeks*, as the *Arabs* call it; often mentioned

by *Sanutus* and the historians of the crusade, who place it about fifteen miles from *Gaza*, in the way to *Egypt*. *Thevenot*, in his *Travels*, p. 179, writes it *Cannionas*.

(K) We presume the word in the original was *Rûm idi*, which answers to *Greece* in general, or perhaps more particularly to *Thrace*.

(L) As we know not what word was used in the original, by *Moors* we understand the *Egyptians*, or other *Mohammedans*, who were not *Turks*.

*Kayro*,

*Kayro*, *Al Gâzeli*, who was a valiant commander, and newly arrived there from the last battle, asked leave of *Tumân Bey*, the new *Soltân*, who had been grand *Diadâr*, to march against them, with 5000 *Mamlûks*. The *Turks* at *Gazzera*, on this advice, were in no small perplexity: but, in the interim, *Sellm* having, to reinforce them, detached *Sinân Pâshâ*, with 15,000 men, that general joined them before the enemy arrived.

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*AL GAZELI*, who at the same time was not far off, *of being* was greatly vexed at this disappointment. However, he lost *surprised*. not his courage, but exhorted his men to do their duty; resolving to surprise the *Turks* in the night. *Sinân Pâshâ*, being apprised of his design, drew-up his men in order of battle, and the night was spent with great joy, by firing of guns and lighting up fires in the camp. When we began to march (says our author) the people of *Gazzera* imagined we were returning to join the emperor; and, having put to the sword the sick whom we left behind, sent word to *Al Gazeli*, that we were fled, which gave him great satisfaction for that night: but when, at three o'clock the next day, he saw the dust raised by our army, which advanced to attack him, he was greatly dismayed.

As we drew nearer, we alighted to buckle the girths of our *Sinan* saddles tighter: then we asked pardon of each other, shook *Pâshâ's* hands, and saluted; praying to God, that, through the merits *speech* of *Mohammed*, and his four assistants, *Abubêkr*, *Omar*, *Ozmân*, and *Ali*, as well as of all the antecedent prophets, he would help the cause of the good. Then *Sinân Pâshâ*, speaking to his troops, told them, "that they had defeated more numerous armies, and won greater battles, than that which they were going to fight could be. He exhorted them to stand firm; for that whoever was to die must fall, whether he fled or not; and that he who was not predestined to die would fight. He added, that as wethers were good to be sacrificed, so they ought to fight for their lord. Let vengeance, continued he, be taken for our friends who were killed by these dogs in the first battle, whose bodies, if they could speak would cry, *kill! kill!* By conquering you will obtain great rewards from your lord, and gain eternal fame: while many of you who are now in low stations will be promoted to high posts."

To this harangue they all answered, "God grant long *Gazeli* life to the lord! let all the world be subject to him, and *Bey rout* those, who would not have it so, die! Let us march!" *ed*. "let us march." Then marching forward, both armies engaged. The *Cherkassians* sustained our onset with great courage and force: each side having often given way, from

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the hour of three till noon, and lost many men (M). At last they were broken, and our troops remained victors, with a great booty. The *Mamlûks* fled back, pursued by part of our army, while the rest returned to *Gazzera*, with the *Pâsbâ*; who ordered the heads of all the slain lords to be filled with straw, and those of inferior persons to be fixed on palm trees, in memory of the battle. The greater part of two hundred (N) *Solâks*, sent by the *Soltân* to meet *Sinan Pâsbâ*, being attacked by the *Arabs* in their way, were killed, and all the rest slain in their retreat excepting six. These not being able to give any account of the *Pâsbâ*, *Selim* rose in great fury to go in quest of him; but was quickly freed from his concern by the arrival of some *Moors*, with intelligence, that *Al Gâzeli* had been defeated, and the *Turkish* army was returned to *Gazzera* in triumph.

Selim advances;

THE *Soltân*, highly pleased with this news, marched from *Damaskus* to *Peneti*, where the *Solâks* were killed, which was plundered and burnt. From thence he went to *Jerusalem*; but met with much rain and bad weather, which occasioned great fatigue, and the death of many. He distributed a deal of money among the poor of that city, and offered sacrifices of good wether-sheep. In his march from thence to *Gazzera* he entered a terrible valley, where not above two horsemen could ride abreast. The *Arabs* had seized on this pass, and amassed heaps of large stones to cast down upon us: but the *Janizaries* having found means to discharge their fire arms, notwithstanding the rain had put them out of order, the *Moors* were put to flight, and some killed. As we approached *Gazzera*, the valiant men of *Greece*, well clothed

(M) The *Othmâns* placed their musketeers in the wings of their army, which was drawn up in a great length, the more easily to use their pieces, and hem in the *Egyptians*; and in the middle they posted their horse, to receive the first charge of the *Mamlûks*. The battle for a long time was doubtful: for, altho' the *Turks* far exceeded in number, yet the *Mamlûks* were the braver men, and could not have been overcome, if they had not been surrounded by the enemy. They lost in this action, besides a great many

*Arabs*, the governors of *Alexander* and *Kayro*, with about 1000 *Mamlûks*. The *Turks* also had 2000 of their best horse slain, and some considerable commanders. *Leunclavius*. *Ricaut*. in *Selimus*.

(N) Others say, 2000 horse were sent; and that they had all been destroyed by the *Arabs*, had they not met at *Rama* with a strong body of troops under *Juleb*, governor of *Akbaia*, going to *Sinan Pâsbâ*: yet both parties had much ado to get back. *Leuncl. Ricaut*.

in

in the enemies apparel, came a bow-shot from the town, to meet the lord. The *Moors* were quite stupefied at the sight of so much pomp. The whole army being divided in two bodies, the *Soltân* placed himself between both, and received their compliments. On sight of *Sinân Pâshâ*, he thanked him heartily, together with his troops, and made them large presents.

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HAVING rested four days at *Gazzeza*, *Selîm* marched to *Kasali*; which was plundered, to be revenged on the *Arabs* of the place, who had opposed them in the valley. The rains which fell had rendered the road thither commodious, and we took the direct route for *Kayro*. Thus far the *Kadbi'lâsker*. It may not be amiss to add, from other authors, that, although the way lay through an uninhabited scorching desert, where the sand moved with the wind, like the billows of the sea, yet it was at that time so laid by a three days heavy rain, followed by calm weather, that the army, notwithstanding it was molested in its march by the *Arabs*, got in eight days within a small way of *Kayro*.

near Kayro.

UPON the enemy's approach *Tumân Bey* (O), sprung from the noblest *Cherkassian* family, having been elected in the room of *Kanfu Gauri*, by a council called by those who had escaped from the late battle near *Halep*, and qualified with the title of *Muluk Esbref* (P), assembled all the remains of his nation, with some auxiliary troops of *Arabs*, amounting in all to about 40,000 choice men, encamps in a place called *Ridania* (Q). Here they fortified themselves with cannon, and various contrivances (R), in expectation that *Selîm*, on his

The armies meet.

\* ANGIOLELLO, LEUNCL. & RICAUT, ubi sup.

(O) Called by our historians *Tomombeius*. *Tumân Bay* signifies, the lord or commander over ten thousand: a military post, first established among the inhabitants of *Tartary* by *Jenghîz Khân*. He was great *Diwidâr*, *Doweidâr*, or *Diadâr*, which was the same with *Waxîr* among the *Turks*.

(P) *Muluk Esbref* signifies the most holy, or most auspicious. Cant. Our author should have added king. The reading is properly *Mâlek Asbrâf*: which last word signifies most noble, and

was not peculiar to *Tumân Bey*, but was the title or surname of many of the *Soltâns* of *Egypt*, *Syria*, and of *Yasiman* in *Arabia*: hence *Sharîf*, or the most noble; which title is assumed by the descendants of *Mohammed*.

(Q) The Christian writers call it *Rodania*, a village near that of *Matarea*, another village, famous for the balm, six miles to the north of *Kayro*.

(R) These were ditches dug across the fields and highways, covered with earth and hurdles. The *Kadbi'lâsker* informs us also,

A. D. 1517. his coming-up, would instantly attack their camp, and so be taken in their toils. But the *Soltân*, informed of their snares by his spies, as he was superior in number, orders part of his forces to march round the enemy's camp, near *Jebeli Maktab* (S), and, at a signal given, to fall-on their rear.

*The Mam-lûks overthrown.* THE *Cherkassians* being thus surrounded on all sides, in the first ten days of *Jemazio'lauwel*, in the year 923, there was fought so bloody and obstinate a battle as can hardly be described. The enemy, overpowered by numbers, are sometimes forced back, yet as often renew the charge; the king himself fighting always in the front, and animating his soldiers by his example. The battle is continued for some time with broken ranks, when at last *Tumân Bay*, seeing part of his forces slain, part taken prisoners, and victory no way to be hoped for, with a select band, opens a passage through the thickest of his enemies, and flies to *Sheykh Arab* (T), son of *Bekkaar*. Thus the *Othmâns*, though not without great slaughter of their men, obtained a complete victory. On their side fell the hero of his age, the renowned general *Sinan Pâsbâ* (U); whose death was so grievous to *Selîm*, that

A. D. 1517. he

so, that the *Soltân* had mounted his cannon with design to have discharged it all at once upon the *Turks*, as soon as they approached; and had prepared 14,000 *Mamlûks* and 20,000 *Arabs* ready to fall out afterwards, and disperse them: but these things being discovered to *Selîm* by six *Mamlûk* deserters, he of a sudden changed his rout, and marched where the enemies artillery could not annoy his army. See *Angiolello in Ramusio*, vol. ii. also *Leunclavius*, and *Ricaut in Selymus*.

(S) Prince *Cantemir* thinks it should be *Maktab*; which signifies a *hill* or *mount*; whereon the monuments of the ancients, and the pyramids are placed. But the pyramids are not on the side of the river where the battle was fought. It is rather the hill called *Makottam*, which lies to the south-east of *Kayro*, there being only

a passage between it and the castle, nor is there any other mountain thereabouts.

(T) *Sheykh Arab* signifies no more than an *Arabian Sheykh*. These are more concerned in the ecclesiastical than civil government; and pretend to be the immediate successors (or descendants) of *Mohammed*. Of these there are seven races, chiefly celebrated among the *Turks*. Prince *Cantemir* saw one of these *Sheykh*s, who, in a visit to *Soltân Mofata II.* sat all the while, and familiarly conversed with him. Whenever he talked of the *Soltân*, he called him his *Bixum Vekil*; that is, vicegerent, or lieutenant. *Cant.*

(U) At the same time all his men, who eat of his bread and salt, and were many, fell a sacrifice; saying, *with the cloaths-on, which he has given us, we are willing to die with our master.* They washed him with their tears,



he is said, long after the taking of *Kayro*, to have lamented in this manner: *Misr, or Egypt, have I gained, but Yusef (or Joseph) have I lost: without Yusef what signifies Misr?* A. D. 1517.

OTHER writers furnish us with more particulars of this battle, which decided the fate of *Egypt*. As soon as the two armies engaged, *Tumân Bey*, who had 12,000 *Mamlûks* and a multitude of *Arabian* horse, ordered the latter to go and hem-in the wings of the enemies battles (X), and to skirmish with them behind. Mean time the cannon played furiously on both sides, till most of the *Egyptian* gunners were slain, and several of their pieces broken: whereas *Selim* had several Christians to manage his artillery, who did him excellent service. Hereupon they joined battle every-where. *Tumân Bey* fought in the main body against *Selim*; the wings of the *Mamlûks* encountered those of the *Turks*, and the *Arabs* valiantly charged them in the rear (Y): so that four sharp engagements being carried-on at the same time, there ensued such an hideous noise, with the clashing of armour and other weapons, that nothing could exceed it.

*GAZELI BEY*, to retrieve the loss he had sustained at *Gâza*, fell with surprising fury on *Jonuses Pâshâ*, in the wing, and broke-in upon his ranks, while the *Arabs* fiercely pressing him behind, forced those *European* troops to fly; which they never did before. Here the famous *Sinân Pâshâ* coming to their relief, was, by *Bidon* and his *Mamlûks*, slain, with all his followers; beside 500 select *Janizaries*, who, being surrounded, were in a trice cut to pieces. On the other side, *Mostafa*, with the *Asian* horse in the right wing, pressed so hard on the *Egyptian* left (Z), that, with the help of *Selim's* cannon, which made great slaughter among them, he not only disordered but quite overthrew him. At the same time *Tumân Bey*, who was a large man, and of great

■ CANT. p. 164.

tears, wrapped him up in the finest linen, (sprinkled him with the water of *Zemzem*, a well in *Mekka*, and, having dug a grave, buried him. Thus the *Kaabi'l-asker*.

(X) This the *Turks* are before said to have done to the *Cherkassians*.

(Y) The *Kaabi'lasker* informs us, that *Al Gazeli* attacked the *Greccians* (or *European*) troops,

commanded by *Sinân Pashâ*; *Allim*, the *Waxîr* (or *Diadar*), those of *Anatolia*, led by *Mostafa Pashâ*.

(Z) The *Kaabi'lasker* says, they fell on with such rage, that they cut-down the *Cherkassians* like blades of corn, to the amazement of all. The emperor's squadron and *Greccians* likewise fought the enemy gallantly.

Strength,

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strength, breaking through the main body of the *Turkish* horse, penetrated in person to the foot, hewing down all before him; and the *Arabs*, casting themselves in a ring, performed their parts with great bravery. This brought-on *Selīm*, with his foot and resolute *Janizaries*; who, with dreadful fury, renewed the battle; which continued with great obstinacy from four till sun-set (A). But, at length, *Tumān Bey*, fearing a total overthrow from the number of his enemies, founded a retreat, though needless, as night approached, and abandoning his camp and train of artillery; retired towards *Kayro* (B). In this flight the *Diadār* (C) (or *Dowidor*), and the gallant *Bidon*, were taken, and put to death next day by *Selīm's* order; though the first was mortally wounded, and the latter had his leg shot off. This battle was fought on *January 24, 1517* \*.

fortifies  
Kayro.

THE brave *Tumān Bey*, no-ways discouraged by so many misfortunes, encamped with the remainder of his troops between *Kayro* and the *Nile* (D). These he recruited with 8000 *Ethiopian* slaves. He likewise armed the *Jews*, *Arabs*, and sons of the *Mamlūks*: but, as he wanted artillery, and had not force enough to oppose the enemy in the field, he resolved to surprise them in the night. This design being betrayed to *Selīm*, he stood on his guard, and ordered great fires to be made throughout his camp: so that the *Egyptians* were repulsed with great loss. *Tumān Bey* upon this retires to *Kayro*; and, by help of the inhabitants, forti-

\* LEUNCL. and RICAUT, ubi supr.

(A) The *Kadbi'lasker* says, the battle began in the morning, and continued with great obstinacy till noon; when *Sinān Pāshā* was killed.

(B) Towards evening, says the *Kadbi'lasker*, as every one was fatigued, they retreated; and the *Cherkassians*, making a shew of taking breath, betook themselves to flight, some to *Kayro*, others elsewhere. They were followed by the *Grecian* troops, who killed a great number, and made many prisoners. These latter were all put to death the same night, by order of *Selīm*, who lay in the field of battle.

(C) That was *Allen*, before-mentioned. *Jovius* calls him *Hilmys*, and the *Turkish* author, translated by *Leunclavius*, *Allen*.

(D) The *Turkish* army, according to the *Kadbi'lasker*, rested three days on the field of battle, and the fourth marched to *Bikbieri*, on the *Nile*, where they staid two days. Mean time, the *Mamlūks*, to the number of 9000, joined the *Soltān*, in order to attack the enemy in the night; but *Selīm*, being informed of their design, kept on his guard: however, the *Cherkassians* attacked his army next day.

fies the gates and avenues; for it had no walls. Then he collects all his strength in the broad street, leading from the east gate to the castle, which he likewise supplied with soldiers. The rest of the streets he took no care of; for they were so narrow and crooked that no great artillery could be brought in by them, or soldiers enter without great danger.

HOWEVER, *Selím*, being informed of all this (next morning, by sun-rise) entered by the *Báb Zuil* (E), the chief gate of *Kayro*; and at the same time thrust-in his horse at divers avenues of the city; but introduced his *Janizaries* by the largest street. Immediately horse encountered horse in the narrow streets and lanes; while the foot, with their light field pieces placed in front, cleared the way before them. Yet were they still valiantly opposed at the barricades and trenches; where, after the most bloody conflict that can be imagined, the *Turks*, pressing on one another, tumbled by heaps into the covered trenches, and perished on the sharp stakes planted there on purpose by the enemy. The very women and children had a share in the battle, assailing the *Turks* with stones, tiles, and the like, from the tops and windows of the houses: while many of the *Egyptians*, who hated both the *Mamlúks* and *Turks*, attacked sometimes the one, sometimes the other, as they saw fortune was likely to declare herself. In short, the lanes and streets did so flow with blood, that the dust, which at first rose very thick, was quite laid.

THE fight had now lasted two whole days, when the *Mamlúks*, being weary and but few, began to give way: yet, the third day, considering their all was at stake, they fought with such renewed courage (F) that they drove the *Turks* a great way back, and took some of their cannon, which they turned upon them with good success. It is said, that *Selím*, upon this repulse, despairing of victory, and seeing *Jonus Páshá* slain before his face with a stone from a window, ordered the houses to be set on fire (G); so that

(E) In *Ricaut Basuela*; doubtless a mistake for *Bábjuela*, or rather *Zuil*.

(F) The *Kadbi'lasker* says, they thought of nothing else but to die sword in hand, looking on it as a disgrace to fly, and leave all their effects in the hands of the enemy.

(G) The *Kadbi'lasker* says, that *Selím*, finding he could not break the *Cheerkassians*, ordered

the city to be fire'd; which was done by the *Janizaries* in several places: but that the *Mamlúks* crying out most frightfully for mercy, the *Soltán*, in pity, ordered the flame to be extinguished. Our author adds, that it was a miracle the whole city was not burned down; and that the enemy renewed the battle with surprising fury.

while

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while the inhabitants were calling out for mercy in the flames, the *Turks* fought but faintly, expecting the sound of a retreat. While things were in this suspense on one side of the city, *Mosafa* had beaten the enemy on the other side, and seized the horses of the *Mamlûks*, which stood ready bridled and saddled in the broad street, to secure their escape, in case they should be constrained to fly. This news raised the sinking spirits of the *Othmâns*, and so discouraged the *Mamlûks*, that they betook themselves to flight, and abandoned *Kayro* to *Selîm*; who immediately sent to quench the fire.

Tumân  
Bey flies.

THE *Kadhîlâsker* informs us, that, after the fire had been extinguished, as set forth in the last note, the *Cherkassians* renewed the battle in such a manner that the arrows fell as thick as rain. The fight continued with the same fury all the day; so that streams of blood ran through the streets. Night coming-on, the *Cherkassians*, who were fatigued and weak, retired into a mosque, where they held out gallantly, as if in a castle, for three days and nights. Being at last pushed very hard, it was taken. *Tumân Bey* fled in disguise; and *Selîm* went to take some rest, while the army was intent on plundering and taking prisoners; whose heads were afterwards cut-off on the *Nile*.

Gazeli  
Bey submits.

AL GAZELI, who had been out of *Kayro*, raising *Arab* troops, and was returned near the city, at such time as *Selîm* had caused proclamation to be made, that all the *Cherkassians* who would submit in three days, should be pardoned. This brought-in a great number, who were at no great distance, to present themselves. He also came and bent his knee; all receiving large presents. After this, *Selîm*, accompanied with the great white standard, drums, kettle-drums, and fifes, went to the *Soltân's* palace. Here the treachery of certain *Mamlûks* having been discovered, they endeavour to escape; but being taken, some were put to death, and the rest imprisoned for a few days, then drowned in the *Nile*. *Selîm* likewise detached *Al Gâzeli* and a *Begler Beg* to *Kayta* (H), with orders to pillage that city, and punish the slaves there, who had greatly insulted his soldiers, sent thither to procure necessities for the army. The place being accordingly plun-

LEUNCL. & RICAUT, ubi sup.

(H) Rather perhaps *Katîa*, above sixty miles to the east of or *Katîya*, a city near *Tina* (the ancient *Pelufum*), and *Farma* (miscalled *Faramida*), at the eastern mouth of the *Nile*, a-

*Demyat*, or *Damietta*. Other writers, as *Leunclavius* and *Knowles*, put *Akbasia*, instead of *al Kayta*, or *al Katîya*.

dered,

dered, and the *Moors* put to death, those of the neighbouring places became as tame as hens.

WE were all attentive (continues the *Kadhi'lasker*) to see what the *Soltân Tumân Bay*, who had passed the *Nile*, and fled into the county of *Saetta* (I), intended to do. On the other hand, he, no less desirous to know what the *Turks* did, sent emissaries to *Kayro*, secretly to engage the citizens to use them ill (K). Mean time, *Omar* (L), a *Moorish* (or *Arab*) lord, came privately to kiss *Selîm's* hand, and informed him of the whole; for which he was rewarded with a *San-jâk* in *Saetta*. Hereupon guards were set on every place, and artillery planted on the banks of the *Nile*; so that not a bird could pass. It was afterwards resolved to send two grandees, with the *Kadhi* of *Kayro*, as ambassadors to the *Soltân*, to exhort him to humble himself to *Selîm*; and promise him, on that condition, to give him a great standard, with the lordship of *Kayro* (M). But the *Cherkassians*, when they had the ambassadors in their power, put them to death \* (N).

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Selîm offers peace.

As soon as *Selîm* heard of this cruelty, he ordered bridges to be built across the *Nile*, and *Mostafa* to march over with his whole army. Of this design the *Soltân* having been informed, he, with 5000 *Cherkassians* and 10,000 *Arabs* well mounted, set forward; and in one day and night made such speed, that they drew near the *Turks* at such time as part of the troops of *Greece* had crossed the river, and the rest were getting over; little expecting so sudden a visit from the enemy. But those appointed to mark out a place for the

Another bloody battle.

\* ANGIOLELLO, ubi supr.

(I) By which, we presume, country is called *Segasta*, and is to be understood, not *Saïd*, said to border on *Cyrenaica*, as *Saetta* or *Shibat* does.

(K) Others say, they sent to invite him.

(L) Corruptly by some, *Al-bucomar*, doubtless for *Abû Omar*; that is, the father of *Omar*.

(M) Others say, he offered to restore the kingdom to *Tumân Bay*, on certain reasonable conditions. See *Ricaut* in *Selymus*.

(N) Some say, it was done without *Tumân Bay's* knowledge. *Ibid*.

In *Leunclavius* and *Knowles* this

A. D. 1517. emperor's tent, perceiving their approach by the dust which their horses raised, in a great surprize, mounted, and *Selīm* sent to order *Mostafa* to do the like. The *Cherkassians* stripped the *Turks* of every thing till they came to the standard; but the latter, being there reinforced, repulsed them. The enemy rallied a-new, and drove-back the *Othmāns*, with so much slaughter, that the blood ran like a river (O). The *Moors* only fought to give the *Cherkassians* time to breathe; and the *Turks* had all the disadvantage on their side. However, they stood their ground, though to their great loss.

The Soltān flies;

AT length the *Pâsbâ* (*Mostafa*), who was in *Selīm's* presence, seeing the battle in danger of being lost, drew his simiter in a rage, and ran towards *Tumân Bay*, determined to deprive him of life, and afterwards fall himself. The *Grecian* (or *European*) troops, beholding so much bravery in their commander, followed with a resolution to act in conformity with him: and certainly, had courage been then wanting, they must all have quickly bid adieu to life. The battle being thus renewed, with so much vigour, the *Soltān* perceived, that the *Turks* were resolved to obtain the victory: at the same instant reflecting with himself, that from a great lord he was reduced to an insignificant slave, and from immense riches to extreme poverty; he fixed his eyes on the heavens, and expostulated in such bitter terms, as filled all those who heard him with grief and compassion. After a great many exclamations and infinite tears, he fled by day and night till he came to a bridge, where he rested for a while. *Mostafa*, with the *Grecian* band, pursued him, while *Selīm* set out for *Kayro*; but as he continued his flight, he kept out of their reach.

he is taken,

THE *Bâsbâ* had now been four days and as many nights in pursuit of him, when he, through fatigue, was obliged to retire to a farm-house of the *Moors*: but the *Turks*, being also soundly tired, could not easily come-up with him. They therefore wrote to those of the farm, to keep a guard and take care that the *Soltān* proceeded no farther, under pain of having it pillaged and burned. *Sheykh Affaim* (P), who was chief of the farm, having acquainted all the rest with this order, the *Moors* surrounded *Tumân Bey* and his

(O) *Tumân Bay's* design was to clear his way to the head of the bridge; that, by breaking it, he might prevent more of the enemy from getting over: but *Mustafa* had retired thither with

his broken troops, and made a stand till more got over the river. *Ricaud*.

(P) He seems to be the *Sheykh Arab* of prince *Cantemir's* historians.

*Cherkassians*

*Cherkassians* in such a manner, that they could not escape : but when the *Turks* came-up, they threw themselves into a neighbouring lake ; where part of them were cut to pieces, and others made prisoners. *Tumân Bay* was taken knee-deep in water (Q), and brought to the *Pâsbâ*, who thereupon dispatched a courier to the emperor with an account of what had passed.

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THE messenger was received with great joy, and all the *Sanjâks* and lords kissed his majesty's hand. The *Soltân* was not brought into *Selîm*'s presence ; but lodged in a tent near him, and strongly guarded. *Mohtafa* fought another battle at a farm-house, near the *Nile*, with the *Moors* ; who, in conjunction with some *Mamlûks* had murdered and plundered the *Turks*. Having destroyed this house, he staid in the neighbourhood four days, and then returned to the emperor ; who held a court, and ordered that *Tumân Bay*, the *Soltân*, should be carried on a mule thro' the country of *Kayro*, and hanged at the gate called *Bâbzowelet* (R) ; which was accordingly executed. This was the end of the kingdom of the *Mamlûks*, and beginning of *Soltân Selîm*'s greater grandeur\*. Here the narrative of the *Kadhî'lâsker* ends. We find nothing in prince *Cantemir*'s history from the *Turkish* authors concerning what passed after *Tumân Bay*'s flight from *Kayro*, till the time that he was taken : which event, with the circumstances preceding that prince's death, he relates in the following manner.

As the conquest of *Egypt* could not be secure so long as *Tumân Bay* remained at hand, ready to attempt a change ; as soon as the *Othmân* forces were withdrawn, *Selîm*, to prevent the danger which threatened from that quarter, sends ambassadors, with noble presents, to *Sheykh Arab* ; desiring him to deliver-up his enemy, and advising him rather to gain his friendship by good offices than incur his indignation by fruitless obstinacy. The *Sheykh*, either fearing the *Soltân*'s power, or gained by his presents, shamefully delivers up *Tumân Bay*, contrary to the law of nations : and particularly against the

\* ANGIOLELLO, ubi supr. See LEUNCLAVIUS and KNOWLES, who agree pretty well therewith.

(Q) Others say, he hid himself in a marsh, where he was found by the peasants among the reeds, standing in water up to the shoulders. See *Ricaut*.

(R) *Zavil*, or *Zuîl*, as before. Others say, he was first

tortured to discover the vast treasures of *Kansû Gauri*, supposed to have been hidden by him : and that, after being publicly strangled, he was hanged by the neck under an arch of the gate, April 13, 1517. *Ibid*.

A. D. 1517. *Arab Ray* (S). But the bravery which could not affect the mind of a base friend, appeased the wrath of a generous enemy. For *Selim*, when the king was brought bound into his presence, and his fortitude plainly seen, could not refrain from giving him liberty, and bidding him daily eat at his table. Thus *Tumân Bay*, having purchased his freedom by his virtue, conversed both in public and private with his conqueror; informing him of the state of the *Egyptian* affairs, with the laws, genius, and manners of the people.

manner of  
it.

BUT the miserable captive shortly after bitterly experienced how fortune sports in human affairs. *Selim* could not but admire his heroic virtues, singular fortitude, sound counsels, and grave deportment. He thought it base to put such a man to death; and, as he seemed to free him from all danger, he had resolved to take him into his friendship, and set him over the kingdom of *Egypt* (T). These things being known to the people, they began already to express their hopes; that, by being vested with so great authority, *Tumân Bay* would, soon after the *Soltân's* departure, have it in his power to help the *Arabs* to expel the *Turkish* garrisons and restore the *Cherkassian* dominion. For a while *Selim* was unwilling to give credit to such reports, as thinking them raised by enemies: but finding them to continue, he ordered *Ali Beg*, son of *Sheykh Suvar*, whose father had lately been fastened to an hook by the *Cherkassians*, to hang up the unfortunate king in the gate of *Kayro*, called *Zavil* (U), with these words: *How great my mercy was, is already declared: but what the malignant speeches of the vulgar, though on his side, can effect, let the wretch himself experience.* The order was gladly executed by *Ali Beg* on the tenth of *Rabi'olawel*.

Egypt  
submits.

THE unexpected death of their king infused a terror into the *Egyptians* not to be expressed. They who before, with

(S) That is, parole, or word of security and protection. The *Arabs* boast themselves to be of all mortals the strictest observers of their parole; and perhaps very justly. It is death by their laws to kill a man to whom the *Ray* was given. When they have given a prisoner of war the *Ray*, they draw a circle round him, out of which he must not stir, though dying with hunger, till the ransom be paid, even though his party

should gain the victory; for, in that case, he would by friends as well as foes be deemed a man of no honour or credit. *Cant.*

(T) This, which happened before *Tumân Bay* was taken, is here artfully but partially put afterwards, to magnify *Selim's* generosity; and perhaps to extenuate his tyrannical treatment of the *Soltân*; whose only crime was self-defence.

(U) Rather perhaps *Zuil*.

concealed



concealed indignation, bore his unjust dominion, now run in a suppliant manner to *Selîm*; intreating his clemency, and promising faithful obedience. The *Soltân* pardons them, on condition that they delivered up the concealed *Cherkassians*. Hereupon the common people, fond of novelty, search everywhere for their former lords, and drag them bound to *Selîm*, to be butchered. This prince having the next day ordered a theatre, with a throne on it, to be erected on the banks of the *Nile*, commanded all the prisoners, said to exceed 30,000 (X), to be beheaded in his presence, and their bodies thrown into the river. The second day he makes a triumphant entry into *Kayro*; but, after a few hours stay, departs, and encamps near the *Nile*, in a place called *Ruza*. Having allowed his forces time for refreshment, on the seventh of *Jemazio'lawel*, he marches towards *Iskanderiya* (or *Alexandria*): but the city having avoided his indignation by a surrender, after settling the affairs of it, he returns to the inland parts of *Egypt*, and appoints *Khair Beg* governor of the kingdom.<sup>b</sup>

MEAN time *Raïs Soleymân*, admiral of the *Egyptian* fleet, *Raïs So-* came and paid allegiance to *Selîm*. This fleet had been built *leymân* in four years time, at *Swîz*, or *Suez*, at the end of the *Red Sea*, by order of the late *Kanfu Gauri*, and was designed against the *Portugueses*; who, by their discovery of the *Indies* by sea, and conquests made there, had diverted the course of trade, which before passed through *Egypt*, to the extreme prejudice of that country. It was sent-out under the command of *Amîr Azîz* and *Raïs Soleymân*: but news arriving, while they lay at *Jidda*, the port of *Mekka*, of the death of that *Soltân*, and *Selîm's* entrance into *Egypt*, a mutiny arose among the soldiers. The issue of which was, that *Amîr Aziz*, who favoured *Tumân Bay*, was obliged to fly to that city for refuge: and, being some time after delivered-up to *yields-up* *Soleymân*, who threatened else to attack the place, he was *the fleet*, drowned in the night. After this *Soleymân* sailed back to *Swîz*, and went to submit himself to *Selîm*, as hath been already mentioned.

*EGYPT* and its provinces being thus brought into subjection to *Selîm*, he, in the beginning of *July*, sailed down the *Nile* to *Alexandria*, there to view his fleet, sent by *Piri Pasbâ* and his son *Soleymân*, from *Constantinople*; whither he removed 500 of the best families from *Egypt*, besides the trea-

<sup>b</sup> CANT. p. 165, & seqq.

(X) This author makes *Selîm's* cruelty vastly greater than any other historian.

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1517.Yonus  
Pashâput to  
death.Selim's  
conquests,

fures of the country, and then returned to *Kayro*; from whence he soon after set-out on his return for *Europe*.

*YONUS PASHA* was become so popular by his valour and liberality, that *Selim* sought an occasion to destroy him; which that officer soon furnished him with. A few days before the army was to depart for *Syria*, the garrison of *Kayrô* petitioned for an augmentation of their pay. The *Soltân*, always liberal to his soldiers, readily consents, and orders *Yonus* to see it done: but the *Pashâ*, carried headlong by the resentment he had conceived at the advancement of *Kayer Bey* to the government of *Egypt*, which he thought himself more worthy of, gave the treasurers and paymasters no orders about it. His view was to incense the soldiery against *Kayer Bey*, as the author of their wrongs, and by that means get him displaced: but the *Pashâ* was fatally out in his calculation; for, when pay-day came, and no money was to be had, the governor and officers of the treasury, after excusing themselves to the insulting soldiers, dispatched messengers to *Selim*, then at *Larissa* (Y), to acquaint him with the matter. The *Soltân*, highly incensed, sends for *Yonus*; who alleged, that he had no ill intention in what he did; that the soldiers had been already sufficiently enriched by the spoils of *Egypt*; and that his majesty's coffers were empty: but *Selim*, not giving him leave to proceed, ordered him to be executed in his presence (Z), as an example for disobedience.

BEING arrived at *Gaza*, to revenge the perfidioufness of the inhabitants, he puts every soul to the sword, and razes their city to the ground. Afterwards, coming to *Damaskus*, he delivers that city, with the government of *Palestine* and *Syria*, to *Gâzeli Beg*, according to agreement. In short, within the space of one year, and in the same expedition, *Selim* added more territories to the *Othmân* empire, than any

“LEUNCL. & RICAUT, ubi supr.

(Y) Rather *Al Rifba*, called by some, *Laris*, *Riche*, and the like. It lies about twenty miles to the south of *Gaza*, at the bottom of a gulf of the same name, or *Al Rifba*.

(Z) Others say, that, talking to him aside, he of a sudden, in a rage, ordered him to be thrown to the ground off his horse, and the *Solak Bashi* to kill him. Le-

uncl. This *Yonus* had married a beautiful *Greek* lady, named *Manti*, whom, after the death of her husband in the wars, he took prisoner: but in time growing extremely jealous of her, though without cause, she proposed to make her escape to her own country; which discovering, he slew her with his dagger.

of his predecessors had been able to subdue in his whole reign : for he not only conquered all the dominions of the *Cherkasians*, in *Asia* and *Egypt*, but likewise reduced to his obedience, as it were by-the-by, other strong and famous cities of *Asia* ; such as *Malatiya*, *Dierbeghi*, *Derenda*, *Behtifi*, *Kierkieb*, *Kiakhte*, *Berejik*, *Antâb*, and *Antakhia* (A). Even the *Sharif* of *Mekka* (B) brought the keys of his city to *Selîm*, whilst he was about *Kayro*, and openly acknowledged his sovereignty. He was honourably received by the *Soltân*, who appointed his son, famous for virtue and learning, his successor in the principality. By the authority of this man, the tribes of the wandering *Arabs* (C) were induced voluntarily to submit to him, and deliver him a writing for a testimony of their fidelity, with some of their principal countrymen in hostage.

BEING arrived at *Hâleph*, in *Ramazân*, 925, he was met by a *Persian* ambassador, sent by a feigned submission, to divert the storm which threatened his master. The more easily to obtain his ends, besides making magnificent presents, he tries to sooth the ambitious *Soltân* with new titles ; flatteringly stiling him *Shahîn Shâhi alem*, *ve Saheb Kerâni bani Adam*, that is, *the emperor of emperors* (D), and *sole conqueror* (or *Autocrator*) of the sons of *Adam*. *Selîm*'s pride was so swelled with such great victories, and vain congratulations, that, having made his triumphant entrance into *Constantinople* ; he, (E) the next year, as if the fortune of war had been at his

A. D.

1519.

and farther designs

Hej. 925.

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1519.

(A) Of these cities, *Malatiya*, *Derenda*, *Berejik* (or *Bir* on the *Euphrates*), *Antâb*, and *Antakhia*, or *Antiokk*, are pretty large ; the rest are rather towns than cities. *Cant.*

the deserts, and all speak the *Arabic* language ; but in such different dialects, that they can hardly understand each other. *Cant.*

(B) He was before this *Soltân*'s reign a sovereign prince over *Mekka*, and some other cities of *Arabia* : but from *Selîm*'s time he has acknowledged the *Turkish* emperors for guardians and protectors of the *Muslimân* affairs. *Cant.*

(D) Though all the *Turkish* emperor's titles are very lofty ; yet at court, when mention is made of him, these are never used : but the common appellations are *Pâdishabi alem Penah*, *the emperor who is the refuge, or protector, of the world*, and *Âli Othmân Pâdishâbi*, *emperor of the sons of Othmân*. *Cant.*

(C) As *Bani Ibrahim*, *Bani Sevaïem*, *Bani Ata*, *Bani Affiyia*, *Bani Saad*, and many others. There being above 70 nations or tribes of them sprung from different branches, who range

(E) Other writers say, the thing which hastened him home was the advice he had received, that several Christian princes, at the instigation of

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frustrated  
by death.

his command, binds himself with an oath, not to recede a step till he had subverted the empire of the *Persians*, and utterly extinguished a nation perfidious to God and hateful to man (F). This he did in a belief, that he should afterwards subdue, without difficulty, the Christian princes. But providence seemed to thwart his arrogant designs : for he is obliged for want of money (both the external and internal treasures (G) having been exhausted in the late expedition), to defer his intended war the first year, and turn his thoughts to raising new supplies out of the conquered countries, which took up another year. Winter drawing on, to divert the time, he resolves to visit the monuments of his ancestors at *Adrianople* : but he had scarce reached the village *Suasht-di* (H), when he was seized with a slight fever. Next day, there appeared in his thigh an impostume (I) ; which so tormented and weakened him, that all the sinews of his body and feet (K) were contracted and dried. The tumor was indeed opened by a skilful surgeon, and remedies were applied : but the obstinate ulcer so infected his whole body, that, after forty days of torture rather than sickness, the splendor of the

Pope *Leo X.* had entered into consultations about making war on him : and that at his return he made great preparations, especially by sea, for an invasion, as was supposed, either of *Rhodes* or *Italy*. But that he was prevented by death, while visiting the cities of *Thrace*. *Ricaut*.

(F) This is to be understood only of themselves, the *Persians* being in more esteem with other nations than the *Turks* ; who bear them an implacable hatred ever since the time of *Shâb Ismael*.

(G) The external called *Dish-khazineh*, containing the public money of the *Musulmâns*, which the *Soltân* himself cannot touch without danger of a rebellion, unless in the utmost necessity. Over this presides the *Defterdâr*, or high treasurer. *Ich-khazineh*, or the internal, is also called the imperial treasure ; which is at

the *Soltân's* disposal. Over this presides the *Haznadâr Basî*. *Cant*.

(H) That is, *he has swam over the water*. The name was given on account of an action of *Bâ-yezîd II.* who, being denied the purchase of the bridge there, by the *Pâshâ* who erected it, swam over the torrent with great danger of his life ; saying in verse, *that it was better to be swallowed up by the waters than to pass over the bridge of a sordid discourteous man*. *Cant*.

(I) The Christian writers say, that he was struck with a cancer in his reins ; which so corrupted his body by degrees, that he became loathsome both to himself and others. *Ricaut*.

(K) The *Turks* consider this as a judgment on *Selim*, for swearing he would not draw back his foot till he had subdued the *Persian* empire. *Cant*.

*Ottoman* empire expired, on Sunday the ninth day of *Shawal* (L), about sun-set <sup>d</sup>.

A. D.

1520.

*FERHAD Pâshâ*, who alone had staid with the *Soltân*, concealing his death from all but the rest of the *Wazîrs*, for fear of some commotion, immediately sends notice to *Soleyman*, *Selîm*'s son, then residing at *Trapezond*; who, on receipt of his letter, hastens to *Constantinople*, where all the great officers, clothed in mourning, salute him emperor, in *Shawal*, 926. The same day, after noon, he went attended by his courtiers to meet his father's funeral, and conducted the body, with great pomp, to the *Jâmi* built by *Mohammed II.* where it was interred, with this epitaph inscribed on his tomb. *This year Soltân Selîm departed to an everlasting kingdom, leaving the empire of the world to Soleyman.*

His successor :

Hej. 926.

A. D.

1520.

*SELIM* lived 54 years, and reigned nine years and eight months (M). He had all the qualifications of a hero; with an able head, strong arm, and great contrivance: indefatigable, where the safety of the state was concerned, very fit to manage affairs, and extremely quick in discovering hidden designs. He frequently walked in disguise about the public places, streets, and camp, as well by night as day; and punished severely whatever he found contrary to his laws, or the common good. He had also his spies, dexterous in their business; who, mixing with all companies, daily reported to him what they had heard or seen. By these means, he was so well acquainted with every thing which passed, that it became a common saying in his time, *the emperor will know to-morrow what passes in the chamber between man and wife*: and this diligence, to pry into people's behaviour, proved of so great service to the empire, that, during his absence, in such remote expeditions as were undertaken by him, there happened no rebellion but what was stifled in the very birth.

In short, this *Soltân* would have merited immortal praise, if he had not, by his proneness to anger and cruelty, sullied the lustre of his virtues, and caused himself to be branded with the appellation of *Tavuz* (N). On which occasion, it may not

if horrible cruelty :

<sup>d</sup> CANT. p. 167, & seqq.

(L) The Christian historians place his death in *September*, 1520, near the city of *Chiurli*.

(M) The Christian writers say, he lived 46 years, and reigned eight, *Ricaut*.

(N) As mentioned at the beginning of his reign. Prince *Cantemir* has transcribed some

things relating to this *Soltân* from a most elegant, but scarce book, concerning *Mohammed II. Bâ-yezid II. Selîm*, and *Soleyman*, written by *Ali Effendi*. An author no less grave than studious of truth, and void of flattery, says the prince, by whom he is often mentioned.

be

A. D.  
1520:

be improper to relate one instance. Two years before his death, *Turkomania* (O) being infested with a robber, who, at the head of a considerable force, attempted to become master of that, and the neighbouring provinces; *Selim* sent against him *Ferbâd Pâshâ*, with great part of his forces: but, before his arrival, the rebels had been routed by *Ilbîshân Beg Mehmed*, son of *Sheykh Savur*. While the *Pâshâ*, not daring to return without the emperor's order, encamped about *Anafsa*, a malicious slanderer, under pretence of fidelity, tells him, that a counterfeit *Morâd*, who pretended to be the son of *Soltân Ahmed*, had drawn the whole city to his side, with above 700 robbers. *Ferbâd*, without examining into the matter, acquaints the emperor with what he had heard, and desires his orders in this imminent danger. *Selim*, trusting perhaps to his general's prudence, commands, without any inquiry, that all the chief men of the country should be impaled. By this precipitate and cruel order, above 600 innocent persons of note suffered that infamous as well as horrible punishment; others were beheaded; and the rest dragged thro' the streets at the tails of horses.

remark-  
able pas-  
sages:

*SELIM* alone, of so many *Turkish* emperors, shaved his beard after he ascended the throne, contrary to the received custom, as well as the precepts of the *Korân*; by which the sons of princes are enjoined (or permitted) to do it before, but not afterwards. The *Soltân* being, on this occasion, gently and facetiously reproved one day by the *Musti*, answered, that he did it to prevent his Wazirs from having any thing to lead him by:

THE *Turks* relate of him, that he always had by him, or in his hand, a club, called *Topâz* (P); of which they say, this was the occasion: In the time of *Bâ-yezîd*, some provinces bordering on *Persia*, for peace sake, paid yearly to that empire, by way of tribute, a certain number of carpets, called *Chal*. His father being dead, the governors of those provinces sent to *Selim* to know whether this slight tribute was to be continued or not. His answer was, Tell the infidel *Kezil-bâsh* (or Red-head), that the father of the carpets is gone,

(O) It may be questioned, if this name be in the original *Turkish* author made use of by Prince *Cantemir*. In case it be, by it must be understood the countries of *Diyarbekr* and *Armenia*, subject not long before

to the *Turkmâns* of the Black and White Sheep.

(P) In his picture published in Prince *Cantemir's* history, he is drawn with a *Topâz* in his hand, and resting on his shoulder.

and

and the father of the clubs (Q.) is come in his room. The A. D. 1520.  
 Turks are full of such stories of their Soltân; which, for brevity, are omitted.

We shall conclude with a passage from the Christian writers. They tell us, that *Selim* one day, during his last illness, leaning his head on the lap of *Piri Pasbâ*, whom he loved above all the rest, he said, *O Piri, I see I must shortly die without remedy.* The *Pasbâ*, taking that occasion, told him, he would do well to build an hospital for the relief of the poor, with the great wealth taken from the *Persian* merchants in several parts of his empire: the *Soltân* answered, *Wouldst thou have me, Piri, bestow other men's goods, injuriously taken from them, on works of charity, for my own vain-glory? That I will never do: nay, rather see, that they be restored to the right owners; which was done accordingly.*<sup>1</sup>

## C H A P. XI.

## The Reign of Soleyman I. surnamed Kanûni.

## S E C T. I.

Containing the Taking of Rhodes, Siege of Vienna, and Wars of Hungary.

**S**OLEYMAN Kanûni (A) had scarce mounted his father's throne, when *Gâzeli Beg*, made governor of *Damaskus* by *Selim*, revolts, with a design to render himself independent. With this view, raising forces, he suddenly besieges

10 Soltân  
 Soleyman I.

<sup>1</sup> CANT. p. 172, & seq.

(Q) *The father of clubs* is a phrase borrowed from the *Arabs*, signifying a man abounding with (or possessed of) any thing; as *Abul Iman*, the father of faith, or indued with faith; *Altun Babâsi*, the father of gold; that is, one abounding with money. Cant.

(A) *Kanûni* is taken from the Greek word *Kanonista*, institutor of rules: for *Soleyman* instituted the written laws, which now subsist in the *Othman* court and common-wealth; where affairs before were regulated almost intirely by custom, or rather

the will of the *Soltân*. By reason of these constitutions, he is, in the imperial library, painted with a book in his hand. He is by the Christian historians surnamed *the Magnificent*. Count *Marfigli* has published a translation, both in *Italian* and *French*, of the *Kanûn Nameh*, so far as relates to the army and revenue, under the title of *The Military State of the Othman Empire*. Printed at the *Hague* and *Amsterdam*, 1733, in folio, with cuts.

Hâleph;

A. D. 1520. *Halep*; which was bravely defended by *Koja Mostafa Pashâ* (B) till the arrival of *Ferhâd Pashâ*. On this, *Gâzeli Beg*, too weak to oppose him, raises the siege, and encamps near *Damâskus*, in a place called *Mustâba*; which he strongly fortifies, in hopes the imperial army would be forced by the scarcity of corn, and season of the year, to march back: but *Ferhâd*, mindful of the emperor's order, follows him, and at length, contrary to the opinion of all, *Sefer* the 27th, 927, attacks him in his fortified camp. There, after a fierce and doubtful fight for ten hours, all difficulties being surmounted, the whole rebel-army, with their leader, is slain. After this, the conquering *Pâshâ* enters *Damâskus*, and appoints *Ayâs Pâshâ Beglerbeg* of the city.

Hej. 927. A. D. 1520. *Belgrade taken.* *ASIA* being now in peace, *Soleyman* resolves to turn his arms against the *European* princes, in order to extend his dominions as far to the west of his capital, as it reached to the east: and, that he might not be disturbed in the midst of his progress by commotions in other parts; he leaves to *Ferhâd Pashâ* the care of *Asia*; sends one fleet into the *Archipelagus*, and another into the *Black Sea*, consisting of 50 ships of war, with 400 transports to take care of the provisions for his intended expedition. These precautions being taken, he departs by land, with a great army, to subdue *Hungary*: but before he sets out, sends to *Yahia Beg*, son of *Bali Beg*, governor of *Semendria*, suddenly, with what forces he had, to besiege *Belgrade*, and hinder either provisions or a reinforcement to be thrown into the city. The *Soltân*, at length arriving, encamps in the field called *Zeknetn*; from whence he detached *Mostafa Pâshâ*, and *Ahmed Pâshâ*, *Beglerbeg* of *Rûm eli* (or *Thrace*), with forces to assist *Yahia Beg*. These two generals, by battery and undermining, soon destroyed the walls, and so fatigued the besieged by hourly assaults, that at length they are forced to surrender, on the fifth of *Ramâzân* (C), the bulwark of *Hungary*; which had often been attacked, but never taken before: and thus opened the way to *Buda*, capital of that kingdom.

Ali Beg slain. MEAN while *Soleyman*, with the rest of the army, took, partly by assault, partly by capitulation, *Burgaz* (D) *Burij*, *Tiruje*, and *Biugurdlen*, over-running the adjacent country; which he made the seat of the future war. On his return to

(B) That is old *Mostafa Pasha*, though *Koja*, or *Kbeja*, signifies also a person of gravity and wisdom.

(C) The Christian writers say, on the 20th of *August*, 1521.

(D) Formerly *Pyrgos*.



*Constantinople*, he receives advice, that *Sheh Suvar Oglî*, prince of *Marâş* (E), was secretly preparing to shake-off the *Othmân* yoke, when things were become ripe for rebellion. Hereupon he sends orders to *Ferhâd Pâşâ* to take-off that prince's head. As it seemed dangerous to attempt this openly, the *Pâşâ* sends him a letter, telling him, he was by the *Soltân* appointed his assistant, and desiring he would come to consult with him about the public affairs. The prince, suspecting no deceit, falls into the snare; and, coming to *Ferhâd's* tent, is, with his two sons, put to death<sup>s</sup>.

A. D.  
1521.

*SOLEYMAN* having prepared a great fleet, in 928, sends the *Wazîr Mostafa Pâşâ* to *Rodos* (or *Rhodes*), and follows himself in *Ramazân*. On his arrival, he closely presses the city, and surrounds it with strong works. In this siege were employed all the arts of assaulting and defending hitherto invented by the wit of man. Both parties fought for five months with such fury, as if the dispute had been for the empire of the world, rather than a single city. At length the Christians, exhausted with continual slaughters and watchings, are forced to surrender on the third of *Safer* the next year. This event was followed by the voluntary submission of the neighbouring islands *Iskankioy* (F) and *Burum*<sup>h</sup>.

Rhodes  
subdued:  
Hej. 928.  
A. D.  
1521.

As the Christian historians have written copiously of this important place, we shall from them supply the deficiency of the *Turkish*. These authors tell us, that the damages committed by the galleys of *Rhodes*, within his dominions, determined *Soleyman* to reduce that place. With this view, he made great preparations; which alarming the grand master *Philip de Villiers Lisle-adam*, grand prior of *France*, he put himself into the best posture of defence he could: and, on a general muster, there were found to be at most between five and six thousand men in the city and villages able to bear arms. Among whom were 600 knights of the order, and 500 *Candiot*s.

ABOUT the middle of *June* a fire was made on the continent, and a galley sent to see what was the matter: but the

<sup>s</sup> CANT. p. 174, & seqq. & RICAUT. in *Soleyman the Magnif.*  
<sup>h</sup> CANT. p. 177.

(E) A city near the *Euphrates*. This was *Ali Beg*, to whom *Selim* had given the country of *Alaideulet*, or *Zulkadir*.

Greeks *Eis ten Ko*, as *Isambol*, from *Eis ten polin*. Cant. It is faultily printed in the text *Iskankioy*. It is in the maps called *Stankbio*.

(F) Or *Ko*, corruptly by the

A. D. 1521. captain refusing to land, one of the horsemen laid a letter on a stone by the water-side, and then rode away. It came from the *Sektân*, requiring *Rhodes* to be given up to him, with promises to grant them their religion and liberty in case they complied; and threatening destruction in case they refused. The *Rhodians*, now assured of *Suleyman's* designs, destroyed their suburbs and houses of pleasure, the grand master setting the example himself. The common people were also, by his order, brought into the town, with what provision they could get.

those of the Turks: THE 26th, early, the *Turkish* fleet, to the number of 400 sail great and small, with two hundred thousand men on board, sixty thousand of them pioneers, appearing in sight, the gates of the city were shut-up. The vice-admiral bore directly towards the mouth of the port; but, seeing himself likely to be sunk by the guns from the bulwark on the left side, he passed on with the rest of the ships. While the *Turks* were landing, and making other preparations, at *Paramolin*, a place about six miles from the town, the *Rhodians* sunk several deep sounds within the walls to discover the enemies mines; and fortified their bulwarks with great ramparts. At the same time the grand master sent to *Spain*, *Rome*, and *France*, for assistance; but to no purpose, on account of the distractions at that time among the Christian princes. However the brave *Projanos*, governor of *Khios*, then under the power of the *Rhodians*, made a shift to get to the island; as did also *Gabriel Martinengo*, a famous engineer from *Candia*, by whose skill fifty-five mines were countermined during the siege<sup>1</sup>.

city described: THE city of *Rhodes* lies to the north part of the island, by the sea-side, where it has two ports; one for galleys to the north, the other for ships to the east. It was inclosed with a very strong double wall; which had several fair gates, and was defended by five great bulwarks, thirteen fine towers, and very deep ditches. Without the walls, is a stoney plain, not very broad, but of great length, bounded with hills, full of springs; which surround the city at some little distance, and were planted with olives, figs, and vines.

THE city had not been long invested, before it was in danger of being fired by some *Turkish* women slaves; who being discovered, their ringleader was put to death. The enemy, having possessed themselves of a hill directly over-against the place where the *English* knights were posted, began from

<sup>1</sup> Hist. of the Siege of in HAKLUYT. Collect. Voy. vol. ii. p. 72. Hist. Knights of St. John in THEVENOT's Trav. p. i. c. 72. RICAUT. in Soliman.

thence to batter the place; and, under cover of their guns, opened their trenches, and fell to mining. But their pioneers, and those who guarded them, were so molested by the sallies of the garrison, that, vast numbers of them being slain, they were forced to raise their mounts by night, and turn their artillery against the part from whence the *Rhodians* sallied.

MEAN time, the *Turkish* foldiers being weary of the siege, batteries as they were informed by some prisoners who were taken, *So-raised*: *leyman*, at the request of *Piri Pasbâ*, on the 28th of *August*, came himself in person to the camp: and now they began to make their approach to the ditch by trenches; raising two vast mounts of earth, one opposite to the gate of *Auvergne* and *Spain*, the other against the gate of *Italy*. These were carried to the edge of the countericarp, and advanced ten or twelve feet higher than the walls of the town. The trenches being finished, the several generals took their posts, each against a bulwark, and furiously battered the walls with their ordnance. Stones of a vast size were thrown into the city from twelve great mortars; and a battery of forty cannon, whereof twelve were basilisks, never ceased playing. But they did no great good with another planted against *St. Nicholas's Tower*, because much annoyed with the cannon of the city. However *Piri Pasbâ*, after having had thirty-two of his mines frustrated, on the fourth of *August* blew-up the *English* bulwark, where several of that nation perished. The *Turks* attempted to enter by this breach, but were repulsed by the grand master and his party; when *Mestafa Pasbâ*, coming-on with fresh troops, renewed a most terrible fight. However, by the bravery of the women as well as men, the *Turks* were forced to retreat, with the loss of two thousand men: while the besieged had fifty knights of the order, besides a few others, slain. The enemy had no better success in the second assault, which lasted three hours; wherein they lost as many men as in the former, with three great officers. *Piri Pasbâ* also was beaten from a mount which he had taken, and from whence he battered the *Italian* bulwark, which was near to it, with 17 pieces of cannon; whilst the mines forced against the *French* bulwark were all countermined <sup>m</sup>.

*MOSTAFA*, to retrieve his credit with *Soleyman*, re-several solved on a third assault against the *English* bulwark, in con-assaults: cert with *Ahmed*, a great officer, who was at the same time to attack the *Spanish* bulwark. But although many brave *English* men lost their lives, and *Prejanés* was wounded

<sup>m</sup>Hist. of the Siege in HAZLITT. Collect. Voy. &c. ubi supr.

A. D.  
1521.Spanish  
bulwark  
lost,and re-  
gained:Soleymân  
discourag-  
ed:

in the furious conflict, yet *Mostafa* was baffled in his attempt. *Ahmed* indeed won the top of the wall, and pitched the *Turkish* standard on it, yet he was quickly beaten out again. However the enemy having, on the 23d of *September*, by their mines and battery against the *Auvergne* bulwark, made a large breach, *Soleymân* resolved on another assault the next day: of which the grand master being informed by means of a Christian slave, he prepared his people to receive the enemy. The attack was made in five different places at once, with ten thousand *Turks* in each body: but they were opposed by the besieged of all ages and conditions, as well as of both sexes; who, with all kinds of destructive instruments, from the walls made great havock among them. The grand master was present every-where. After having taken all proper care of the *Italian* quarter, much distressed by *Piri Pasbâ*, he went to that of the *English*, hardly pressed by *Mostafa*. While he was there, a sudden cry was heard, that the *Spanish* bulwark was lost; as in effect it was: for while the *Spaniards*, who guarded that bulwark, left it to assist the *Spaniards* posted to the right of it, who were briskly charged by *Ahmed*, some *Turks*, who, at the beginning of the assault, to avoid the shot had hid themselves among the rubbish at the foot of the bulwark, took that opportunity to mount the wall, and quickly got possession of it. But they were scarcely warm in that post when the grand master, with a party of choice men, resolutely scaled it again; while *Hugh Capon* and *Menofius*, both knights of the order, with a company of *Candiots*, broke into the bulwark by the gate, which the *Turks* had not yet bolted, and recovered it, after it had been two hours in the hands of the enemy. In short the *Turks* being every-where put to the worst with great slaughter, *Soleymân*, after an assault of six hours, and the loss of 20,000 men, founded a retreat: but was so enraged for this ill success, that he ordered *Mostafa* to be put to death, and *Piri Pasbâ* afterwards, for interceding for him. Both would have suffered, if the rest of the great officers had not implored mercy for them. However his admiral, because he could not hinder relief from coming to the city by sea, did not fare so well: for though by the mediation of *Ahmed* he escaped death, yet he was removed, and whipped as a slave on board the admiral galley.

*SOLEYMAN*, discouraged with these losses, would have raised the siege, but that he was persuaded by his favourite *Ibrahim* to continue it. Being thus resolved, he began to build a stately palace on *Mount Philermus* in sight of the city; during which time, several letters were shot with arrows into the

the town, disclosing many of the *Soltân's* counsels; and intimating the designed revolt of a great man, supposed to have been *Mustafa*: but he having been soon after made governor of *Egypt*, in the room of *Kayer Beg*, deceased, they received no more letters from the camp. Mean while, if the besieged had friends in the enemy's camp, the enemy did not want them in the town: for first a *Jew* physician, employed as a spy, gave them notice of the state of the place by letters; and then they were encouraged by the advice of Sir *Andrea De Amaral*, a *Portuguese* prior of *Castile*, chancellor of the order, <sup>treachery</sup> and one of the principal lords of the council. This traitor disgusted that *De Villiers* should be preferred to the grand-mastery <sup>of Amaral</sup> before him, betrayed the weak condition of the place to the *Soltân*; informing him that the besieged were quite spent, and promising him an easy conquest if he staid but a few days longer, and attacked the town in the place which he directed to. This notice was given by a letter or letters, tied to an arrow, and shot into the *Turkish* camp; in doing which, his servant was detected, and, being examined, confessed the whole affair °.

FOR all this, it being now the month of *October*, the bad <sup>a great</sup> weather which came on, so much incommoded both the army <sup>breach</sup> and fleet, that *Soleyman* was at his wit's end, when *Ahmed* encouraged him to continue the siege, by promising in a short time to open a way into the city. To accomplish this, he never left attacking the outer wall of the *Auvergne* quarter till he had made himself master of it; after which he raised a strong pent-house against the town-wall, and fell to undermining it. This struck a great damp upon the spirits of the *Rhodians*, who yet destroyed many of the *Turks* at their work: however the latter, prevailing by numbers, at last beat down the wall; so that the besieged had no better shift left than to labour day and night in raising a new one.

THESE advantages gained, *Soleyman* prepared for one ge-<sup>general</sup>neral assault more on the last day of *November*. The *Turks*, <sup>assault</sup> with colours flying and great shouts, halted towards the breach, and advanced to *St. Ambrose Gate*, while the fleet made a shew of attacking the city from the sea: but the besieged, preferring death to the thoughts of captivity, behaved so gallantly, that the *Turks*, notwithstanding their fierce attacks, were forced to retreat. However, stung with the scoffs flung at them by the *Rhodians* on that occasion, and disdaining to be so treated by a handful of men, they returned to the charge with greater fury than before; yet at last were

° Hist. of the Siege in HAKLUYT. Collect. Voy. &c. ubi supr.

A. D.  
1522.

Turks  
gain  
ground :

obliged to march back, after leaving five thousand more dead behind them.

AFTER this defeat, they applied themselves to make trenches through the rubbish of the walls, in order that way to get into the city, and demolish the new-raised countermure, and other barricades. In effect, they made such progress with their mattocks and pickaxes, at the same time continually skirmishing with the besieged, that they soon obliged them to pull down several houses, in order to erect new fortifications, and dig new trenches (G). Thus they found the city daily going from them, and themselves pent up into less room, the enemy having by this time gained within the town almost 200 paces in breadth and 150 in length.

a parley  
required :

SOLEYMAN, though now assured of carrying the place, at the persuasion of *Ahmed* and *Kassi*, sent *Jerom Monelia*, a *Genoese*, to parley with the *Rhodians* : but as his orders were to deliver his message in private to *Mathias De Via*, his countryman, *Farnovius*, one of the knights, ordered him forthwith to depart. Yet soon after the grand master, at the earnest solicitations of the people, was forced to send ambassadors to *Soleyman*, to know for what end he had sent to require a parley : but the *Soltân* in a great heat, as if he had known nothing of the matter, said there was no such thing ; and sent them back with a letter to the grand master and citizens, advising them to make trial of his clemency ; with a promise of liberty and goods, in case they submitted. The grand master was for fighting it out to the last, in defence of their faith and honour. With him some others joined, out of distrust that the *Turks* would not keep their articles with them : but the majority were for putting it to a trial, rather than occasion the destruction of so many people.

the city  
surrender-  
ed :

HOWEVER the grand master broke up the assembly without coming to a final resolution ; only promising to take care of their welfare : but next morning, finding by *Prejanes* that the enemy had so shaken and battered their works, that the city could not possibly be long defended, it was by general consent agreed to deliver the same up ; and a truce was accordingly settled for four days. Mean time a ship arrived from *Candia*, with wines, and one hundred volunteers, unknown to the *Venetians*, then in league with the *Turks* ; who in great numbers approaching the walls of *Rhodes*, *Favorinus* ordered a whole tire of cannon to be fired against them. The

(G) The *Rhodians* had 1500 on this, and other occasions, *Turkish* slaves in the town ; who, did them great service.

enemy,

enemy, justly offended at this breach of the truce, advanced through the ruins of the breaches into the city, as far as the rampiers and barricadoes, to revenge the injury; but were valiantly driven back. However the *Rhodian* ambassadors, then in the *Othmân* camp, must have been torn in pieces by the enemy, had it not been for the *Turkish* hostages in the town: but on the arrival of two burgessees in the camp, with the terms of surrender, all was presently quiet.

*SOLEYMAN* having agreed to all the articles (H), the *Le Villiers* grand master, by *Ahmed's* advice, went in mean habit to prostrate himself before the *Soltân*, attended with a few knights of the order. Having waited at the tent door in the rain most part of the day, he was cloathed with a rich robe, and then introduced. Soon after, he was admitted to kiss the hand of *Soleymân*, who would have had him to become his vassal: but *Le Villiers* declining it with a modest boldness, which pleased the *Soltân*, he was sent back to the city with honour. A few days after, when *Soleymân* visited the place, the grand master would have prostrated himself before him; but the *Soltân* took him up, and called him father. Likewise, when he went to desire leave to depart, he was received so very courteously, that *Soleymân*, turning to *Ibrahim Pasbâ*, said, *Truly, I cannot but be troubled to see this unfortunate old man, driven out of his own habitation, departing so heavily from hence.* The *Soltân* entered the city in triumph on Christmas-day, 1522°. A. D. 1522.

DURING the siege of *Rhodes*, *Khair Beg*, governor of *Egypt* <sup>res.</sup> *Egypt*, happening to die, *Jumun-Kiasbus* (an *Arab Sheykh*, <sup>bels:</sup> who had submitted to *Selim*), by his speeches and presents persuades all the people of *Egypt* unanimously to attempt to shake-off the *Othmân* yoke. *Soleymân*, hearing of these transactions, sends his *Wazir Mostafa Pasbâ*, with five ships, into *Egypt*; who, arriving in a few days at *Eskandertya*, surprises the rebels unprepared, and, entirely routing them, restores the country to its former state. But as it took him up time to settle affairs, and collect *Khair Beg's* riches, which

° Hist of the Siege in Hakluyt. Collect. Voy. &c. ubi supr.

(H) These were, that the churches should remain in the hands of the Christians: that no children should be taken from their parents: that none should be forced to change his religion: that such as would, might remain in the city without paying tribute for five years; and that the rest, with their goods, should be shipped for *Candia*, with as many cannon as they pleased, within a reasonable time.

T 2

were

A. D.  
1523.

were very great, *Soleymân*, to whom the whole administration of the government seemed too great a burthen, made *Ibrahim Aga*, from a common *Janizary*, prime *Wazîr*.

Mostafa  
Pâshâ

*MOSTAFA*, who thought his late victory deserved rather an addition of honour than an affront, was grieved at this promotion: but concealing his resentment, as if intirely ignorant of what had been done, sends an account of his proceedings to *Rhodes*, and requests the government of *Egypt*, as a reward for all his past services. *Soleymân* readily grants his petition, telling him, he reserved nothing to himself, but the royal name and coin. *Mostafa*, thus invested with so great power, and enriched with *Khair Beg's* treasures, as well as the effects of the proscribed rebels, resolves to subject all *Egypt* to his dominion. This design he imparts to *Mehemmed Effendi*, scribe of the *Divân* (I), and makes him *Wazîr*, as thinking him a man of sense, and his particular friend: but *Mehemmed*, detesting his lord's treachery, endeavours, with some accomplices, to kill him when he was bathing; while *Mostafa*, informed of the danger by a trusty servant, escapes through a back-door, and flies with a few attendants to the *Sheykh* of the *Arabs*. By the *Sheykh's* assistance, he quickly assembles a large force, and wages war with the scribe; whom, for his want of experience, he despised. Mean time, *Mehemmed*, having acquainted *Soleymân* with what had passed, obtained as a reward the government of *Egypt*; and encouraging the soldiers with a large sum of money, leads them against *Mostafa*, defeats him after a bloody battle, and cuts off his head.

taken and  
slain.

The rebels  
submit.

Hej. 930.

A. D.  
1523.

*SOLEYMAN*, to make his new *Wazîr Ibrahim Pashâ* more faithful, in the year 930, gives him his sister in marriage; and whilst he is gracing the nuptials with his presence, the joy is doubled by the *Soltâna* being delivered of a son, who was named *Selîm*. Shortly after, the *Wazîr* departs, with some gallies, to settle the affairs of *Egypt*. Being driven by a storm into *Rhodes*, he there leaves his ships, and goes by land to *Kayro*; where, by his authority, dispersing the rebels, and seizing the ringleaders, the sons of *Amar* and *Bekaar* (K), he orders them to be hanged, and their estates confiscated. As among their effects was found a great quantity of gold, he coins dukats, like those of *Venice*, but less in value by thirty aspers; which still bear the name of *Ibrahîmi*. After this,

(I) *Divân Kyatibi*. Every his *Divân*. The prime *Wazîr Pasha* has such an officer, whose has two secretaries. *Cant.*  
business is to read the com- (K) Both mentioned in the  
plaints delivered in writing to life of *Selîm I*.

delivering



delivering up the government to *Soley mân Pasbâ* (K), he returns to *Constantinople* <sup>p</sup>.

A. D.

1525.

THE next year, the *Soltân* resumes the war against *Hungary*; and with a great army, on the 30th of *Rajeb*, comes to *Belgrade*. Then, crossing the *Save*, proceeds towards *Buda*, taking in his march *Suliuk* and *Osek* (L); whose bridge over the *Drave* he orders to be demolished. Soon after the *Hungarians* coming thither with the same design, and seeing the work already done, they are seized with fear, as it convinced them that the *Turks* had passed the river, with a resolution to conquer or die. Their king *Ladasb* (M), to prevent the devastation of his country, marching with incredible speed, incamps in sight of the *Turkish* army, in a place called *Mohaj* (N). Next day, being the first of *Ziulkadeh*, both armies engage, and contend the whole day with such fierceness, that it was difficult to perceive to which side victory would incline. At length, the king being slain in the battle, about sun-set the *Hungarians* take to flight, and the rest, with their camp, become a prey to the *Othmâns* <sup>1</sup>.

Battle of  
Mohatz.

Hej. 932.

A. D.

1525.

THIS is the *Turkish* account, which receives a good deal of light from that of the Christian historians. According to them, *Soley mân* was marched with 200,000 men as far as *Sonessia*, before the *Hungarians* had any suspicion of his design. Being straitened for want of time, they were not able to raise above 25000 forces; yet not only the generality of the soldiers were for fighting, but *Tomoreus*, archbishop of *Colossa*, their general, by vain arguments, insisted on engaging the enemy, before the *Vayvod* of *Transilvania* had joined them with his horse. The wiser sort of the officers thought it madness to hazard a battle with such a handful of men, and dissuaded the young king *Lewis* from venturing his person: but nothing would do with the soldiers without his presence.

BEING arrived at *Mohatz*, *Balibenes*, who commanded the *severely Turkish* van, consisting of 20,000 horse, divided them into *punished* four bodies, and so continually skirmished with the *Hunga-*

P CANT. p. 180.

1 Ibid. p. 177. &amp; seqq.

(K) He was the admiral of the *Egyptian* fleet, who submitted to *Selim*.

(L) *Oseck*, or *Eseck*, where there is a famous bridge over a marsh, three miles long.

(M) This was not *Ladislaus*, as Prince *Cantemir* asserts; but *Lewis* II. king of *Hungary*.

(N) Or *Mohatz*. Prince *Cantemir*, in the note, calls it *Mabatur*.

A. D.  
1526.

*rians*, that they could not get to the *Danube* for water. This laying *Tomoreus* under a necessity of fighting, he drew-up his army in no bad order, and barricaded his tents with wag-gons. But, alas! the *Hungarians* were overthrown in the first encounter by the multitude of enemies; who slew their general, with many other prelates and nobles. Then attacking their camp, while the few body-guards were engaged to little purpose, King *Lewis* fled, and was unfortunately drowned in a filthy ditch, into which his horse had plunged him. Of all the *Hungarian* army only a few horsemen escaped; the rest being slain in this fatal battle, fought the 29th of *October*, 1526. When the seven bloody heads of the bishops and nobility were presented to *Soleyman*, he much pitied the hard fate of the young king; saying, he came not to take the kingdom from him, but to revenge former injuries received from the *Hungarians*.

Buda  
taken.

AFTER this victory, *Soleyman* marches directly to *Buda*; which, dispirited by the late slaughter, is easily taken, the third of *Ziu'lhijeh*; and next, *Pesthe*, opposite to it on the *Danube*, voluntarily surrenders. He then runs a bridge over that river, and sends his troops in parties after the *Hungarians* escaped out of the late battle, who had killed several *Turks*, dispersed over the fields in search of prey; and by this means clears the country of those enemies (O). Winter approaching, he returns; taking in the way, by assault, *Baj*, on the *Danube*, with *Seghedin* and *Titeli*, on the *Tisa*.

Rebellion  
in Asia.

Hej. 933.

A. D.  
1526.

MEAN time, a false report of his death being spread in *Asia*, many free-booters, belonging to the country of *Zuul-kadir* (P), miserably harrassed all the neighbouring provinces. They were opposed indeed by *Piri Pasbâ*, governor of *Adana*, who killed many, and put to death all he took: but, for want of sufficient force, could not suppress the rebellion. *Kalender Beg*, son of *Haji Bektasb* (Q), rejected all offers that

RICAUT. in Soleyman.

(O) The Christian writers say, that he ravaged all the country between the rivers *Raab* and *Tbeyse*, destroying or carrying into slavery 150,000 people.

(P) It is falsely written by the Christian authors *Dulkadir*, by changing the *Zal* into *Dal*. Cant. [Rather the Arabic *dhal* is pronounced by the *Turks*, af-

ter the *Persians*, like *z*; thus, for *Ramadhân* they pronounce, and thence sometimes write, *Ramazân*. Note, the *dhal*, or *dh*, sounds like the English *th* in *these*, *that*, &c.]

(Q) Who *Haji Bektasb* was is unknown. But the *Turks* own, that his son *Kalender* brought the *Othmân* affairs to such extre-mities,

that were made him : but the *Wazîr*, *Ibrahim Pasba*, being sent over with a good army, finds the arch-rebel at *Kaysartya*; and, after a bloody conflict, defeats him, and kills above 30,000 of the plunderers.

A. D.  
1527.

NEXT year begins with religious disturbances : for one *Kabizi Agem*, a man of great learning among the *Turks*, being well versed in the law and several sciences, publicly maintained, that the Christian religion stood on a firmer foundation than the *Mohammedan*. When he could not be brought by private admonitions to recant, they carry him before the *Mâfti*; where, by arguments, he endeavoured to prove the gospel more excellent, for its precepts, than the *Korân*. On this, he was again admonished to abandon his opinions : but, disregarding both admonitions and threats, he is at length, by the *Soltân's* command, punished with the loss of his head ; and an edict was published, that whoever should, even by way of dispute, prefer the doctrine of Christ before that of *Mohammed*, should undergo the same penalty.

Religious  
distur-  
bance.  
Hej. 934.  
A. D.  
1527.

ABOUT the same time, some *Albanian* thieves at *Constantinople*, breaking into a Christian merchant's house near *Selim's* temple (R), murder him, and carry away his goods as well as money. Next day, complaint is made to the *Divân* : but as the names of the persons were not discovered, and it appeared from *Constantinople*, that many were concerned in the fact, the *Soltân* ordered, that all the *Albanians*, whether inhabitants, or only sojourners on account of trade, should be seized, and to a man put to death (S). While this butchery was acting at *Constantinople*, a great quarrel arose at *Halep* between the ecclesiastical judges (T) ; which daily increasing,

Unjust  
punish-  
ment.

mities, that the empire seemed on the brink of destruction : for all *Turky* in *Asia*, being at once subdued by him, acknowledged him for sovereign. *Cant.*

(R) It stands on the mount, which hangs over the gate *Fenar*, and is a master-piece of elegance and art. The architect was a *Greek* ; who built a still more stately one at *Adrianople*. *Cant.*

(S) It is a law among the *Turks*, that if one thousand and one men tumultuously kill any person, and refuse to confess who gave the first blow, they

shall all be put to death. Prince *Cantemir* saw an instance of this, in the case of eleven *Janizaries*, who having, when drunk, killed a great peasant, not far from the city, were, next day, all put to death for it.

(T) The *Molla* and *Kaziler*. The *Molla* are the judges of principal cities and towns ; the *Kaziler*, that is, the *Kadi's*, are those of the lesser towns (and villages). The *Molla* also may be compared to an archbishop, the *Kadi* to a bishop. *Cant. Oth. Hist.* Note, p. 31.

A. D. 1528. the citizens, to put an end to it, kill them all in the very *Jami* at morning prayers. *Soleyman*, being informed of this, orders some *Pasbás* to march thither with their forces, and put all the inhabitants, guilty or not guilty, to death: but, by the intercession of *Ibrahim Pasbá*, the chief men and heads of the conspiracy only were executed, with various kinds of punishments; and the common people, as persons rather seduced than guilty, banished to *Rhodes*.\*

Buda re-  
taken :

LET US NOW return to the affairs of Hungary. *John Szapáry*, *Vayvod* of *Transilvania*, arriving with his troops after the battle of *Mohatz*, so practised with the nobility, that at length they chose him their king. But *Ferdinand*, archduke of *Austria*, newly elected king of the *Romans*, in right of his wife *Ann*, sister to the late king *Lewis*, entering the country, first takes *Buda* (U), and then routs King *John*; who, not able to withstand so potent an enemy, flies into *Poland*. There, to retrieve his fortune, he resolves to apply to *Soleyman*, by the advice of *Jerom Laskus*, a person of great reputation and abilities; who, undertaking the embassy, by his arguments, joined to a promise of doing homage and paying tribute, so gained on the grand *Wazír Ibrahim*, and the other *Pasbás*, that the *Soltán* agreed to support *John's* interest†. Accordingly, in the year 935, he marches with a great army, and incamps in a spacious plain near *Filibeh* (X): but all the warlike provisions being destroyed by long and lasting rains, which, swelling the torrents, endangered his whole army (Y), he is forced to defer his intended expedition. However, making fresh preparations, he, the next year,

taken  
again :

\* CANT. p. 180, & seqq.  
in *Soleyman*.

† LEUNCL. & RICAUT.

(U) In the *Turkish* historian used by Prince *Cantemir*, this city is said to have been taken by the emperor of *Germany*, who seems to be confounded with the king of the *Romans*. The emperor is in the text called *Alaman Kirali* (that is, *Král*, or king of the *Almains*). On which occasion the author observes, that, at present, the *Turks* honour the emperor with the title of *Memle Karali*, king of the *Germans*, and *Khasar*, which

is, *Cesar*: also *Ruma Imperaduri*. Cant.

(X) *Philippoli*.

(Y) This is said, in the text, to have happened as a punishment for *Soleyman's* having that day, without cause, reproached and deposed the *Musti*. On which occasion, Prince *Cantemir* observes, that the *Turks* of all nations are most given to superstition, and pay greatest veneration to ecclesiastics.

marshes

marches to *Buda* (Z); and having battered the walls with his engines, the garrison, weakened by continual assaults, surrender the city, on condition of having their lives and arms. But the *Turks* reviling them for cowardice as they were going out, one of the soldiers stabbed a *Janizary*, who was reproaching him. The rest cry out, the articles are violated (A); and, against the *Soltân's* order, fell on the *Germans*, who were all put to the sword before the tumult could be appeased \*.

THE Christian writers say, this was done by *Soleyman's* orders on the following occasion. They tell us, that after the governor *Thomas Nadaſti*, an *Hungarian* of great accomplishments, had done all that a man could do for defence of the place, the *German* garrison would no longer obey him: but, seizing him, agreed to yield up the city, on condition that they might march away with their baggage. But when they were, to the number of 700, ready to depart, and the *Janizaries* about to unbind the governor, in order to let him go likewise; *Soleyman*, being informed of the garrison's treachery, in detestation of their behaviour, commanded them all to be slain. At the same time, he offered the governor preferments, and, on his declining to accept of any, courteously discharged him \*.

WHILE *Soleyman* staid a few days in the neighbourhood to refresh his army, *Tutuk Lagottiſla* (B) arrives in ambassay

\* CANT. p. 185.

\* LEUNC. & RICAUT. in *Soleyman*.

(Z) With an army of 115,000 men, according to the Christian writers.

(A) As the *Turks* cannot deny these frequent breaches of capitulations, they lay hold of any pretence to excuse themselves. Thus, if but an ax or knife be found on any soldier of a garrison, which is to march out without arms, they cry, the articles are violated, and use them with great severity. The like they do, when allowed their arms, in case they defer marching a little beyond the appointed hour: so that it is better for Christians to die within the

walls, than trust to the *Turks*. Cant. This maxim will not hold, since, were it to be granted that the *Turks* have violated some capitulations, yet it must be confessed they have kept others; and Christians should not give them any occasion.

(B) Of the noblest *Moldavian* race, from which 500 families derive their original. He spoke several languages to perfection; was wise and learned. He built a palace at *Constantinople*; which is called *Beydân Saray*, the *Moldavian* palace. Cant.

from

A. D. 1529. from *Bogdân* (C), prince of *Moldavia*, and the people, to offer the *Soltân* both *Moldavias* (D), as a fief to the *Othmân* empire, on honourable conditions; particularly, that their religion should be preserved intire. *Soleyman*, readily accepting of the terms, confirms them with his own hand; and, in his return from that year's expedition, is met near *Sofia*, a city of *Servia*, by *Bogdân*, accompanied by some of his barons, by whom he was presented with 4000 gold crowns, 40 bred mares, and 24 falcons, as a yearly present, in token of his feudal subjection. Hereupon the *Soltân* again ratifies the agreement, gives him a larger *Kukka* (E), adorned with jewels, with a *Khilaat Fabireh* (F), and a horse with all the imperial trappings. Moreover, he orders four of his guard to attend (G) him.

Vienna  
besieged:

*SOLEYMAN*, having refreshed his army, resolves to besiege *Vienna*, the capital of *Austria*. To this end, he sends before him *Ahmed*, with the volunteer horse; who, piercing as far as *Lintz*, destroy all the country, with innumerable inhabitants. The *Soltân* follows, and in his march takes the castle of *Alcenburg*: but in vain attacks *Neustadt* seven times in one day. On the 26th of *September*, he arrives before *Vienna*; and, with his huge army, encamps in five places round the city, so that it not being possible for *Frederic*, duke of *Bavaria*, who was general of King *Ferdinand's*

† CANT. p. 186.

(C) This is a *Sclavonic* name, and answers to *Drødatus*. The *Moldavians* surnamed him *Ne-grul*, or *Black*. He was the son of *Stephen the Great*; who, after a reign of forty-seven years and five months, filled with glorious exploits, advised his only son *Bogdân*, and his nobles, to submit his kingdom as a fief to *Soleyman*, rather than contend with his power; which *Bogdân* did in the seventh year of his reign. Cant.

(D) The upper and the lower. To the latter formerly belonged *Bessarabia*, called by the *Tatars*, *Buják*. *Jassi* is the capital of the whole; whither the *Despots* removed their seat from *Soczaua*,

after the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*. Cant.

(E) A crest, or ornament for the head, made of ostrich-feathers; with which only are adorned the *Buluk Agalari*, or *Tribunes*; the *Segbân Basbi*, who is next to the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*; and the princes of *Moldavia* and *Walakhia*. Cant. From hence possibly comes our word *coccade*.

(F) It is the first of the three sorts of robes of honour.

(G) This custom is still observed, whenever the prince of *Moldavia* goes to the *Othmân* court; neither *Pâshâs* nor *Wazirs* in general being created with so much pomp. Cant.

forces,

forces, to throw-in any supplies, he staid at *Chrefme*, about 12 miles distant. However, there were in the city 20,000 horse and foot, under the command of *Philip*, palgrave of the *Rhine*; and great need there was of such a force, the place was so badly fortified. In the second sally, seven officers being taken prisoners, *Soleyman* asked, whether those who had the command of the city intended to defend it against his mighty power? *Zerlitz* answered, that *Ferdinand* would certainly give him battle, as soon as the *German* forces, which he waited for at *Lintz*, were arrived; and that he knew the besieged were resolved to hold out to the last.

*SOLEYMAN*, dissembling his concern, gave them their liberty, with a promise of great favour to the citizens, provided they submitted; and threatening ruin to them in case they did not. Finding they did not comply, he began to batter the city with small field-pieces, whilst the great guns were coming up the *Danube*: but they were happily funk, with the vessels which brought them, by the brave *Wolfgang Hoder*. However another part of the *Turkish* fleet, reaching *Vienna*, broke up all its bridges, and blocked it up on that side also. Hereupon the enemy fell to mining, which was carried-on in fifteen different places: but they were all countermined, with the loss of 8000 *Turks* buried alive or slain. For all this, having had the luck to bring one mine to perfection, they blew-up a great part of the wall, near the gate of *Cariuthia*; but were repulsed there with great loss, as well as in two other furious attacks at another breach made not far off by the springing of a mine.

ABOUT the same time, the besieged, in a sally, cut-off 5,300 of the enemy; yet, *October* the 15th, they made a general assault with all their forces; in which succeeding no better than before, *Soleyman*, next day, sent some of his chief prisoners to acquaint the citizens, that he did not come to besiege *Vienna*, but to revenge the injuries done him by *Ferdinand*: and that, in case they would submit to him, he would not molest them, nor enter into their city. But finding that they disdained his proposal, he raised the siege, and barbarously slew all his prisoners. Besides this, the besieged suffered very little loss; while of the *Turks* were slain, as was computed, eighty thousand men. *Soleyman*, having drawn-off with his army, restored the kingdom of *Hungary* to king *John*, to be held by him as his vassal<sup>2</sup>.

THIS is the account given by the Christian historians: but by *German* the *Turks* ascribe their *Soltân's* ill success to the deceit of the *man address*.

<sup>2</sup> RICART. ubi supr.

A. D. 1529. *Germans.* They tell us, that after battering the city for 40 days, and blowing-up part of the walls, he commands his men to enter the breaches: but, as often as they attempted it, they are repulsed by the valour of the garrison. However, they must at length have yielded, if they had not, by fraudulent promises, deceived the politic *Soleymân* himself: for, by their ambassador, owning themselves exhausted, and promising to become his vassals, they desire a truce: but prolong it, under various pretences, till the time of the autumnal rains; which fell suddenly in such abundance, that the *Turks*, after some faint assaults, were obliged to retire. His army being now, by their losses (H), inferior to that of the enemy, and incumbered with a great number of captives of both sexes, he ordered them all to be massacred in his presence; and then striking his tents, gets with his forces to *Buda*, before his retreat was known. There receiving of the *Vayvod* (I) of *Transylvania* the tenths of the tribute he had raised in *Hungary*, he confirms him in his principality.

*Soleymân's joy:* IN few days after, he returns to *Constantinople*, and celebrates the circumcision of his three sons, *Mosstafa*, *Mohammed*, and *Selîm*; at which were present not only all the *Wazîrs* and *Pasbâs* of the empire, but also the ambassadors of *Persia* and the Christian princes. It was followed by a splendid entertainment. At the *Soltân's* table sat the *Mûfti* and *Kazîo'lasker* on his right hand (K), and on his left his *Hoja*; at a second table were the *Wazîrs*; at a third the *Pasbâs*, and at a fourth sat the *Ulema*, or learned in the law. There

(H) Other *Turkish* historians say, the *Soltân* lost 40,000 men in the siege; and therefore bound his successors by a curse, never to attack *Vienna* for the future. And the *Turks* do not scruple to affirm, that their defeat before *Vienna*, in the last century, was intirely owing to their treading the ground forbidden by *Soleymân's* curse. *Cant.*

(I) He is called by the *Transylvanians* their *Ban*. *Vayvod* (or *Wayvod*) is a *Sclavonic* word, signifying the general of an army; but by the *Poles* is given to governors of provinces, as *Vayvod Kioufski*, &c. The *Turks* call by the same name the

Christian princes of *Moldavia* and *Walakhia*, who are tributary to them; although formerly the princes of *Moldavia* had the title of *Tekkur*, or king. Sometimes the governors of large cities, who are not *Pasbas*, are called *Vayvodes*; as *Pera Vayvodeffi*, *Galata Vayvodeffi*, &c. *Cant.*

(K) *Kiemal Pascha Zade* was *Mufti*, and *Kadri Cbelebi Kazîo'lasker*, *Mubî illo'ddîn Cbelebi*, his preceptor. This custom of sitting at table with the *Soltân* began to be disused under this *Soleymân*; and at present he suffers no man to sit at table with him. *Cant.*



was a separate table for the foreign ambassadors, among whom the *Persian* and *German* (L) had the precedence. But his mirth was disturbed by a sudden message, that *Firindos* (M), king of the *Chekki* (N), thinking him taken up with those affairs, had besieged *Buda*, and for 27 days attacked it with all his forces. The *Janizaries*, making a brave defence, gaye *Mehmed Beg*, son of *Yabia Pasbâ*, governor of *Semendria*, time to come to their relief with the forces of his *Sanjâk*: but as he found himself too weak, he spreads a report among some prisoners, that he was *Ibrahim Pasba*, the prime *Wazîr*, and that the *Soltân* with the rest of the army would arrive in three days. The captives being suffered to escape, as was designed, repair to the camp of the Christians with the news; which struck them with such terror, that they fled (O), leaving their cannon and other warlike provisions behind them.

A. D.

1532.

he relieves  
Buda:

*SOLEYMAN*, to be revenged for this affront, in 938, invades the king of the *Chekki* with a great army, destroying Hungary. the country before him with fire and sword. *Firindos* meets Hej. 938. him with no inconsiderable army, and bravely maintains the A. D. fight for some time: but he is at last routed, and obliged to 1532. fly to *Gradisfka*, the place of his residence (P). This victory

(L) The diversions on this occasion are described in a letter to *Dav. Chytireus*; particularly the fight between a lion and a hog. "Wild beasts, says the writer, also fought. Among the rest, a hog, brought from the *German* ambassador's house, so battled it with three lions, one after the other, that, if he had not been tied by one leg, he would perhaps have gotten the better, and put them to flight. It is certain, he received the last in so rough a manner with his snout, that he tumbled him over and over, and made him shamefully run away, to the great confusion of the *Turks*, who compare themselves to lions, and the Christians, especially the *Germans*, to hogs." See *Lonic. Chron. Tusc.* tom. ii. at the end.

(N) So the *Turks* call the *Bohemians*.

(O) Some *Turkish* historians, of little authority, say, the city was relieved after another manner. The *Germans* having beaten the *Turks* from a bulwark, and entered the gate, a *Jewish* woman tears off the sleeve of her shift, and, lighting it, fires off a great gun; which so astonished the enemy, and made such a slaughter, that the *Turks* had time to recover themselves, and repulse the *Germans*. The gun was afterwards, by *Soleymân*, bound with a silver circle like a crown, and the woman, with her whole family, declared free from tribute. *Cant.*

(P) *Gradisfka*, which is a noted town of *Sclavonia*, seems erroneously to be made the seat of *Ferdinand*; since no Christian writer mentions his having resided there any time. *Cant.*

(M) *Ferdinand*, at that time king of Hungary and *Bohemia*.

not

A. D. not only added above 20 cities and towns to the *Othmân* empire, but so terrified the petty princes of the *Sclavi* and 1532. *Hirvati* (Q), that they voluntarily submitted to *Soleymân* <sup>a</sup>.

German  
prepara-  
tions.

THE whole transactions of this expedition are so very differently related by the Christian writers, that they seem to be treating of, quite another affair. According to them, *Soleymân*, not able to digest his disgrace before *Vienna*, and being withal continually solicited by *John*, king of *Hungary*, quickly after the circumcision of his sons, raises a vast army. Mean time, king *Ferdinand*, apprehensive that it was designed against him, sent ambassadors to *Soleymân*, who was then in *Servia*, to treat of peace; but could receive no answer. However the emperor *Charles V.* who was now in *Germany*, beginning to take the matter upon himself, prepared to raise all the forces he could in *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Italy*. Mean time king *John*, upon the approach of the *Turkish* army towards *Semendria*, thought it a fit time to besiege *Gran*. But although *Aloyso Gritti* destroyed most of the fleet sent by *Ferdinand* down the *Danube* to its relief, yet he could not take the city.

Affair of  
Gunz.

*SOLEYMAN*, arriving in fifty-six days march at *Belgrade*, sent a great number of horse, over the *Save*, into *Hungary*, and marched himself directly for *Stiria*. Being come to the little town of *Gunz*, where *Nicholas Jurischitz* was governor; the prime *Wazir Ibrahim*, desirous to save to brave a man, and formerly his intimate acquaintance, when ambassador at *Constantinople*, did all he could to induce him to surrender the place. On his refusal, the *Turks* fell to mining, and overthrew the walls in three places; but in spite of their fierce assaults, cannon, and huge mounts, the besieged repaired the breaches, as strong as they were. *Ibrahim*, finding all their efforts baffled, after a siege of 28 days, to save the *Soltân's* reputation, advised him to send for the governor, and, as it were of his own bounty, to bestow the town upon him. *Jurischitz* being much wounded, and having but one third part of 800 soldiers left, gladly got quit of the enemy, by setting up one of *Soleymân's* banners on the chief tower of the city, and admitting a captain, with ten *Janizaries*; who, after a short visit, returned to the camp.

<sup>a</sup> CANT. p. 192, & seqq.

(Q) These are one and the same nation. However the *Turks* call them *Hirvati*, who are under the dominion of the Chris-

tians; while those who are *Mohammedans*, or obey the *Othmân* power, are named *Serbadi*, that is, *people of the borders*. Cant.

SOLEYMAN

*SOLEYMAN* leaving *Gunz*, with an army of 500,000 men (as appeared from the report of some prisoners, and *Ferdinand's* ambassadors), and 300 small field-pieces, but no cannon, marched towards *Carinthia*, with a design only to ravage the country, and avoid fighting the enemy. *Kassan* had been detached before that with 15000 horse on the like occasion, and did incredible mischief: but, on his return, finding himself beset on all sides, slew 4000 of his prisoners; and then, dividing his forces into two bodies, endeavoured to escape by night. The party under *Ferises*, cutting their way with incredible labour through thick woods, got safe to the grand army then in *Stiria*: but *Kassan* being met near the valley of *Staremberg* by the general of the *German* princes, with 12000 men, two of them horse, and some field-pieces, was slain, with a great number of his foldiers. Those who remained, falling afterwards in the way of other troops, were all cut-off, to the number of 8000.

THE emperor, who was now at *Lintz*, being able to get *Soleymân* no information of the motions of the *Turks*, marched to *Vienne*; where, on a general review, he found his army to consist of 260,000 men, of which near one half were veteran troops. There in a field, with king *Ferdinand* his brother, he waited in expectation of the mighty host of the *Othmâns*: but *Soleymân*, being informed of their strength, and manner of encampment, thought it not fit to hazard a battle; but returned the same day to *Belgrade*, with 30,000 captives, besides what had been slain. The emperor, instead of pursuing his advantage against king *John*, as his brother desired, returned to *Italy*; leaving behind however all the *Italians*, who returned soon after <sup>b</sup>.

WHILE the emperor *Charles* was thus employed by land, *Koron* his admiral *Andrea Dorio*, with a fleet of 35 tall ships and *taken*, 48 gallies, on board of which were 25,000 old soldiers, sailed, with a design to annoy the *Turks* in the *Peloponnesus* or *Morea*: but the *Venetian* fleet refusing to join him, because the league had been renewed between *Soleymân* and the republic, it gave the *Turkish* fleet an opportunity to get out of the bay of *Ambracia*, and retire to the strong port of *Kalcide*. Upon this *Dorio*, sailing for *Koron*, besieged it both by sea and land. Soon after there arrived some *Turkish* forces to relieve the place: but being defeated by count *Sarne*, and their general slain, the enemy, wearied with assaults, and falling in want of necessaries, surrendered the city, on condition of liberty to depart with their baggage.

<sup>b</sup> LEUNCL. & RICAUT. ubi supr.

A. D. 1533. FROM *Koron*, *Doria* sailed to *Patras*; which he easily took, and pillaged: for the *Turks*, distrusting the strength of it, had intrenched themselves near the castle; which they also surrendered on the like terms. After this he took the castles *Rhium* and *Malykreum*, opposite each other, in the gulph of *Lepanto*. The artillery taken in the first, some of them vastly big, were valued at 70,000 ducats. *Doria*, having performed these exploits, returned towards *Genoa*. But in the beginning of the year 1533, *Koron* being besieged both by sea and land by the *Turks*, *Dorio* halted thither again. At his approach they retired, the fleet sailing to *Modon*, whither *Dorio* followed, to provoke them to fight; which they not thinking fit to do, he retired to *Messina* in *Sicily*.

Koron  
abandoned.

THE winter following, the *Spaniards* and *Greeks* in *Koron*, beginning to want provisions, desired their governor to lead them out against the enemy; chusing rather to die in battle than by hunger. Hereupon *Macikhaus*, much against his will, went with them to surprise the city of *Andrussa*: but the *Turks*, being 5000 strong, made such resistance, that *Macikhaus*, endeavouring to break in at a postern, was slain, with several of his men. The rest retreated to *Koron*, where the plague beginning to rage not long after, the *Spaniards*, with some *Greeks*, embarked with their cannon, and left the town to be repossessed by the enemy<sup>c</sup>.

The Morea  
ravaged.

WHAT the Christian historians relate concerning *Koron* is applied to *Modon* by the *Turkish* writers; who, passing over this transaction lightly, only tell us in a few words, that the *Ifrenj* (or *Italians*), assisted by other princes, having with a great fleet miserably laid waste the *Morea*, and taken *Modon*, *Mehemmed Beg*, who, from being governor of *Semendria*, was made *Begler Beg* of that province, hastes thither with forces; and, besieging the city, on a sudden presses it so closely, that the enemy, despairing of relief, surrender it, on condition to be allowed to march-off<sup>d</sup>.

Vayvod  
of Transilvania

MEAN time, king *John* being solicited by his subjects to let *Hungary*, for sake of peace, devolve to king *Ferdinand* and his heirs, *Soleymân* sent *Gritti*, son of the doge of *Venice*, in a very magnificent manner, to be his lieutenant in that kingdom, and see that his vassal, king *John*, did nothing without his consent. *Gritti* entered *Transilvania*, then a province of *Hungary*, attended by 7000 persons; among whom were *Urbanus Bathiani* and *John Dacia*, two famous *Hungarian* commanders, with their troops, and a good number of *Ja-*

<sup>c</sup> LEUNCL. & RICAUT. ubi supr.  
seqq.

<sup>d</sup> CANT. p. 195, &

nizaries. Being proud of his authority, he took it very ill, that the *Vayvod Americus Cihach*, bishop of *Veradium*, a person of great rank and power, was not over hasty to welcome him. At length the *Vayvod* came with a great train, and pitching his tents, received *Gritti* with so little condescension; that, coming out from dinner, he took the cap off his head, and opening it said, *This cap will not hold two heads, and therefore it must be fitted to one.* A. D. 1533.

THIS being heard by *Docia*, whom the bishop had struck *affa-* for some bold words spoken in a public assembly, he aggra- *nated*: vated the matter to such a pitch, that *Gritti* desired him, if possible, to seize the *Vayvod*, in order to send him to *Constantinople*. *Docia* sets-out from *Baxovia*, with a strong party, towards the bishop's quarters; and understanding by his spies that he lay in the fields by reason of the hot weather, while his retinue were dispersed in the country villages, he broke into his tent when a-bed, and cut-off his head, which he brought in his hand by the ear to *Gritti*; who asked *Laskus*, then present, *if he knew that shaven pate?* adding, *that it was the head of a very rebellious proud man.* - *Laskus*, who had quitted king *John's* party, because he had not given him the *vayvodship*, and therefore did not love the bishop, yet was shocked at the sight, and by his answer seemed to condemn the action; which made *Gritti* himself relent.

As soon as this horrid fact was known, the bishop's kindred *his death* and friends, to revenge his death, in a few days got together *revenged*. 40,000 men; who, under the command of *Stephen Maylat*, besieged *Gritti* in the strong town of *Mege*, whither he had retired for his security. *Gritti* finding no assistance come to him from king *John*, or the *Turkish Sanjaks* on the frontiers, and being withal unprovided with victuals, endeavoured to escape through the camp of the blockaders: but missing his way, and lighting on *Maylat*, instead of the governor of *Moldavia*, his friend, who was to have met him with a party of horse, his *Turks* were slain, and himself taken without any resistance. Being delivered to the bishop's kinsman, he ordered him forthwith to be beheaded. The executioner, in stripping the body, found about it in jewels to the value of forty thousand ducats. He was the greatest Christian favourite that any of the *Turkish* emperors ever had.\*

\* LEUNCL. & RICAUT. ubi sup.

A. D.

1459.

## S E C T. II.

*Exploits of Barbároffa and Doria. Conquest of Tunis by Charles V. Affairs of Hungary.*

Bāghdād  
attempted.

TWO years after *Olama*, prince of *Azerbejān*, hitherto subject to the *Persian*, flies for refuge to *Soleymān*, and suggests the means of taking *Bāghdād*. With this view, *Ibrāhīm Pāshā* is sent into *Asia*; but finding more difficulty in executing his design than was expected, he turns-off to *Vān* (R), and takes it in the first assault (S). Mean time, *Khairo'ddīn* (T) *Pāshā*, who had hitherto exercised piracy in the *White Sea* (U), offers his service to *Soleymān*, and petitions to be admiral of a fleet, that he might reduce the kingdoms of *Tunez* and *Jezair* (X). This affair being referred to the *Wazīr* (Y), who was then at *Hālep*, *Khairo'ddīn* repairs thither; and having made it appear to *Ibrāhīm*, that the conquest was both easy and advantageous, he is appointed admiral<sup>f</sup>.

Rise of  
Barba-  
roffa :

ACCORDING to the Christian writers, *Khairo'ddīn* (whom they call *Hariadenus*), surnamed *Barbarossa* from his red beard, was the son of a Greek renegado of *Mitylene*, in the island of *Lefbos*; who, in company with his elder brother *Horrukkius* (Z), at first practised little piracies: but at length, joining with *Corsairs* of better account, *Horrukkius* in time became their chief. While these rovers were scouring the seas about *Morokko*, *Selīm*, king of *Algiers*, hired them to oppose his brother *Mohammed*, who laid claim to his kingdom; and they had the good luck to secure him in the throne. This

<sup>f</sup> CANT. p. 196.

(R) Or *Wān*, a famous city on a lake of the same name, in the *Greater Armenia*.

(S) The Christian historians say, that *Ulama* (or *Ulemas*, as they call him) was brother-in-law to *Tābmāsh*.

(T) That is, *the goodness and grace of faith*. He was afterwards made *Kapudan Pāshā*, or high admiral, of the *Othmān* empire. He was the terror of Christians, by whom he was called *Barbarossa*. Cant.

(U) Or *Propontis*.

(X) That is *Algiers*, as we call it.

(Y) The *Soltāns* never transact any thing without the *Wazīr's* privity, once they have granted him full power to administer the affairs of the empire: whenever they do, that minister's authority is believed to be sinking. Cant.

(Z) By the *Turks* called *Orūch*. See *D'Herb. Bibl. Orient.* art, *Khair Aldin*.

having

having brought *Horrukkius* into credit, he afterwards slew the king, and got himself advanced in his room: but making war on the king of *Tremiffen*, he was slain by the *Spaniards* who came to that king's assistance. *Horrukkius* was succeeded by his brother *Hariadenus*, surnamed *Barbarossa* from his red beard, who performed many gallant actions; and on his departure for *Constantinople*, where he arrived in 1533 (Z), left a son behind him eighteen years old, under the care of a trusty friend.

*BARBAROSSA* used all the arguments he could to persuade *Soleyman* to the *African* war; and had brought with him *Rasbid*, elder brother of *Muley Aziz*, king of *Tunis*, as a fit instrument of subduing that country: so that he was soon after made the fourth *Pashâ* and high admiral; on which occasion the *Soltân* delivered to him a scepter and a sword, with eight hundred thousand ducats for the expences of the war. Hereupon quickly putting to sea with a fleet of eighty galleys and some galliots, he steered his course for *Italy*; where he plundered the towns of *Lucidius* and *Citaris*, *Prochita* and *Spelunca*: while two thousand of his land forces, crossing the mountains in the night, surprised the city of *Fundi*, and were within a small matter of taking *Julia Gonzaga*, the beauty of *Italy*; whom *Barbarossa* designed to make a present of to *Soleyman*. Coming at length to the isle of *Capri*, in sight of *Naples*, he filled that city, and all the coast, with terror. Another part of his fleet landed at *Terracia*, which they found deserted by all but a few unable to get-off, whom they put to the sword; as they did all whom they did not think fit to carry away.

AFTER he had ravaged the coasts, and frightened *Rome* itself, he passed over swiftly to attack the king of *Tunis*, against whom the expedition was designed. *Muley Hassan*, who at that time reigned there, being by his father *Mohammed*, at the instance of his wife, declared his successor, in prejudice to his elder brothers *Machin* and *Rasbid*; he no sooner mounted the throne, than he put *Machin*, with seventeen

(Z) The Christian historians say, that the *Wazir Ibrâhim*, hearing of his great exploits, and thinking him a proper match for *Doria*, advised *Soleyman* to invite him over, with a promise of making him admiral: that *Hariadenus*, full of his design to conquer *Barbary*, gladly embraces the offer. But

that being traduced by the envious *Pâshâs*, *Soleyman*, to put him off, referred him to *Ibrâhim*, who was then at *Halep*: that *Hariadenus*, resolving to push the affair to the utmost, repaired to *Ibrâhim*; and, being recommended back to the *Soltân* by that minister, was forthwith made admiral.

A. D. 1533. more of his brethren, to death, and the eyes of three others out. *Rasbīd* and *Abdo'lmālek* made their escape to *Abdo'llah*, prince of *Biskaris*; where the latter turning monk, the first, by the assistance of the inhabitants, endeavoured to recover his right: but failing in his attempts, he fled to *Barbarossa*; who carried him to *Constantinople*, where he was detained, though the captor gave out that he was with him in the fleet, in order to be restored to his father's kingdom.

takes Bi-  
serta,

MEAN while, the *Turkish* admiral, landing at *Biserta* (A), had the place quickly delivered-up to him. From thence he sailed for the *Goletta*, a strong castle, commanding the bay of *Tunis*; and, in token of friendship, saluted it with all his great guns, which the castle answered in the same manner: but the governor being required to deliver it up to *Rasbīd*, he answered, that it should always be at the command of him who governed in *Tunis*. The citizens, hearing that *Rasbīd* was arrived, were presently all in an uproar; whereupon *Muley Azīz*, who was hated by them for his cruelty, by the advice of *Abdahar*, the *Messuar* (or next in authority), fled, leaving all his treasures behind him. As soon as he was gone, *Barbarossa*, at the invitation of the people, hastened to the city with 5000 *Turks*, and was joyfully received: but they, not finding *Rasbīd* among them, and having an aversion to the *Turks*, under the conduct of *Abdahar*, fell upon them as they were entering the castle, and quickly, tho' with much bloodshed, gained one of the bulwarks. Then, sending for *Muley Hassan*, they, by their repeated assaults, distressed *Barbarossa*, till falling out at two gates upon the *Moors*, 3000 of them were slain, with the *Messuar*. On this *Muley Hassan* fled, and with difficulty escaped to *Konstantina*, the ancient *Cyrrha*, in company with his brother *Doraks*, to whom that city belonged. The citizens next day, discouraged by their losses, and having no king to fight for, begged pardon of *Barbarossa*, and submitted to *Soleyman*. After the affairs of *Tunis* were settled, he, by proper methods, gained the *Numidian* princes to his interest. This done, he quickly reduced the other cities of that kingdom, excepting *Kayrwān* (B), which held-out for a while, and then surrendered\*. Let us now return to the affairs of *Persia*.

and Tu-  
nis.

\* RICAUT. ubi supr.

(A) Or *Bizerta*, the ancient *Hippocharitus*.

(B) A city about 70 miles south of *Tunis*, now ruinous, but once very famous; having

been the seat of the *Khalifah* of the west, before he removed to *Egypt*, as well as of several races of kings.



NEXT year, *Soleymân* marches to the assistance of the *Wazîr Ibrâhîm*, who was then about *Vân*; and advancing to *Tigris* (C), *Soltân Mozaffer*, king of *Ghilân* (D), with 10,000 men, and *Mehemed Khân*, join him against *Persia*, promising for the future to be his vassals. Thence he proceeds to *Soltaniya*, and after a short stay (E), about winter, marches to *Bâghdâd*. The governor *Tekkîelü Mehemed Khân* (F), finding himself too weak to withstand the *Othmân* forces, retires farther into *Persia*, and gives the *Soltân* an opportunity of entering the city without opposition. While *Soleymân* was one day viewing the monuments of the ancient heroes, he takes notice of a place dedicated to *Imâm Azem* (G); and as from thence the city could be defended, and the inhabitants bridled, he ordered it to be strongly fortified, and garrisoned with *Janizaries*. After this he examines the *Defterdâr's* (or treasurer's) accounts; and finding that he had not only embezzled some bags of money, but also betrayed his designs to the *Persians*, orders him to be hanged. The *Defterdâr*, being brought to the gallows, asks for pen, ink, and paper; saying he had some matters to impart to the emperor before he died. Pen and paper being brought him, he writes a letter to *Soleymân*; acquainting him, that *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, the prime *Wazîr*, was also guilty, and bribed by the *Persians* to make an attempt on the emperor's life. Which letter, tho' at first suppressed (H) by the *Soltân*, was the cause (I) of that famous and prudent minister's losing his life.

A. D.

1534.

Bâghdâd  
taken:

Hej. 941.

A. D.

1534.

fortress

built.

Chief  
treasurer  
hanged.

(C) A mistake for *Tibrîs*, or *Tauris*; which is *Tauris*, in *Persia*.

(D) Or *Khilân*, a province of *Persia*, on the south-west side of the *Caspian* sea; supposed to be the ancient *Hyrkania*.

(E) The Christian writers say, that *Soleymân*, hearing nothing of *Damas* (as they call *Tbamas*, or *Tabmas*), and his army being in danger of perishing in the plains of *Soltania* by a dreadful storm of rain which fell, he marched from thence towards *Bâghdâd*.

(F) A famous *Persian* general, by whose management the *Wazîr* and *Defterdâr* are said to have been corrupted: which danger *Soleymân* escaped merely by the favour of blind fortune. Cant.

(G) Founder of the *Mobamedan* ceremonies, and more followed by the *Turks* than his successor *Shâfi*. Cant.

(H) It is universally known how well the *Othmâns* can dissemble in such cases. Hence it is a common saying among them, *We should kiss the hand we cannot cut off*. Cant.

(I) No wonder *Soleymân* should put his *Wazîr* to death upon this single evidence, since the *Turks* look on the confession of a dying man not only to exceed the evidence of forty witnesses, but even to remove all doubt, though the whole world should be of a contrary opinion. Cant.

A. D. 1535. News being brought whilst he staid at *Bâghdâd*, that the *Shâh* of *Persia* was marching with a great army to besiege *Vân*, he returns speedily to *Tibrîs*, and next day incamps at *Derghejineh*: by which means the *Shâh* disappointed and terrified, sues for peace by his ambassadors, whom *Soleymân* dismissed without an answer. Next year, seeing nothing to be feared from the *Persians*, he returns, through *Khavîr*, towards *Derjîsbah*, where the *Khân* of *Bitlis* (K) surrenders all his towns to him (L). From thence the *Soltân* marched, through *Amza*, to *Halep*; and, in *Rajeb*, entered *Constantinople* in triumph: three days after which, he orders his formerly beloved and brave general *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ* to be put to death <sup>h</sup>.

Georgia submits. Hej. 943. A. D. 1536. IN 943, a fresh expedition into *Persia* being necessary to preserve his late conquest, and being unwilling to undergo the fatigue himself, he sends *Mehemmed Khân*, who had lately

<sup>h</sup> CANT. p. 197; & RICAUT. ubi sup.

(K) The river of *Bitlis* (or *Bedlis*) abounds with the fish *Moruna*, the largest of the river-kind, and found no-where else, except in the *Danube* and *Volga*. As they pass out of this last river into the *Caspian* sea in spring, the *Russians* stop up the passes with reeds, and so catch infinite quantities of them. The people of *Bitlis*, finding their yearly prey to be thus kept from them, agreed with the *Russians*, that, for the benefit of the Christians in that city, one fence at least should be opened, the day before *Palm-Sunday*, and so left for three days: by which means, even on the second day, great plenty of *Morunas* are taken in the river *Bitlis*. If these things, which were told me by a *Turk*, who was an eye-witness, be true, the swiftness of this fish is very wonderful, since it can swim over the whole *Caspian* sea in 24 hours. Cant. Nay, what is more, if this be fact, they must also, in the same time, tra-

vel 360 miles by land; *Bitlis* being so far distant from the *Caspian* sea. If Prince *Cantemir* had understood the geography of the country, he could not have been so duped by the *Turks*, who are very apt to impose on the credulous.

(L) The Christian historians, on the contrary, say, that 5000 *Persian* horse, on the 13th of *September*, surprising the rear of *Soleymân's* army, consisting of 18,000 cavalry, in the valley near *Betlis*, broke into their camp in the night; while the governor of that fortress sallied on the other side, and made so great a slaughter, that the *Pashâs* of *Kayro* and *Syria*, with *Ulema*, who commanded in chief, had much ado to escape. Three great *Sanjâks* out of five were killed, and one taken. Eight hundred *Janizaries* submitted, and the mountain people took all their baggage; so that the *Turks* account it among the greatest of their losses.

. submitted

submitted to him, with an army into *Gurjîstân*, or *Georgia*; which, after many bloody battles, submits on certain conditions.

A. D.  
1536.

ABOUT the same time an army of *Moldavians*, *Poles*, *Bosnians*, *Germans*, and *Spaniards* (M), voluntarily assembling, invade *Bosnia*, and besiege *Sulien*. But being suddenly attacked by *Hasrûd Beg*, governor of that country, with a small force, fly for fear; and, being pursued, are overtaken and routed near *Kilis*, which *Hasrud*, after a few days siege, takes: and thus adds a whole *Sanjak* to the *Othmân* empire<sup>1</sup>.

WHILST *Soleyman* was engaged in his *Persian* expedition, Emperor the emperor *Charles V.* fearing, by *Barbarossa's* late successes, Charles 5. that in time his own dominions, especially *Sicily*, would be endangered by him, he resolved to pass over to *Africa*, with a puissant army of *Spaniards*, *Germans*, and *Italians*. His fleet was very numerous. Besides the ships, galleys, and galleasses, commanded by his famous admiral *Doria*, *Lewis*, the king of *Portugal's* brother, joined him with 25 caravels and an huge galleon: he had sixty sail of tall vessels out of the *Netherlands*, besides ten of the pope's galleys, and the *Maltese* ships. With this fleet, computed at 700 sail, whereof 80 were capital ships, and on which were embarked a suitable number of troops from several countries, *Charles* set sail from *Barcelona*, on board the admiral galley; which struck upon the bar of *Utika* (N), but, getting-off, doubled the cape of *Carthage*, and came to an anchor before the castle of *Aquaria*.

*BARBAROSSA* on this news prepared for defence of *sails for Africa*: the *Gulletta* (O), as the only bulwark of *Tunis* and his naval power. This castle stands in the bottom of the bay of *Carthage*, on a point of land, where the sea, by a narrow strait, on the east side of it, runs into the lake of *Tunis*. But since then, the castle has been separated from the land on the west

<sup>1</sup> CANT. p. 199.

(M) The *Turks* here give the name of *Spaniards* to the *Germans*; which was probably occasioned from the emperor *Charles V.* being also king of *Spain*. CANT.

(N) Now called *Bûshatter*, near the mouth of the river *Mejerdab*, the ancient *Bagrada*,

about 24 miles to the north of *Tunis*. *Shaw's Trav.* p. 148.

(O) So called by the *Italians*, as being at the entrance of the gullet, or strait, leading from the sea into the lake of *Tunis*; which stands on the west side of the lake.

A. D. 1536. side also (Y). Near this place, the emperor's forces landing, with but little opposition, *Vastius*, his general, besieged the castle in form: but *Charles*, dissatisfied with the behaviour of the *Spaniards* (who, after suffering the brave count *Carue*, with his *Italians*, to be cut off before their faces, suffered greatly themselves by their negligence in another sally), to make short work, resolved on a general assault. Accordingly, the batteries on land, as well as the guns of the fleet, having made a large breach, a fierce attack was made at it; while others scaled the walls, with such resolution, that they entered the place in spite of the enemy, most of whom were killed or drowned: but *Sinân*, their commander, a valiant *Jew*, with others, escaped. By this means *Barbarossa's* great naval force, which but a while before struck such a terror through the *Mediterranean*, fell into the emperor's hands<sup>a</sup>.

marches to Tunis. MEAN time *Muley Hassan*, having repaired to the camp, and intreated *Charles* to restore him to his kingdom, received a favourable answer. After this he acquainted the emperor with the state of *Tunis*; and assured him, that *Barbarossa* would never stand an assault, or venture a battle with his *Turks*. Just then an accident had like to have drawn-on a general engagement: for the *Moors* having annoyed the camp with some field-pieces from an olive-yard, the army drew-out; and *Montejo*, general of the *Spanish* cavalry, was sent before with some raw troops: but, being attacked and wounded by the enemy, his men shamefully fled; which the emperor observing, bravely advanced himself to the charge; and, routing the *Turks* and *Moors*, took the before-mentioned cannon. Presently after, thirty thousand *Moors*, with a priest at their head, attempting to surprise a small tower on a hill, near the ruins of *Karthage* (Z), *Charles* came timely enough to relieve it, and slay the priest with many others.

Barbarossa retires. THE defeat of the *Spanish* horse induced many to advise the emperor to abandon the design, and return. But, being resolved to proceed, he marched towards *Barbarossa*; who, with a great body of horse and foot, met him, three miles from *Tunis*. His general *Vasti* advising him to give the enemy battle without waiting for his great cannon, the en-

<sup>a</sup> PAULUS JOVIUS. RICAUT, ubi sup.

(Y) This work was begun though afterwards it was completed by others.

(Z) Twelve miles to the north-east of *Tunis*.

gement

gement began ; but, although fierce, lasted not long ; for the *Moors*, after losing about three hundred men, fled, and *Barbarossa* retired into the city ; where, distracted with the bad state of his affairs, he would have put to death all the Christian prisoners who were in the castle, but for the persuasions of *Sinân the Jew*.

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1536.

THOSE captives, to the number of six thousand, being informed of this barbarous design by some renegadoes, by their help, knocked off their chains, and seizing what arms they could, fell upon and mastered the *Turks* in garrison. This strange turn quite confounded *Barbarossa* ; who, now seeing it dangerous to stay longer in *Tunis*, fled to *Hippo* (A), where he had sunk fifteen gallies in the lake, to serve him on occasion. Mean time the citizens of *Tunis* went and delivered the keys of it to the emperor ; only requesting, that he would not suffer his army to enter and plunder it : but, moved by the murmurs of his troops, as well as other reasons, he refused to grant their petition. The place being thus left at the mercy of the soldiers, the *Spaniards* applied themselves most to plunder : but the *Germans*, thirsting after *Mohammedan* blood, made a horrid slaughter of the inhabitants, sparing neither age nor sex ; till the emperor, by the intreaties of *Muley Hassan*, put-out a proclamation, that no man, upon pain of death, should hurt or seize any citizen. For all this, a great number of young people were carried on board the fleet by the seamen ; many of whom were ransomed, for a small matter, by their old king ; and among the rest one of his own wives for two ducats. The emperor liberally rewarded the captives in the castle ; where great treasures were found, besides thirty thousand ducats hidden in a well by *Barbarossa*, which were given to *Vafti*, at his own request. Among other *Arabic* books destroyed was the history of the kings of *Tunis* ; the loss of which *Muley Aztz* much regretted.

The castle  
surprised.  
The city  
taken.

MEAN while *Barbarossa*, having weighed and fitted-up his sunk gallies at *Hippo* (or *Bizerta*), raised some batteries on the lake side, to defend the harbour against the Christians : so that, when *Adam*, a *Genese*, sent by *Doria*, to take the place, saw the preparations which had been made, he returned back to the fleet, for a reinforcement. During his absence, the *Turkish* admiral, sailing along the coast, gets safe to *Algiers*. *Doria*, on this advice, angry with himself as well as *Adam*, for letting the prey slip out of his hands, his own gallies and some of the best ships, repairs to *Hippo*,

Barbaros-  
sa escapes

with the  
fleet.

(A) This is to be understood of *Hippo Zaritus*, now *Bizerta*.

takes

A. D. 1536. takes the city, and razes the walls: then, putting a strong gar-  
rison into the castle, returned to *Tunis*. But the emperor, to  
save charges, caused the castle also to be demolished; and  
then restored *Muley Hassan* to his kingdom, on condition that  
he paid a yearly tribute of falcons, with as many *Numidian*  
horses; and defrayed the expence of one thousand *Spaniards*,  
to be left in garrison at the *Guletta*. Affairs being thus set-  
tled in *Africa*, the emperor returned to *Italy*<sup>b</sup>. Thus far  
the Christian historians.

Italy ra-  
aged.

THIS expedition of *Charles V.* to *Tunis*, and defeat of  
*Khairo'ddîn*, though mentioned in the *Turkish* annals trans-  
lated by *Gaudier*, is suppressed by the authors made use of by  
prince *Cantemir*. On the contrary, they make that *Pâsbâ*  
victorious, affirming, that he laid waste all the *African* coasts  
in the *Mediterranean*, and took the towns which refused to  
submit. In his return (continue they) he lands in *Apulia*,  
takes *Kuslube*, and, over-running the adjacent country, car-  
ries away a great number of captives. About the end of the  
year the *Soltân* equips another fleet, and sends it into the  
*Adriatic*, under the command of *Lusti Pâsbâ* (*Ibrahim's*  
successor in the *Wazîrship*), and *Khairo'ddîn*, now *Kapudân*  
*Pâsbâ*, or high admiral, to take *Kiosfes* (or *Korfu*) from the  
*Venetians*.

Albania  
submits.

HE himself, accompanied by his sons *Mostâfa* and *Moham-*  
*med*, leads the land-forces through *Aulonia* (B), in order to  
chastise the *Arnaudi*, who had raised disturbances: but they  
would have rendered *Soleymân's* passage very difficult, if they  
had not, by the persuasions of their countryman *Ayâs Pâsbâ*,  
submitted to the *Soltân*. *Arnaud* (or *Albania*) being thus  
subdued without bloodshed, after a month's stay there, to  
settle the affairs of the country, he passes into the island of  
*Kiosfes*; and, commanding all the towns and villages to be  
burned, closely besieges the city: but, at length, after  
much slaughter on both sides, it is relieved by the approach  
of winter, the *Soltân* being forced to retreat, and sail back to  
*Constantinople*<sup>c</sup>.

Turks  
take  
Castro.

THIS is all we find in prince *Cantemir's* *Othmân* history  
relating to those transactions; which deserve a more particu-  
lar account from the Christian writers. According to them,  
*Soleymân*, to revenge the disgraces he had received in *Africa*,

<sup>b</sup> PAULUS JOVIUS. RICAUT, ubi supr. <sup>c</sup> CANT. p. 199.  
& seqq.

(B) A country and city of *rus*, is called by the *Turks* *Ar-*  
*Albania*; which last, with *Epi-* *naud*, Cant.

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postpones the war of *Persia*, with a design to turn all his forces against *Italy*. To this expedition he was much solicited by *De Forrest*, the *French* ambassador, and *Troylo Pignatelli*, formerly a commander in the emperor's army: but, being disgusted with the viceroy of *Naples*, who had executed his brother *Andrew*, a knight of *Rhodes*, he fled to the *Soltân*, and was made one of his *Mutefaraka's* (C). *Soleymân* set out with two hundred thousand men; and, being met at *Aulona*, in *Macedonia*, by his high admiral *Lutzi* (D), and *Barbarossa*, with their fleets, he ordered them to sail over to *Italy*, to try the pulses of the people. By *Pignatelli's* direction they put into the town of *Gastro* (E); and the same, with the adjacent castle, was delivered by his persuasion upon articles, which the *Turks*, to the great vexation of the admiral, violated.

*ITALY* was now ready to be overwhelmed with the losses of mighty power of *Soleymân*, when the rashness of a *Venetian* sea-captain diverted the storm upon his own republic. This was *Alessandro Contareni*, who, meeting some *Turkish* gallies, attacked and sunk two, because they refused to make the signals of friendship. Likewise *Soleymân's* chief interpreter, sent with two gallies on a message to *Lutzi Pâsbâ*, offering to pass by the *Venetian* fleet at *Korfû*, without saluting the admiral, some of his ships drove them on the rocks, where they were taken by the mountain people; from whom the interpreter had much ado to redeem himself. About the same time *Doria*, the imperial admiral, cruising in the *Ionian* sea, met in the night, near *Korfû*, with twelve of *Soleymân's* great gallies full of *Janizaries*; who, after an obstinate fight against thirty gallies, were most of them slain, and their vessels taken: but *Doria*, finding himself too weak to encounter *Barbarossa* with his eighty gallies, returned to *Messina*, to refit.

THE *Soltân*, chafed with this loss, but more at the double injury done him by the *Venetians*; and pretending that they had entered into a private league with the emperor *Charles V.* changed his resolution of invading *Italy*, and proclaimed war against them. Hereupon, marching from *Aulona*, he encamped near the mountains over-against *Korfû*, where the

(C) They are a body of horse, of all nations and religions, who are obliged to attend the *Soltân* when he goes to war.

*Turkish* annals, but in *Cantemir*, *Lustî*.

(E) Called *Kustube* in *Cantemir's* history. It is about ten miles south of *Otranto*.

(D) So he is called in the

people

A. D.  
1536.

people of *Khimera*, by the instigation of *Damianus*, a famous robber, undertook by night to break-into *Soleymân's* camp, and kill him in his tent. But as *Damianus*, who had approached with them through bye-ways, was, from a tree, spying-out the *Soltân's* tent, and the order of his guards, the bough on which he stood breaking, he was discovered by a *Janizary*. Being thus taken and tortured, he confessed the whole design; which the *Turks* revenged on the mountaineers, and then prepared to invade *Korfû*.

without  
success.

As soon as *Pisaurio*, the *Venetian* admiral, discovered their intention, he supplied the place with men and other necessaries. Then retiring, left the farther defence to the governors *Aloysia Ripa* and *Simon Leoni*, two senators of *Venice*; who caused the fair suburbs to be pulled down, and turned all the useless people out of the city. By this means great numbers perished in the town-ditches, for fear of the enemy, while others up and down the island were destroyed or made captives (F); only three thousand poor inhabitants valiantly defended themselves in the castle of *St. Angelo*, fifteen miles from the capital.

Soleymân  
retires.

MEAN time the *Turks* annoyed the city with their cannon from the rock *Maripetrus*; and from the ruins of the suburbs with their small shot, while the galleys battered the walls with theirs from the sea. But *Soleymân*, perceiving after all that there was no likelihood of taking the place, left the island in *September* 1537: yet first did a remarkable piece of justice, in ordering those who violated the articles of *Castro*, in *Italy*, to be put to death, and the prisoners who could be found, after a diligent search, to be set at liberty.

Island  
Ægina  
subdued.

DURING these transactions, *Lutzi*, the *Turkish* high-admiral, subdued, after an obstinate resistance, the rich and famous island of *Ægina*. The city of *Ægeum* was first given up to the mercy of the soldiers, then burned; and, after a great slaughter of the inhabitants, the rest were carried away into slavery. The like spoil and cruelty were committed at *Paros*: but the duke of *Naxos*, to avoid the calamities of war, submitted to pay a tribute of five thousand ducats. This done, *Lutzi* returned, laden with spoil, to *Constantinople*; from whence, soon after, he was banished, for striking and confining (G) his wife, who was *Soleymân's* sister<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> PAUL JOVIUS. LEUNCL. RICAUT, ubi supr.

(F) *Barbarossa* had 16,000. (G) On her expostulating slaves to his own share; whom with him for committing so he sold afterwards at his house, domy with a youth he kept for on the *Bosphorus*, four miles beyond *Pera*. the purpose.

IN



IN the year 944, an army of twenty thousand men, of different nations, under one *Kobhan*, enters, through *Serem* (H), the *Othmân* borders, with design to besiege *Semendria* : but, being suddenly attacked in their way by *Mehemed Beg*, governor of that city, they are totally routed \*. This is all the light the *Turkish* historians give us into an affair, which, according to the Christian writers, much redounded both to their honour and advantage. These latter inform us, that, the same autumn in which *Soleyman* had ravaged *Korfu*, king *Ferdinand's* troops received a great overthrow by the *Turks*, at *Essek*. There was indeed a kind of truce between those two powers : but as their respective troops, in small parties, ravaged each others dominions, and the *Turkish* nimble horse had generally the better of the great and heavy-armed *Germans*, *Ferdinand* was so nettled at it, that he resolved to drive the *Othmâns* out of the country of *Poffega*. To this end he raised out of all countries eight thousand horse and sixteen thousand foot ; over whom he made *John Cazzinaer*, a noble *Kroatian*, his general. On this advice *Mohammed*, the valiant governor of *Belgrade*, to support king *John*, gathered forces out of *Bosnia*, and other provinces ; which, with the *Hungarians* who joined him, formed an army equal to that of the *Germans*.

A. D.  
1537.  
Ferdinand's  
forces  
Hej. 944.  
A. D.  
1537.

WITH these he marched to *Essek*, where he resolved to wait for the enemy, who advanced towards him : but by the time they got thither their foot was diminished by one half, although their horse had an increase of two thousand. They were joined next day by the bishop of *Zagabria*, with his horse ; and some provision came into their camp. From a hill, which they took from the *Turks*, they perceived a rising ground on the other side of the city, fit for erecting batteries ; to which they made their way through a troublesome forest, without much loss. There encamping, they offered the enemy battle : but *Mohammed*, who was ordered by *Soleyman* to defend the city to the last, and knew the scarcity of provisions in the Christian camp, declined an engagement. Being reduced by this means to great distress, they quitted *Essek* in the night, and went to besiege *Hermade* ; where they expected to meet with store of provisions, but found scarce enough to serve the army two days.

\* CANT. p. 201.

(H) A large plain beyond *waradin*, whose inhabitants are the *Save*, lying between *Alba* called *Serin Ogli*. Cant. *Grecia* (or *Belgrade*) and *Peter*.

FROM

A. D. 1577. FROM thence, marching through *Possega* for *Juvancka*, they in the way met with great refreshment: but the *Turks* getting at the same time to the last place, had several skirmishes with them. They likewise so distressed them in their retreat afterwards, that at length the commanders of the cavalry, seized with a panic, suddenly took to flight, some one way, some another, so that the dismayed general at last fled also: however, many of the troops joined the infantry; who still kept their posts, commanded by the brave *Lodronius*. As the same time, the *Turks* charging them were valiantly opposed by the horse; who yet suffered much, especially the *Bohemians*. The foot also, being fore-galled in their march, near a marsh, were at last broken, and all cut to pieces or taken. *Lodronius*, who was driven into the marsh and sorely wounded, was persuaded by the *Turks* to yield himself, with three companies, who were with him: but, being judged unable to travel by his keepers, they slew him, and carried his head to *Constantinople*. Mean time the general *Kazzinaer* fled to his own castle; and, fearing to appear before *Ferdinand*, broke the prison, and fled to the *Turks*. Soon after he had a promise of the government of *Kroatia*: but, tampering with *Nicholas Serini* to revolt, he was deluded by him, and slain in his house<sup>f</sup>.

Expedition to India, Hej. 945. A. D. 1538. NEXT year, 945, the *Soltān* sends his admiral *Khairo'ddīn*, and *Soleymān Pāshā* (I), general of the foot, with a considerable army into *India* (K); where they diligently execute his orders, and annex the whole kingdom of *Yamman* (L), with the adjacent provinces, to the *Othmān* empire<sup>g</sup>.

IT

<sup>f</sup> LEUNCL. RICAVT, ubi supr.<sup>g</sup> CANT. p. 201.

(I) This was the governor of *Egypt*, before-mentioned.

(K) This must be the borders of *Arabia Felix*: for I have not read that a *Turkish* army was ever in *India*. *Cant.* For all this it appears from what follows, that there was a *Turkish* army there the same year.

(L) A large country extending between the *Red Sea* and *Persian gulf*; which both ancient and modern geographers (of *Europe*) make part of *Arabia*, by the name of *Arabia Felix*. But no *Turkish* or *Ara-*

*bian* historian ever reckoned the inhabitants of *Yamen* among the *Arabs*: and their name of *Sari-hindi*, or *yellow Indians*, given them all over the east, shews them to be of *Indian* extraction: hence *Yamen*, properly, is not a part of *Arabia*, but of *India*. *Cant.* Our author's error in the former note, seems to have led him into another here: for, that *Yamen*, or *Yamman*, is part of *Arabia*, and its inhabitants *Arabs*, appears from *Abu'lfeda*, and many other *Arab* and *Persian* geographers. See *Abu'lf.* *Descript. Arabiae*

It has been already related, in the reign of *Selim I.* that *Kanfu Gauri* had fitted out a fleet at *Swiz*, or *Sues*, at the end of the *Red Sea*, against the *Portugueses* in *India*, who had ruined the trade of *Egypt*: but that expedition being laid aside, on account of the troubles which ensued in the country, as hath been already mentioned <sup>h</sup>, the design lay dormant, till now *Soleyman* revives it, by the advice of *Soleyman Pâsbâ*, the eunuch (M). For this purpose the *Pâsbâ*, with great dispatch, having built a fleet of eighty tall ships and galleys, at the above-mentioned port, the command of it was given to him, in conjunction with *Hassan Beg* (N), the famous Moor of *Alexandria*. At their setting-out, the *Pâsbâ*, having seized on the effects of the *Venetians* at *Kayro* and *Alexandria*, distributed their seamen on board his fleet.

HAVING sailed through the *Red Sea*, he came to *Aden*, <sup>a</sup> against the strong city and port of *Arabia*, not far from the mouth of *Portugueses*; where, sending for the king on board, after many caresses, hanged him, with four of his courtiers, at the yard-arm of his galley, and seized the city. From thence he crossed the *Indian sea*, and, on the fourth of *Sept.* 1538, came to *Diu*, a very strong fortress of the *Portugueses*, on the coast of *Kambaya*, which he vigorously attacked, and battered with prodigious cannon: but the *Turks*, after taking a bulwark, having been repulsed in all their other assaults, with great loss, he raised the siege; and, on the appearance of the *Portuguese* fleet, sheered-off with his own. In his return through the *Red Sea*, the king of *Zibîd* (or *Zabîd*), refusing to come to him, he landed and marched to that city. The unfortunate prince, not able to defend himself, thought it best to go out to him; but, on his approach, *Soleyman* ordered his head to be struck-off. After this, he landed at *Joddâh*, the port of *Mekka*, to perform the pilgrimage to that city (O), and sent *Hassan Beg* with the fleet back to *Swiz* <sup>i</sup>.

## WHILST

<sup>h</sup> See before, p. 261.  
ato, vol. i. p. 88.

<sup>i</sup> RICAUT, & Gen. Collect. Voy.

*Arabie* in *Hudson. Geogr. Veter. Græc. Min. Pocock Spec. Hist. Arab. Golius's Notes on Alfargani's Astron. D'Herbelot, art. Jaman, &c.*

(M) Perhaps the same who was made governor of *Kayro* by *Selim*.

(N) From hence and other circumstances it appears, that *Khair'eddin*, or *Barbarossa*, is, by mistake, mentioned by prince *Cantemir's Turkish* authors, as performing this voyage.

(O) There is a large account of this expedition from two different

A. D.  
1538.Moldavia  
invaded,and re-  
duced.

WHILST these things were performing by his generals, *Soleyman*, with numerous forces, as a friend (P), enters *Moldavia*: but, contrary to the expectation of the inhabitants, destroys all with fire and sword from the *Danube* to *Soczava*, then the metropolis; near which pitching his tents, he demands the yearly tribute. The *Moldavians*, seeing no way to withstand so great a storm, humbly sue for peace; and promise the payment of the annual sum: only they petition, that the choice of a prince may remain in the state (Q), and that he might be invested with regal authority. *Soleyman* grants their requests, confirms the prince (R) chosen by them, and restores their captives. Next day he assembles the nobles, and severely reprimands them; saying, "That, unmindful of the favours received from his predecessors, they had dared to draw the sword against so powerful an empire, and not only burned the town of *Kili* (S), but slain many *Musulmans*: that though, for this proceeding, all by the *Mohammedan* law were guilty of death, he, as a demonstration of his clemency, was ready to give them life and liberty, on condition they would deliver up the treasures of their late prince." As the wretched *Moldavians* could refuse nothing, the *Defterdâr*, with a company of *Janizaries*, went into the town, and plundered both the public and the prince's treasury; where were found, besides a great quantity of money, the diadems of the princes, crosses,

ferent authors in the *New Collection of Voyages and Travels*, 4to. vol. i. p. 88, & eqq. Where, as to the end of *Soleyman Pâshâ*, we are told, that, after his return, he went to *Constantinople*; and that, not agreeing with one who aspired to his post, he was reduced to the necessity of killing himself.

(P) The *Moldavian* annals say, that the *Turks*, on pretence of a *Polish* expedition, only desired a passage through *Moldavia*, and afterwards turned their arms against the country, laying it all waste. *Cant.*

(Q) So it continued for almost a century, and then the *Soltâns* began to appoint them princes. *Cant.*

(R) The *Moldavian* historians call him *Stephanus junior*, natural son of *Bogdân*. *Cant.*

(S) The occasion was this. A dispute arising between the *Buják Tatars*, in conjunction with some new colonies of *Turks*, and the inhabitants of *Kiegeczy*, these last drove the *Turks* out of the woods; and, on their making a second attempt, pursuing them to *Kili*, set the town on fire: but this was the act of private persons, and without the consent of the state. *Kili*, called *Cilia* by the *Moldavians*, and formerly *Lycostomon*, is situated on the north side of the largest or northern mouth of the *Danube*. *Cant.*

and

and holy images (T, adorned with precious jewels. These Soleyman abuses as he pleased, and then leads back his forces. In his return, he orders *Kili*, destroyed by the *Moldavians*, to be rebuilt; and, because there were no woods in those parts, he gives them the timber of a bridge he had run over the *Danube*.

A. D.

1538.

In the interim, *Khairo'ddin* (U), unexpectedly, near *Kan-Christiana*, meets with the enemy's fleet, consisting of 300 sail; and, after an obstinate battle, takes many, and sinks most of the rest. Next day he attacks another fleet, commanded by *Andrevirius* (X), in the port of *Prevesa*; where the enemy, aided by the advantage of the place, behave with great bravery, and render the victory long doubtful: but, at length, the Christians, perceiving themselves overpowered, make off in the night, leaving some of their ships as a prey to the *Turkish* admiral. He had no sooner turned his back, than *Andrevirius* besieges *Nova*; and, taking it, puts all the inhabitants to the sword: but, next year, *Khairo'ddin*, returning with a fresh fleet, attacks the town; and, recovering it, kills, in revenge, all the Christians whom he found there, without distinction of age or sex<sup>k</sup>.

THIS is the *Turkish* account. Let us now see what the Christians say. The senate of *Venice*, finding themselves hard put to it by the *Turks*, entered into a confederacy against them with the emperor *Charles V.* and pope *Paul III.* The emperor's fleet, of eighty-two galleys, was commanded by *Doria*; the *Venetians*, of the like number, by *Capello*; and the pope's galleys by *Grimani*, patriarch of *Aquileja*. The land-forces were under the conduct of *Ferdinand Gonzaga*, viceroy of *Sicily*: and the agreement was, that whatever might be taken from the enemy, in either *Greece*, the islands,

Barbaros's

sa attacks

Kanea;

A. D.

1538.

<sup>k</sup> CANT. p. 202.

(T) Surely this paragraph must have been taken out of some *Moldavian* author, not a *Turkish*; at least words must be added, and the turn of expression altered in the translation.

(U) In his return from the kingdom of *Yamnen*. So it follows in the original. But how then, as prince *Cantemir* himself observes, could he have gotten into the *Mediterranean* sea, without sailing round *Afri-*

*ca*? This is a farther proof that he was not in the *Indian* expedition with *Soleyman Pâshâ*.

(X) This seems to be some Christian general, whose name is corrupted by the *Turks*; but who he was I have not been able to find. *Cant.* — He was the famous *Andreas Doria* (called by *Jovius*, *Auria*), a *Genoese*; and, at the time here mentioned, in the service of the emperor of *Germany*. *Tindal*.

A. D. 1538. or *Dalmatia*, should be delivered-up to the *Venetians*. To oppose this power, *Barbarossa*, with one hundred and thirty-eight gallies, early in the spring, sailed to *Kandia*, with a design to surprise *Kanea*: but *Gritti*, the governor, so plied the *Turks* with great and small shot from the walls, that their admiral was forced to retire, after the loss of many men, and leave one thousand more behind him, who were likewise all slain. All he did was to reduce the little town of *Cecilia*, and then sail to the bay of *Ambracia*; which he fortified, for fear of the Christian fleet, by this time arrived at *Korfu*. The general *Gonzaga* was for landing, and attacking *Prevesa*; which, if taken, would bring their ordnance to bear upon the enemy's fleet, and shut up the bay. But *Doria* advised rather, that, in case *Barbarossa* could not be brought to an engagement, they should sail for *Lepanto*; and, taking it, ravage all the towns in the bay of *Korinth*: which counsel was mostly approved of. On the appearance of the Christian fleet before the bay of *Ambracia*, *Barbarossa*, being irresolute what course to take, was sharply reprov'd by an eunuch of the court, as if guilty of cowardice; and in the close of his discourse, bid him beware, lest, in avoiding an uncertain honourable death, he did not incur a shameful one by the *Soltân's* displeasure. Upon this, *Barbarossa*, turning to *Salek*, one the chief pirates, said: *We must, for aught I can see, venture a battle, though at too much disadvantage, lest we perish by the complaints of this barking half-man.*

*retires to  
Ambra-  
cia;*

*fights  
Doria.*

THEN, weighing anchor, he stood-out of the bay, to fight the Christians; who, thinking he durst not venture, were steering towards *Leucade*. *Doria* on this advice tacked about, and prepared for battle. The enemy's fleet being preceded by twenty nimble gallies, under the conduct of *Dragut*, a famous pirate, the foremost of them bore down upon the great galleon of *Bondelmero*: but that commander poured such a quantity of great and small shot into them, that they were glad to sheer-off. Mean time *Doria* resolv'd not to engage without the men of war, which were held back by a calm, steer'd his course accordingly, which made the crafty *Turk* change his also; and lie still, for fear of being circumvented. However, a little before sun-set, both his wings began in divers places to engage the Christians, from whom they took two gallies and a *Spanish* man of war, besides sinking two ships more, with some other damage: but, a sudden storm arising, *Doria* sail'd back for *Korfu*, in such haste as seem'd rather a flight than a retreat, for which he was much censur'd; and because, through fear, the lights in the poops of the ships were put-out, *Barbarossa* laugh'd heartily

heartily at it, and used to say, *Doria* did it to conceal his flight.

Soon after he came with the *Turkish* fleet to *Paxos*, an isle four leagues to the east of *Korfu*, braving the Christians to fight. At length, returning to *Ambracia* for fear of tempestuous weather, they besieged and took *Castello Nuovo*; which, contrary to articles, was garrisoned by four thousand *Spaniards*, for the use of the emperor. This so discontented the *Venetians*, that they sued to *Soleyman* for peace; which, soon after, was concluded. In the interim *Barbarossa*, putting to sea, to relieve that place, many of his galleys were wrecked on the *Acroceraunian* rocks, and, it was said, twenty thousand men lost. Yet *Doria* refused to pursue him on this advantage; and, returning to *Italy*, gave occasion to *Urfino*, a noble *Venetian*, then in the service, merrily to say, that *Doria* had done nothing more politicly, and for the emperor's interest, than in thus setting the *Venetians* and *Turks* together by the ears, without the loss of a galley.

*SOLEYMAN*, to recover *Castello Nuovo*, sent *Barbarossa* next spring to besiege it both by sea and land. The *Turks* lost a thousand men at first; but, having made a breach in the town-wall, they stormed it, and, after a very bloody fight, slew almost the whole garrison, with *Sermiento*, who commanded them; but those in the castle had quarter given them. *Barbarossa* then appeared before *Cattaro*; but, finding the governor *Bembo* did not regard his threats, he accepted of some presents and withdrew.

ABOUT this time, peace being concluded between the emperor *Charles V.* and *Francis I.* of *France*, they both sent to invite the *Venetians* to join them against the *Turks*. The senate, after several debates, sent ambassadors to those princes, to dive into their designs; and a third to *Soleyman*, to avoid giving-up, if possible, the cities of *Napoli di Romania* and *Malmasia*, without which the *Soltân* refused to grant them peace. While the ambassador offered a large sum, in lieu of those towns, *Soleyman* took him up sharply as a base dissembler, and recounted to him all his private instructions, in such terms as frightened him to yield-up not only those cities, but also two castles in *Dalmatia* (Y). For this he had like to have been banished by the senate; and the traitors being discovered were executed<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> P. JOVIUS. RICAUT, ubi supr.

(Y) Ever since this time, the *Turks* delay the Christian ambassadors, in order to know their utmost instructions, believing they have full powers to act.

A. D.  
1538.

Castello  
Nuovo  
taken,

and recovered.  
A. D.  
1539.

Peace  
with the  
Vene-  
tians.

A. D.  
1540.

A. D.

1540.

Buda be-

sieged.

Hej. 947.

A. D.

1540.

relieved by  
Soley-  
mân.

THIS year a new war is kindled in Hungary. John De Zapol (Z), who, under Soleyman's protection, had managed affairs with good success, left *Isifan* (or *Stephen*), an infant, heir to the kingdom. The king of *Germany* (A), thinking it easy to dethrone a child, with an army of 8,000 choice men besieges *Buda* (B). Soleyman, who was made the young prince's guardian, being informed of this by John's widow, sends his *Wazîr*, *Sofi Mehemed Pâshâ*, with a good army, and a letter to the queen; promising to come to her aid with all his forces. The *Wazîr*, being arrived at *Buda*, commands his men to attack the *Germans*, though strongly intrenched. The enemy, finding that the *Turks* were not very numerous, divides his army into two bodies, and with one carries on the siege, while with the other he opposes the *Ottomâns*: and thus for thirty days there were continual skirmishes. Mean time the besieging party, having destroyed the fortifications, Soleyman, to prevent the place being taken, advances in spring to his *Wazîr*'s assistance. As soon as the *Germans* heard he was within four days march of their camp, they retire in the night, leaving their artillery behind them. *Mehemed Pâshâ* vigorously pursues them, and getting before to the place where they were to embark, takes some, and kills others; while a few, throwing away their arms, save themselves by flight. Soleyman, being arrived, enters *Buda*; and, judging *Isifan* and his mother incapable of defending the kingdom, the one on account of his youth, the other of her sex, sends them into *Transilvania* (C), and assigns them a *Sarjak* for their subsistence,

(Z) Or *Saguvius*, as the Christian writers call him. He died in 1540.

(A) This was *Ferdinand*, king of the *Romans* and *Bohemians*, brother to the emperor *Charles Vth*; who, on the score of affinity, thought he had a title to the kingdom of *Hungary*: but, when he saw he could do nothing by force, he agreed with *John de Zapol* to succeed him after his death. *Cant.*

(B) *Ferdinand* was advised by *Laskus*, the *Polander*, to crave *Hungary* of Soleyman, and become his tributary for it, before he had recourse to arms. *Laskus* himself was accordingly sent to

*Constantinople*, on the errand. In the mean time *Ferdinand* sent count *Salm* to show queen *Isabella* the articles of agreement between him and her late husband: but, she proposing first to consult her father *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*, *Ferdinand* without more add invades *Hungary*, and takes *Vicegrade*, *Pest*, *Vasbia*, and *Alba Regalis*. Hereupon *Laskus*, on his arrival at *Constantinople*, is imprisoned.

(C) The *Turks* are naturally so fruitful of good sayings, but withal so barren of good actions, that it is a common saying among them, *the Ottomâns say well, but do ill*. This is verified



sistence. After this he converts the churches into *Jâmi*, and appoints a *Kadi* (or judge). Then, leaving a strong garrison of *Janizaries* in the city, under the command of one *Soleyman Pâshâ*, returns to his capital <sup>m</sup>. A. D. 1541.

THE Christian historians represent this transaction much more to the advantage of the *Othmâns*, and the dishonour of their enemies, than do the *Turkish*. They tell us, that *Ustrefloth* : and *Mohammed*, who commanded on the frontiers, having joined *Valentine*, queen *Isabella*'s general, they recovered *Vachia* ; but, being baffled before *Pest*, returned home, not without some loss in their retreat. This reviving *Ferdinand*'s hopes, he sent more troops under the lord *Rogendorf* ; who, joining the old army, marched and besieged *Buda*. One part of the wall they battered down, and another part fell, with the weight of earth thrown up within to strengthen it : so that if the general, who was naturally slow, had attacked it immediately, the city must have been taken : but, neglecting this opportunity, the besieged, in the night, raised a new rampart ; so that, next morning, the *Germans*, when they came to the attack, were beaten-off, with the loss of sixteen hundred men. Their mines likewise were all countermined. For all this, treachery had like to have done what force could not : for one *Bornemissa*, a lawyer, promised to let in a body of *Hungarians* in the night at a postern : but *Rogendorf* having appointed *Germans* in their stead, as soon as they were admitted, the lawyer, who perceived the fraud, dropped them ; and they, not knowing the way in the dark, fled out again through the postern, except such as on the alarm were slain or taken.

IN June 1541, *Mohammed Pâshâ* entering Hungary with his army, *Rogendorf*, instead of marching to fight him, as was advised, continued the siege, posting himself at the foot of *St. Gerrard's Mount*, between a steep hill and the river. From his camp he made a bridge to a little island, and with a fort commanded both the river and the plain. The fleet also of the Christians was much stronger than that of the *Turks* ; but, as he had neglected to possess himself of the island *Capella*, the *Turks* soon took the little isle ; and tho' quickly driven-out again, yet they became so troublesome to the *German* camp, that they began to be dismayed. At the

<sup>m</sup> CANT. p. 204, & seq.

sied in *Soleyman*'s conduct. When he had, under the shew of virtue, acquired the good will of all the *Hungarian* nobility, having now found an opportunity, he shews his cloven foot, and swallows up the kingdom belonging to an orphan. Cant.

A. D.

1541.

same time *Perenus*, the general of the Hungarians, being secretly advised by *Valentine*, queen *Isabella's* commander, to provide for his safety, because a great beast was coming who would at one mouthful devour them; *Perenus*, judging by this that *Soleyman* was near at hand, acquainted *Rogendorf*, that, unless the siege was raised immediately, he would march-off with his troops.

dies too  
late,

ALTHOUGH *Rogendorf* refused then to stir, yet fear obliged them next night to pass the river, in four convoys, to *Pest*. The two first did well enough; but the *Turks* fell-upon the rest before they could get-out of their camp. *Mohammed*, governor of *Belgrade*, and *Valentine*, took the upper tents where *Perenus* lay, and chased the *Germans* over *St. Gerard's Mount*. The garrison of *Buda* sallied-out at the same time upon them, and the bishop caused a great stack of straw, near the river, to be set on fire, that the enemies of the Christian name might have light to destroy the Christians; on whom the cannon was played from all quarters. To increase the misfortune, *Kasan*, the *Turkish* admiral, went up the stream with light boats, and set-upon the ships crossing the river to *Pest*. Of these he took some and sunk many others; while the rest of the *Germans*, flying over the bridge into the little island, were there slain, or perished in the river.

Great  
slaughter.

THE Christian fleet, seeing all lost, cleared the way with their cannon as well as they could, and got up the river to *Komorra*. The rest of the land troops endured the same fortune in the camp; of whom the *Bohemians* died valiantly fighting. About three thousand men, who had gotten to a little hill by *St. Gerrard's Church*, there defended themselves; till two parts of them being slain, the rest threw down their arms, and were afterwards killed by *Soleyman's* order. At the same time, *Kasan*, coming with his fleet before *Pest*, frightened the horse out of it; and the rest were so dispirited that they made but little defence: so that the *Turks*, quickly breaking-in, exercised on them the utmost cruelty, and plundered that wealthy city. In short, the Christians, by the report of some, lost in this war twenty thousand men, besides thirty-six great cannon, and one hundred and fifty smaller pieces. As for their unfortunate general *Rogendorf*, he died soon after, near *Komorra*, of his wounds and grief.

*Buda sur-  
prised.*

*SOLEYMAN*, after this victory, comes with a great power to *Buda*; and, by his ambassadors, charged with rich presents, required the queen to send the young king to his camp. *Isabella*, by the bishop's advice, to avoid suspicion,

RICAUT, ubi supr.

sent

sent the child ; who, though but in swadling clouts, was received with all military honours. The *Soltân* talked familiarly with the nurse, and ordered his sons *Salim* and *Bâyezid* to take the royal babe in their arms and kiss him. But while the nobles of *Hungary* were merry at dinner with the *Pâsbâs*, some troops, under pretence of going to see the city, seized it ; but so dexterously, and with so little noise, that it was not perceived till it was effected. Presently after proclamation was made, for the citizens to fear nothing, but give up their arms ; and such exact discipline was kept, that not one person was injured by the soldiery °.

As soon as this was known to *Soleymân*, he sent back the *Hungary* young prince to his mother, but detained the nobles, to the great surprize both of them and her. Hereupon, the queen, by submissive letters, put him in mind of his promises, and intreated their release : but the *Soltân*, not regarding her remonstrances ; consulted with his *Pâsbâs* about disposing of the kingdom of *Hungary*. *Mohammed* (the prime *Wazîr*) was for carrying the young king and all the nobility to *Constantinople*, and leaving a governor, who by his moderation might remove from the people any apprehension of servitude. *Rustan Pâsbâ*, who had been gained by the queen's presents, stood altogether upon terms of honour ; alleging, that nothing could be more inglorious, than for a great monarch to break his faith at once with a weak woman and poor infant, whom he had taken into his protection. But *Mohammed*, governor of *Belgrade*, disliking both opinions, as too full of lenity, declared the best way would be to reduce *Hungary* to the form of a province ; to send the queen to her father, and bring up her son at court in the *Mohammedan* religion. He farther advised to put all the nobility to death ; to raze their castles, and transport the principal families into *Asia*.

*SOLEYMÂN*, having entered *Buda* the 30th of *August*, a *Turkish* took a middle method ; and, by a public decree, ordered that *Buda* should be kept with a *Turkish* garrison ; that the kingdom should be converted into a province of the empire ; and that the queen, with her young son, should presently leave the city, and reside at *Lippa*. This she quickly performed, though sorrowfully, attended by the nobility, who were all set at liberty, excepting *Valentine*.

MEAN time king *Ferdinand*, being informed of the fatal disaster which had befallen his army, sends ambassadors to *Soleymân* with terms of peace, accompanied with curious

° *RICAUT*, ubi supr.

A. D.  
1541.Peace re-  
jected.

presents (D). Being admitted to audience, they humbly desired, that the *Soltān* would bestow *Hungary* on their master; who, on his part, would pay him the same yearly tribute as king *John* had done, and undertake to draw the emperor *Charles* into the league: so that the *Turks* might be at liberty to turn their forces against the *Persians*. But, instead of granting *Ferdinand's* request, *Soleymān* required, that he should restore all the places formerly belonging to king *Lewis*, and never after meddle with *Hungary*. He likewise demanded, that *Austria* should pay him a small tribute on account of the charges of the war; and even refused to grant a truce, till such time as the two princes should be acquainted with his answer. However, the ambassadors had liberty to see the camp, where the most exact discipline and profound silence was observed: and, in his return to *Constantinople*, he set *Laskhus* at liberty.

Transil-  
vania re-  
stored,

At the same time that *Mohammed Pâşâ* was sent into *Hungary*, *Ahmed*, governor of *Nissa* (E), was ordered to invade *Transilvania*, in conjunction with *Peter*, prince of *Moldavia* and *Walakhia*. *Stephen Maylat*, who had been made *Vayvod*, not being able to withstand the enemy, fled to *Togaras*. *Ahmed*, who found that town too strong to be taken by force, decoyed *Maylat* to his camp, under pretence of peace: but when he had gotten him there, secured him; and soon after *Togaras* surrendered. Hereupon almost all the country of *Transilvania* was, by *Soleymān's* consent, given to the young king *Stephen*; to whom the people readily swore allegiance<sup>P</sup>.

DURING these transactions, the emperor *Charles V.* made his unfortunate expedition to *Algiers*: but as this was a war rather against the *Moors* of *Barbary* (who, being driven out of *Spain*, turned pirates, and infested the whole *Mediterranean*), than against the *Turks*, we shall say no further of it here; but return to the *Turkish* historians.

French  
assisted.  
Hej. 949.A. D.  
1542.

THIS rapid course of victories, which terrified some Christian princes, induced others to implore *Soleymān's* aid against the unjust oppressions of their neighbours. Accordingly, in the year 949, *Firanche Pâdishâhi*, no longer able to withstand the *Spaniards*, sends an ambassador extraordinary to make an alliance with the *Soltān*, and intreat his succour. The

<sup>P</sup> RICAUT, ubi sup.

(D) Among the rest there planets, change of the moon, was a globe, shewing the hour and other phænomena. of the day, motion of the (E) Others say, *Nicopolis*.

alliance

alliance being made, he sends *Khairo'ddîn Pâshâ* with a numerous fleet to *Spain*, and, early next spring, entering *Hungary* with a great army, presently takes *Liposa*, *Beczovi*, and *Shoklovas*, which had been, two years before, recovered by the *Germans*. Then, penetrating farther into the country, *Hungary* he reduces *Usturgan*, *Beligrad* (F), *Tatar Hissari*, and *Ustuni* *Beligrad* (G). After this, having converted the best churches into *Jâmi*, and strengthened the places with strong garrisons, he returns to *Constantinople*: but as he drew near the city, he receives the news of his son *Mohammed's* sudden death, which so affected him, that, laying aside his intended triumph, he made his entry mournfully, like one who had been vanquished. He afterwards, in remembrance of his son, and for his soul's health, built in the way to the gate called *Engli Kapu* (H) a large *Jâmi*, adorned with a college and hospital, called *Shehzâde Jâmi* <sup>9</sup>.

A. D.

1542.

Hungary invaded.

THE foregoing transaction, so briefly touched on by the *The Turk-*  
*Turkish* authors, requires farther enlargement from the *ish fleet*  
Christian historians; especially those relating to *Soleymân's* sending a fleet to assist the *French*, and his war in *Hungary*. With regard to the first article; new differences arising between the emperor and *Francis* king of *France*, the latter sent *Rinco*, as his ambassador, into *Turkey*, to solicit *Soleymân* to make war upon *Charles*: but in his way through *Italy* he was murdered by some *Spaniards*. This assassination inflaming the resentment of *Francis*, he sent *Polinus* on the same errand. *Polinus* arriving at *Constantinople*, received no very agreeable reception from *Soleymân* the eunuch, grand *Wazîr*: but having, by means of the *Kapî Aga*, or chief porter, obtained an audience of the *Soltân* himself, that prince promised to send his master, the following spring, as large a fleet as he desired. Spring being come, the execution of this affair was, out of envy to *Barbarossa*, much opposed in council by the *Wazîr*; who said, he saw no reason why the state was put to such an expence, but to serve the admiral's turn. However, *Barbarossa* having with incredible diligence fitted up one hundred and ten gallies and forty galleons, by *Soleymân's* order, he departed from *Constantinople* with the *French* ambassador.

A. D.

1542.

A. D.

1543.

\* CANT. p. 206, & seq.

(F) *Strigonium*, or *Gran*.

(H) One of the twenty-eight

(G) *Alba Regalis*, called, by the *Germans*, *Stul Weissenburg*. gates of *Constantinople*, looking towards *Sylivri*. Cant.

Cant.

As

A. D.

1543.

takes  
Rhegio ;

As soon as he arrived in the *Fare of Messina*, the *Turkish* pirates, being come with their galliots in sight of *Rhegio*, began to land their men. This made the people leave the city : but *Gaietano*, a *Spaniard*, who kept the castle, with his guns killed some *Turks* ; whereupon the rest breaking into the town, fired it, to the great displeasure of *Barbarossa*, as well as the *French* ambassador. After this, the *Turks* landing some cannon, with a few shot so terrified the commander, that he presently gave up the place. However, he was set at liberty, with his wife and children ; excepting one daughter, of exceeding beauty, with whom *Barbarossa* was so enamoured that he took her to wife. The place was plundered by the soldiers ; and seventy *Spaniards*, of whom the garrison consisted, with many more citizens, were made captives. The *Turkish* admiral after this, sailing along the coast of *Italy*, came to *Ostia*, at the mouth of the *Tibur* ; which so terrified the *Romans*, that the ambassador's letter to cardinal *Rudolpho*, the pope's legate, to assure them of their safety, could scarce keep them from forsaking the city.

besieges  
Nice ;

*BARBAROSSA* being arrived at *Marseilles*, lay there a long time, fretting to see that the *French* let the season slip without entering upon action. At last, being joined by several *French* ships and 8000 land forces, he had orders to besiege *Nice*, in *Provence*, then under the duke of *Savoy* ; which, after repulsing the *Turks* at one breach, were so terrified with a fresh battery, raised by the *Turkish* admiral, that the citizens agreed to surrender to the *French* ; by which means the *Janizaries*, being disappointed of the plunder, would have slain the ambassador, as the occasion of it, could they have done it conveniently. They had presently after a new cause of resentment : for they had not sat-down long before the castle, when the *French* sent to borrow powder and shot, their own being all out. This so enraged *Barbarossa*, that he threatened to lay hands on *Polinus*, and was in the mind to have returned home : but he was scarce pacified, when a letter from *Vasfi*, to *Paul*, the governor, being intercepted, promising relief within two days, they raised the siege : however, the *Turks* first broke-into the city, plundered it, and then set it on fire.

suns  
Doria ;

*BARBAROSSA* being come to an anchor at the isle of *Lerina*, or *Margarita*, news was brought that *Doria* with his fleet lay at *Villa Franca* ; and as he had lost four gallies in the storm, *Polinus* sent to advise the *Turkish* admiral to fall on him. The latter making no great haste thither,

\* RICAUT, ubi supr.

his

his officers, by way of sneer, said, he had reason to deal kindly with his brother *Doria*, in return for letting him escape at *Hippo*: but *Barbarossa's* answer always was, that *he being an old commander, and half-blind, saw more into the matter than all those green captains with their sharp sight*. Not long after, failing to *Thoulon*, he sent out twenty-five galleys under *Salek* and *Hassan*, his kinsmen; who, after pillaging some maritime towns of *Spain*, went and wintered at *Algiers*. While *Barbarossa* refitted his fleet at *Thoulon* for the service of the following spring, *Doria*, under pretence of redeeming prisoners, supplied him with some necessaries, although his enemy, for fear he should commit any hostilities against the territories of *Genoa*.

*BARBAROSSA*, weary of lying so long idle in *Provence*, requested of the king of *France*, that he might have leave either to depart or ravage the coasts of *Spain*: but *France*, unwilling to grant the latter request, bestowed on him, in lieu of the *Turks* who were dead, all the *Mohammedan* slaves in his galleys, amounting to four hundred, with store of provision, and other presents. After this the *Turkish* admiral departed from *Thoulon*; and, coming to the isle of *Elba*, belonging to the duke of *Florence*, demanded, of the governor *Appiano*, the son of his old friend *Sinan* the Jew, who was kept a prisoner there. The governor answered, that the young man being turned *Christian*, he could by no means do it; but that, for his sake, he would use him as his own son. *Barbarossa*, not satisfied with this apology, landed his men, and committing great spoil, had the captive delivered-up. But the son's liberty proved his father's death: for, overcome with joy at the unexpected sight of him, he fainted away in embracing him, and died.

THE admiral, failing from *Elba*, landed first at *Telaman*, and then at *Porto Hercule*; which city he burnt. He afterwards ravaged the isles of *Gigio* and *Ischia*; burnt the three chief towns of the latter, and carried away abundance of people from both. Then he endeavoured to take *Puteoli*; but was prevented by the approach of succours from *Naples*. He had better success at the isle of *Lipari*, which he laid waste; then burnt the town, and carried-off about seven thousand prisoners to *Constantinople*; where he was honourably received, and applauded by *Soleyman*. He performed no other expedition after this till his death (I), which happened in 1547.

\* *RICAUT*. ubi supr.

(I) He was buried at his house called *Beyziktaş*, near the *Thracian Bosphorus*, about four miles from *Pera*: and, to render his burying-place famous, he built there a mosque at his own charge,

A. D.

1543.

Ferdi-  
nand's  
forces

enter

Hungary;

besiege  
Pest:

LET us now, in the second place, take a review of the war in *Hungary*. As king *Ferdinand* could not chuse but be much alarmed at the answer given his ambaffador at the *Porte*, as before-mentioned, the princes and states of *Germany*, at his request, unanimously resolved to take-up arms, for recovering *Buda*, and other places of *Hungary*, from the *Turks*. To this end they raised thirty thousand foot and seven thousand horse, under the command of *Joachim*, marquis of *Brandenburgh*. They were joined at *Vienna* by *Ferdinand's* forces, ten thousand horse out of *Stiria*, fifteen thousand *Hungarian* horse, and three thousand choice *Italian* foot, sent by pope *Paul III.* and conducted by *Alessandro Vitellio*. The marquis setting-out, marched so slowly along the *Danube*, that his officers said, the summer would be spent before he could enter upon action. At length, being come to *Gran*, it was reported, that *Soleymán* was on his march with a great army towards *Hungary*: but this report being contradicted by his spies sent to *Semendria*, who brought word, that not above three thousand *Turks* were arrived at *Buda*, and that the enemy's fleet was not much inferior to the king's, they were encouraged to march on to that city: but the general, contrary to the opinion of his officers, would needs pass the *Danube*, and take *Pest* first, which would facilitate the reduction of *Buda*. At the same time *Medicis*, an *Italian*, admiral of the fleet, came down the river, and forced the *Turks* out of the isle of *St. Margaret's*, lying a little above that city.

THE marquis being set down before *Pest*, the *Turks* made several sallies; in one of which *Vitellio*, feigning to retreat, drew the *Turks* after him; while *Perenus*, getting between them and the city with his light horse, five hundred of them were slain. The Christians, elated with this little victory, presently raised their batteries; and, having made a breach, four *Italian* companies, led by *Vitellio*, ran bravely to attack it; but, not being assisted by either the *Germans* or *Hungarians*, they were forced to make a disorderly retreat, after the loss of seven hundred men. No less dejected with this ill success, it was debated, whether they should raise the siege or not: but while they stood divided in their opinions, a false report, that *Ahmed* was advancing against them with the *European* horse, determined them to march-off. But before they put this resolution in execution, the enemy sallied, and skirmished with the *Hungarians*. Here it happened that a remarkable commander among the *Turks* desired to see *Vitellio*; who being shewed to him, he ran and embraced him out of respect, and then went-off again.

\* RICAUT, ubi supr.



THE night following, the *Turks* perceiving the army moving-off towards the fleet, they sallied on every side out of the city, and, upbraiding them with cowardice, closely pursued their rear. Nay, *Ulemas*, governor of *Buda*, passing the river, so eagerly followed them, that they must have suffered much, had not *Vitellio* with his *Italians* made a bold stand, and prevailed on the *German* as well as *Hungarian* horse to turn upon the enemy; who by that means were routed, and in the pursuit many of them slain. After this the army retreated without molestation; but seven hundred *Germans*, who were sick and straggled behind, were slain in their fight by the *Turkish* horse. When they arrived at *Vienna* they were disbanded: but, to cover the shame of this unfortunate expedition, and divert the discourse of people another way, the noble *Peter Perenus*, one of the greatest lords of *Hungary*, was, upon a pretended suspicion of aspiring to the crown of *Hungary*, seized for a traitor by *Ferdinand's* order, and doomed to a perpetual prison.

*SOLEYMAN* being by this time arrived in the country, *Gran* beset *Morâd*, governor of *Dalmatia*, and *Ulemas*, the *Persian*, sieged; to besiege *Walpo*; which was delivered-up by the garrison; who, as a reward of their treachery, were all put to the sword, while the general was treated with much courtesy by the *Turks*. *Pecz*, or the *Five-churches*, also, and *Siclos* were quickly yielded; the garrison of which last place were all put to death, because they did not submit sooner. The *Soltân*, informed of these successes, marched from *Buda* to besiege *Gran*, then governed by two proud *Spaniards*, *Liscanus* and *Salamanca*; who, being summoned, boasted of their courage and fidelity. Mean time the *Turks* planted their batteries against the weakest parts of the wall, which had been shewed them, and made a large breach; but were bravely repulsed in three assaults. However, the two *Spanish* commanders fearing the event of the siege, it was resolved to surrender the city. To this end *Salamanca*, with the approbation of the officers, although the soldiers were against it, went to the *Turkish* camp, and in his way commanded those who defended the water-tower to withdraw for their safety into the city. The soldiers, frightened at this order, retired with such precipitation, that the vigilant *Turks* broke-in before they had all gotten out, slew those whom they found there, and possessed the castle. *Salamanca*, being brought before *Ahmed*, insisted on high terms; but could obtain no better than to surrender at discretion. This being signified by letter to *Liscanus*, he delivered up the city, and the *Turks* entered peaceably. But when the garrison was come to *Prefburgh*, basely sur-  
rendered.

A. D.

1543.

obliged to  
retreat.

A. D.

1543.

A. D.

1543.

Siege of  
Alba Regalis.

*burgh*, the two governors, with some other officers, were arrested, on suspicion of treason.

*SOLEYMAN* entered *Gran* on the 10th of *August*, and converted the Christian churches into *Mohammedan* temples. Then, fortifying the city, he went and razed the castle of *Tatta*, which surrendered to him. From hence he proceeded to *Alba Regalis*; so called, because there the antient kings of *Hungary* were crowned and buried. This city is seated in the middle of a lake or marsh, and approached by three very broad causeys, with fair houses and gardens on each side. It is surrounded also with strong walls, and a deep ditch filled with water, which makes it difficult to be besieged. On the enemy's approach, *Barcotius*, the chief commander, would have had the suburbs destroyed; but the citizens would not consent, as thinking them defensible. As soon as the *Turks*, with their multitudes, began to surround the place, five hundred *Hussars* (K), who were in garrison, not used to be cooped-up, departed out of the town in the night. Mean time the *Turks*, by the continual firing of their cannon, battered-down the planks and timber which kept-in the sandy mold, whereof the fortress was built: afterwards, having, with incredible labour, in twelve days time, filled-up the ditches and lake, they assaulted the bulwark of the suburbs towards *Buda*; and, being continually relieved, at last gained it.

The city  
yielded.

ON this occasion the very women and religious gave a helping hand. Among the rest, a tall *Hungarian* amazon, thrusting among the soldiers to the top of the *Italian* fort, which still held-out, with a great scythe, at one blow, struck-off the heads of two *Turks*, who were climbing-up the rampiers. That day, being the 25th of *August*, the *Turks* could penetrate no farther; but soon after, making another assault, they, by favour of a mist, got to the top of the rampiers before they were perceived by the besieged. In fine, they won the suburbs, and the people fled; but the draw-bridge being pulled-up, and the gate exceeding small which led into the city, great numbers of them were slain, and among the rest general *Borcatius*, whose head and hand, being cut-off, were shewed about by the enemy on the point of a spear. Hereupon the magistrates surrendered the place upon articles, and the soldiers in garrison retired to *Vienna*. *Soleymān* after this entered into *Alba Regalis*: and, notwithstanding his procla-

(K) These were *Hungarian* called by the infamous name of horse, who, our author says, *Hussars*.  
lived by robbing, and were

mation,

mation, that the *Hungarians* had nothing to fear, within three days, ordered the principal citizens to be slain: altho' some will have it, that he only put to death those who bore offices at the time when they revolted from the young king to *Ferdinand*. However that be, he soon after returned to his capital, leaving the *Tartars* to ravage the country. At length, in 1547, a peace was made between the emperor *Charles V.* and *Soleymân*, for five years, wherein king *Ferdinand* was likewise included\*. Thus far the Christian historians.

A. D.

1547.

## S E C T. III.

*Expedition to Persia, India, and Africa, with the siege of Malta.*

IN 954, *Alkasib Mirza* (A), being greatly injured by the *Alkasib Persians* (B), flies to the *Soltân*, and shews how he might subdue all *Persia*, offering to conduct the forces himself. *Soleymân*, persuaded by his discourses, supplies him with a large sum of money, to raise an army for recovering his dominions (C); and, early in the spring, moves himself towards *Persia* with numerous forces. In this march he is met by his sons *Bâ-yezîd*, governor of *Ikonium*, and *Mostafa*, governor of *Amasia*; who, having kissed their father's hand, are sent-back (D) to their governments. Being entered into *Azerbejdân*, *Soltân Burhân* (E), descended from the antient kings of *Shîrwan*, surrenders both himself and territories to him. Presently after he commits the custody of *Tîbris* to *Alkasib Mirza*: who, seeing himself neither able to do any

Hej. 954.

A. D.

1547.

A. D.

1548.

\* RICAUT, ubi supr.

(A) In the annals of the *Soltâns* he is called *Erkases Imirza*, by some mistake; and is said to be the *Shâb's* brother, as well as king of *Sbiruân*.

(B) They say his wife was ravished by the king of *Persia*. Cant.

(C) The name of which is not mentioned by the *Turks*; nor can we find it elsewhere. Cant.

(D) Some *Turkish* chronographers say, that *Soleymân* was told, his sons were come to dethrone him: but that, as for

his reputation sake, he did not care to stain his hands with his own blood, he commanded them to return home: yet, afterwards, on a fuller discovery, he put *Mostafa* to death, as will appear by the sequel. Cant.

(E) It signifies demonstrative; but turned into a proper name, it denotes something strong, and, as it were, invincible. Such names, once frequent among the *Turks*, are now almost quite disused. Cant.

thing,

A. D.  
1548.

thing, nor safe from the attacks of the *Persians*, demolishes the palaces of the *Sháh*, and retires with his forces to the imperial camp, which was now before *Ván*. *Soleymán* with this additional strength makes a vigorous assault; whereupon the besieged, on the 19th of *Rajeb*, on condition of having their lives, surrender this strong and noble city. Hence he leads his forces to *Amzeh*, where he surprises and routs part of the *Persian* army.

seizes the  
treasures;

MEAN time, being informed by his spies, that the *Sháh's* immense treasures lay weakly guarded in the cities of *Ispáhán*, *Kashán*, and *Kamid* (F), he sends *Alkasib Mirza*, with some light-armed troops, to seize them. The *Mirza* executed his orders so well, that routing the guards, little expecting his coming, he got possession of the riches; and, after destroying the adjacent country, returns laden with spoil. With part of the prey he obtains, of the covetous *Wazir Aziz Allah*, to be made associate with the governor of *Bághdá*. When he comes there, he repents of having deserted the *Persians*, and sends private letters to the *Sháh*; in which he begs pardon, promising for the future to be faithful to him, and a diligent spy upon the motions of the *Turks*. His colleague *Mehemed Páshá*, no less watchful of his actions, quickly accuses him to *Soleymán*, and receives orders to send him in irons to the *Porte*.

flies to  
Georgia.

BUT before the order arrived, he was informed of what was transacting by some friends, made with *Persian* money; and, as there was no other way to escape, flies into *Gurjistán* (G). The *Georgians* about a year before had surprised *Mostafa Páshá*, governor of those parts, when little suspecting such perfidiousness; and cut his whole army in pieces. To revenge these deeds, *Mehemed Páshá* is sent with a good body of troops into *Gurjistán*; where, after several battles fought with various success, he at last intirely routs all the enemy's forces. This done, he takes and razes seven of their strongest castles; after which he withdraws to winter in *Di-yárbekr*. Early in the spring he re-enters the country, and, meeting no opposition, reduces above twenty cities; then,

A. D.  
1549.

(F) It may be the city called *Kom*. Cant.

(G) The *Turkish* annals say, that *Tahmasp* having ordered his subjects to retire with their effects into the mountains, the *Turks* were so incensed against the *Mirza*, for being balked of

spoil, that filling his head with apprehensions of danger from *Soleymán*, he fled to one of the princes of *Kaldea* (or *Irak Arabi*), who, having delivered him up to *Tahmasp*, he was put to death by his order.

placing

placing garrisons in the fortresses, and establishing the provinces in the *Soltân's* obedience, he returns to *Constantinople*.

A. D.

1550.

WE are now called to see what is doing in *Africa*. When *Barbarossa* was sent with a fleet to assist the king of *France*, *Muley Hassan*, king of *Tunis*, fearing that fleet was prepared against him, passed over to *Naples*, with a design to go meet the emperor at *Genoa*, and crave his farther protection. But while he staid there, advice coming that his son *Amîd*, who had been left to defend the coast with the men of war, had usurped the kingdom; he with one thousand eight hundred *Italians*, the refuse of jails, headed by one *Giovanni Battista Lofredi*, immediately put to sea; and, landing at the *Gulletta*, by the persuasion of some traitors, marched to *Tunis*, with his small forces; which with their leader were all slain, excepting five hundred, and *Muley Hassan* taken, whose eyes were put out. *Tonarres*, governor of the *Gulletta*, judging the emperor injured by *Amîd's* seizing the throne without his consent, sent for *Abdo'l Mâlek*, a natural son of *Muley Hassan*, who, repairing to *Tunis* in the absence of *Amîd*, was, by favour of his veil, mistaken for him, and admitted into the castle by the governor. But this new king dying, when he had scarce reigned one month, *Mohammed*, his son, but twelve years old, was advanced in his room, under the direction of three governors, who ruled at pleasure. Of them *Muley Hassan* obtained leave to retire to the *Gulletta*; and thus very luckily escaped the bloody hands of his son *Amîd*: who, soon after, was invited by the citizens, weary of the evil government of the triumvirs; and, entering into *Tunis* without opposition, put all his enemies to death with the utmost cruelty.

*Revolution in Tunis.*

*Amîd usurps.*

THUS things remained till the year 1550, when *Dragut Rais*, a notable *Turkish* pirate, having surprised the cities of *Africa*, and *Mohammedia*, in the kingdom of *Tunis*, from thence much infested the Christians, both by sea and land. Of this daily complaints being made to the emperor *Charles*, he sent *Doria*, assisted by the knights of *Malta*, with a strong fleet and army, to besiege the city of *Africa*; which they took by storm the 10th of *September*; and, having razed it to the ground, ravaged the neighbouring coasts, and returned. *Dragut*, provoked with this loss, excited *Soley mân* to make war on the emperor and king *Ferdinand*, although the five years truce was not yet expired. Accordingly, in the following spring, the *Soltân* furnished *Dragut* with one hundred and forty sail, commanded in chief by *Sinân Pâsha*; who

A. D.

1550.

A. D.

1552.

\* CANT. p. 207, & seqq.

A. D. suddenly took and sacked the castle of *Augusta*, in *Sicily*.  
 1552. They then landed in *Malta*; where having battered the castles  
 of *Manet* and *St. Paul*, to no purpose, they failed to the  
 little isle of *Goza*, five miles distant; which they ravaged,  
 and carried-off 6,300 people into slavery <sup>b</sup>.

Tripoli  
taken

THIS done they passed over for *Tripoli*, in *Barbary*, be-  
 stowed also on the knights of *Malta* by the emperor; and in  
*August* closely besieged that city. They carried on their ap-  
 proaches so expeditiously, that they planted a battery within  
 150 paces of the wall; in which they made a large breach  
 even with the ditch: but the besieged repaired it so well in  
 the night, that there was no assaulting it. At length having,  
 by the direction of a *French* deserter, battered a place which  
 could not well be repaired, the soldiers were so terrified, that  
 they obliged the governor *Vallier* to capitulate; and all that  
 two knights sent for this purpose could obtain from the *Pashâ*,  
 was a promise of liberty. Upon this the place surren-  
 dered on the 15th of the same month, and the castle next  
 day: but *Sinân*, instead of keeping the articles, though he  
 twice swore to them, took from the garrison both their effects  
 and liberty. Nor could *Arramont*, the *French* ambassador,  
 prevail on him to release more than 230 of the least useful:  
 he also insisted for a while on being paid the charges of the  
 war. They dealt barbarously by poor *John De Chabas*, gun-  
 ner of the castle, who, during the siege, happened to shoot-  
 off the hand of the chief clerk of the army: for, after cutting-  
 off his hands and nose, they set him into a hole up to the  
 middle, and then shooting at him with arrows, at last cut his  
 throat <sup>c</sup>.

Temes-  
war re-  
duced.

THE affairs of the east being thus settled, *Soleymân* thinks  
 of enlarging his dominions to the west. To this end *Mehemed*  
*Pashâ*, *Beglerbeg* of *Rûm-eli*, is sent with the *European* army  
 to take *Temisbwar* (or *Temesvár*), the strongest city in all  
*Hungary*. The *Pashâ*, having made himself master of the  
 neighbouring towns *Bachi*, *Buchghergi*, *Ratzu*, and *Chendd* (H),  
 lays close siege to the city: but an army coming to its relief,  
 superior to his own, he sends to court for a speedy supply.  
 Hereupon the prime *Wazîr*, *Mahmûd Pashâ*, hastens, with  
 the rest of the *Othmân* forces, to his assistance. Thus strength-  
 ened, he routs the enemy; and then, taking the city by  
 storm, annexes to the empire the whole territory of *Temisb-*

<sup>b</sup> RICAUT. in *Soleymân*.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

(H) Cities, as it seems, lying between the *Danube* and *Savus*; which country is called by the  
*Turks* *Bûcha Ovasi*. Cant.

war, almost as large as a *Beglerbeglik*; the custody of which he commits to *Kasîm Pasbâ* (I), with a good garrison<sup>d</sup>. A. D. 1553.

THE Christian historians say, that this city was taken by *Abmed* before-mentioned, and *Ali, Pasbâ* of *Buda*; and that, contrary to their faith, they put the garrison to the sword. They tell us also, that the same generals took the castle of *Zolnuk*, but failed in their attempt upon *Ersam*; as *Ali* did next year in the siege of *Agria*, having been obliged to raise it, with the loss of 6000 men: but that *Soleymân*, at the solicitation of *Arramont*, ambassador from *Henry II. of France*, in 1553 sent a fleet into the *Tyrrhenian* sea; which did great harm upon the coast of *Italy* and the islands of the *Mediterranean*. To this let us add, that, the same year, *Isabella*, not being able to defend herself against the incroachments of the *Turks* in *Transilvania*, surrendered that province to *Ferdinand*, and so retired into *Poland*<sup>c</sup>. Zolnuk yielded. A. D. 1553.

MEAN time the *Othmân* affairs are not so prosperous in *Asia*. *Shâh Ismaël*, son of *Tomasib* (K), after the departure of the *Musulman* army (L), enters the *Soltân's* dominions, and suddenly takes *Ardîsb* and *Aglass* (M); putting to the sword all the *Turks* he could find in those cities. Hereupon *Iskander Pasbâ* is sent with good part of the *Asiatic* forces, to oppose the *Shâh*: but being met by him is routed, with the slaughter of the greater part of his men. Thus fortune smiled on the *Persians* in lesser battles, only to shew them her sting in greater: for *Soleymân* having ordered the prime *Wazîr Mehmed Pasbâ*, with what army he had ready, to winter about *Takâd* (N), in *Ramâzân*, 960, joins him near a place called *Arkileh* (O), with the rest of his forces. Here The Shâh takes Ar- jis.

Hej. 960.

A. D.

1553.

a CANT. p. 209.

\* RICAUT. ubi supr.

(I) A famous *Turkish* general, afterwards *Wazîr*, who founded, or enlarged, the new colony at *Gakata*, where are now the magazines, and called it after his own name. CANT.

(K) It ought to be *Shâh Tomasib* (rather *Tabmâsib*, or *Tabmâsî*, as the *Persians* write and pronounce it), son of *Ismaïl*: for *Tabmâsî* reigned 53 years, dying in 1576.

(L) As if the *Persians* were not *Musulmans*, or true believers, on account of their dissent-

ing from them in a few circumstantial matters.

(M) A town on the borders of *Shirvân*, in maps corruptly called *Ergîsb* and *Elata*. CANT. They are rightly called *Arjîsb* and *Aklât*, or *Khalât*, as written in some maps, and lie above 300 miles from *Shirvân*, to the north of the lake of *Wân*.

(N) A city of *Anatolia*, not far from *Amasia*; according to some, the ancient *Eudocia*. CANT.

(O) Or *Eregli*, in the road from *Koniya*, or *Ikenium*, to *Hâlep*.

A. D.  
1533.

he receives certain information, that his son *Mostafa* (P), who, on suspicion, had been confined the year before, was engaged in a plot against his life; and after finding the thing to be true, orders him to be strangled. When he was come to *Hâlep*, *Jehân Ghîr* (Q), another of his sons, departed this life: after which, he commanded his eldest son *Seltm* to winter with his forces in *Marâsh* <sup>t</sup>.

*Mostafa*,  
*Soley-*  
*mân's son,*

THE Christian historians speak of this *Mostafa*, as a young prince of great endowments; and ascribe his death to the intrigues of a lady of the seray, or seraglio, whom they call *Roxolana*. They say, that, in order to procure the succession for one of her four sons, she first, by artifice, prevailed on the *Soltân* to marry her, and then attempted to make *Mostafa* away by poison: but that, failing in her design, she began to accuse him to *Soleyman* of rebellious practices; shewing letters sent from her creatures, who watched his motions, and among the rest one from the *Pasbâ*, who had the government of the prince, and the province of *Amasia*, with intimations of a report, that he was contracted to the king of *Persia's* daughter: that these suspicions being confirmed by the subtilty of the grand *Wazîr Rustan*, *Roxolana's* son-in-law, *Soleyman* at length gave into them; and, with an intent to put him to death, sent for him to attend him in the camp: that *Mostafa*, depending on his innocence, went; but, on entering his father's tent, was seized by seven mutes, who strangled him, while *Soleyman*, from behind a curtain, with frowns, and other threatening signs, urged them to dispatch him. The same authors add, that his dead body being shewed to his brother *Jehân Ghîr*, who was very crooked; that prince, who loved *Mostafa* extremely, after reproaching his father with cruelty, stabbed himself, and died on the spot: that

put to  
death.

<sup>t</sup> CANT. p. 210.

(P) A fourth son of *Soleyman*, who was said to have excited all his brothers against their father. The *Turks* say, the *Soltân* suffered them to go unpunished for a year, in hopes of their repentance: but perceiving their obstinacy, caused only *Mostafa* to be strangled, as author of the rebellion. *Jehân Ghîr* also, by some, is thought to have been poisoned by his order. After these rebellions,

*Soleyman* made a law, that the sons of the emperors should not have any government, but be detained in the royal city; and tho' since this law some are reported to have had *Sanjâks*, yet it is never so now. Cant.

(Q) That is, bearer of the world; so called by his father, as being so humped, that a globe seemed to be placed on his back. Cant.

this



this execution was succeeded by a mutiny of the soldiers who accompanied *Mostafa*, in which 2000 men were slain: and that the *Janizaries*, when they came to know of his death, with a great noise, and their swords drawn, broke into the tent of *Soleymân*; who had much ado to appease them, by depriving *Rustân* of his employments. But to return to the *Persian* war §.

A. D.  
1554.

AT length, in the year 961, *Soleymân*, entering *Shîrwân*, *Persia* is-  
sends a herald to the *Shâh* (R) to tell him he is ready for bat-  
tle, and challenges him into the field. But the *Persian* an-  
swering neither by words nor deeds, he besieges *Revân* (S),  
his regal seat; and, taking it in a few days, destroys the royal  
gardens, palaces, and country-houses; then sets fire to the city  
itself, the glory of all *Persia*. After this, he leads his forces  
to *Nahjivân* (T); and, by the conduct of *Soltân Huseyn* (U),  
lays waste all the province between *Tibris* and *Marâghe* (X),  
utterly destroying the cities, towns, and villages, with fire  
and sword. Having taken this severe revenge of the *Persians*,  
he, at the approach of winter, sends his forces into quarters  
about *Amasia*. Next spring, *Shâh Kuli Soltân* (Y) comes to  
him near *Arzerûm* (Z), imploring his protection. From  
thence

Hej. 961.  
A. D.  
1554.

Peace con-  
cluded.

§ BUSBEQUIUS's Embassy, l. 3. RICAUT.

(R) The *Turks* are forbidden by their law, to wage war without acquainting the enemy of their coming. If this does not bring them to reason, they think themselves innocent of the blood that may be shed—but they do not always observe this rule, Cant.

(S) A famous city of *Persia*, corruptly written in the maps *Ervan*. Cant. The author mistakes, *Ervân*, or *Irvân*, is no corruption. It may also be written *Revân*, or *Rivan*, and *Irvân*.

(T) Corruptly in the maps *Nab Schuan*. Cant. This is indeed a corruption, but we know of no maps which have it. It is written in maps *Nakfiwan* and *Nakchuan*. The *Arabs* write *Nakbjowân*.

(U) He seems to have been one of the *Persian* princes, who frequently at that time submitted to the *Ottomân* dominion, Cant.

(X) Corruptly in maps *Marraga*. Cant. *Marâghe* is the true name. They are his *Turkish* authors, who have made the corruptions: for the *Turks* are not near so correct in writing proper names as the *Arabs* and *Persians*.

(Y) One of the *Persian* revolvers, famous only for music; there are still extant most elegant airs of his. Cant.

(Z) That is, Grecian, or European land: for the *Turks* call whatever lies west of *Arzerûm*, with all *Anadol*, or *Asia Minor*, parts of *Europe*. It is the capital of *Armenia Major*. Cant. *Ar-*

A. D. 1554. thence he marched to *Baghdâd*, where he received ambassadors from the *Persian* king, humbly suing for peace; which at length is concluded, and in virtue thereof the cities of *Van*, *Marâsh*, and *Mosul*, are made the boundaries of the *Othmân* empire.

*A pretender taken.* WHILE *Soleyman* was thus employed in *Asia*, a certain impostor appeared in *Dobrujeh* (A), under the name of *Soltân Mostafa* (B); who, getting together 40 dissolute men, had cruelly laid waste not only this, but all the neighbouring provinces. But before this pretender, by reason of the distance, could be restrained by the *Soltân*, *Bâ-yezîd*, his sixth son, by an admirable stratagem, drew him into a snare, and sent him in chains to his father; who was about to dispatch *Mostafa Pashâ* with an army to oppose him (C).

*Falsè Mostafa.* THE Christian writers give a very different account of this affair. They tell us, that this false *Mostafa* was set-up by *Bâ-yezîd* himself, to try his strength against his brother *Selim*; from whom, by his mother's liking, he wanted to wrest the succession to the empire: that *Portân Pashâ* being sent with forces against the impostor, he was deserted by his followers, and taken with some others; and that, having on the wreck confessed the designs of *Bâ-yezîd*, they were all drowned in the sea: but that *Bâ-yezîd* was pardoned by the intreaties of *Roxelana*.

*France assisted.* ABOUT this time a war being kindled between the kings of *Spain* and *France*; the latter, much pressed by his enemies, desired the aid of a second fleet, which *Soleyman* sends under the command of *Karli Ali Beg* (D): who, finding no opposition at sea, ravages the coasts of *Spain* (E), and carries-off

*xerûm* signifies *Grecian*, or rather *Roman land*, not *European*: nor do the *Turks* call the country to the west of that city, part of *Europe*, but part of *Rûm*, or rather the country of *Romans*; whose empire extended in *Asia*, as well as *Europe*.

(A) A plain country on this side *Mount Hæmus*, extending along the *Danube* from *Drissa*, in *Walakhia*, to the mouth of that river. The inhabitants, called *Cbitaki*, originally *Turks*, entertain travellers with almost unparalleled hospitality. *Cant.*

(B) Doubtless the son of *Soleyman*, lately strangled.

(C) Surely from this, and other circumstances, this pretender must have had some thousand men instead of forty.

(D) From the name of *Karli*, he seems to have been some renegado Christian.

(E) The Christian historians say, that the *Turkish* fleet this year did great harm on the coast of *Calabria* and *Sicily*: that the *Venetian* admiral ravaged it in revenge for rising some of the republic's merchant ships; and, having done them much damage, ransacked *Durazzo*, then in the hands of the *Turks*.

the

the inhabitants. The *Spaniards*, to put a stop to his progress, recal their troops; by which means the *French*, commanded by *Korbon* (F), gain a complete victory; slaying 40,000 of the enemy on the spot.

*SOLEYMAN*, encouraged by this success, sends another *Ormûz* fleet to *Hurmiuz* (G), under the conduct of *Peri Reis*; who, having plundered all the maritime provinces of that kingdom, returns laden with spoils to *Constantinople*: but being pursued and attacked by the enemy's fleet, whilst he negligently sailed along the *Egyptian* sea, his scattered ships were partly sunk and partly taken, especially those laden with the plunder. Some of the lightest vessels escaped, in one of which was *Seyd Ali Kapudân*; who, gathering his dispersed ships, re-attacks the enemy's fleet sailing-back in disorder, and, by a strange turn of fortune, gets the advantage, sinking several of their vessels. At the same time, *Toygun Pasbâ*, *Beglerbeg* of *Buda*, with his forces, took three cities (H) from the Christians, and carried-away numberless captives. On the other hand, the governor of *Jezayr* (I), *Salih Pasbâ*, subdued *Bijaneh* (K), and three other castles in *Spain*.

(F) He seems to have been *Charles* duke of *Bourbon*, general of the emperor's army, to whom he revolted from the *French*. But as neither the *German* nor *French* annals mention this battle, I take it to be a fiction of the *French*, to induce *Soleyman* the more easily to assist them; an artifice I have known them use at *Constantinople* in my time. *Cant.*

(G) The name of *Hurmiuz* (rather *Harmûz*), is by the *Turks* given to the island of *Ormûz* and *Portugal*, with the seas belonging to those countries, because pearls are found there, called by the *Turks* *Hurmiuz*.—I should think the *Persian* gulf was here meant, if it was not said, that the fleet returned towards *Constantinople*; which could not be done but by sailing all round *Africa*, a thing never yet performed by the

*Turks*. *Cant.* This passage is to be understood of the island *Harmûz*, and perhaps the adjacent country of *Persia* (formerly part of the kingdom of *Harmûz*), rather than the sea of *Harmûz*. As for the fleet being said to return towards *Constantinople*, so it did, in passing up the *Red Sea* to *Savix* or *Sues*. But pearls are called *Harmûz* from the island, not the island from pearls.

(H) Of these three towns the names do not occur. *Cant.* Perhaps the passage in the text has reference to the taking of *Buboxa* hereafter mentioned.

(I) Or with the article *Al Jezair* (that is, the island or peninsula), called in maps *Algiers*. *Cant.*

(K) Perhaps *Nizza*, a castle in *Piedmont*; which the *French*, aided by the *Turkish* forces, took about that time.

A. D.

1555.

France

assisted.

Hej. 963.

A. D.

1555.

System of  
laws.Great pre-  
parations.

*FRANCHA Padişbâhi*, not succeeding against the *Spaniards* according to his wish, desires a third fleet to be sent to his assistance. *Soleymân* rejoicing that he could break one egg with another, without hurting his own hands, readily grants his request, and sends *Kapudân Pîâla Paşâ* (L), with a great fleet, to join the *French*; who take *Misîna*, *Rîja*, and *Marioka* (M), with three lesser neighbouring isles (N); and, laying waste all the coasts of *Apulia* (O), returns in autumn with great spoils.

THE *Othmân* empire being thus strengthened on every side, *Soleymân* gives his army respite, and spends almost ten years in regulating civil affairs. His first care was to finish the *Jâmi* founded by him three years before; which he does in so beautiful a manner, that, excepting *Sancta Sophia*, there is not, it is thought, the like in the world, and calls it by his own name *Soleymâniyeh* (P). After this, perceiving many things to be performed irregularly, as well in the court as out of it, and that the confused degrees of offices begat contention among his officers, he makes new regulations both civil and military (Q); assigning to every one his rank at court, in the city, and in the army.

THIS new system of laws prepared the way to greater designs. *Soleymân* had discovered by his former expeditions, that the *German* empire was too powerful, and its barriers too strong to be thrown down, without greater preparations, and longer time to effect it. He therefore makes the greatest warlike preparations, and replenishes his exhausted treasures<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>b</sup> CANT. p. 211—215.

(L) A famous *Turkish* high-admiral; whose market-place and *Jâmi* still exist in *Constantinople*. Cant.

(M) That is *Messina*, *Regium Julium* (or *Reggio*), in *Calabria*, and *Majorka*; the two first are, by a common mistake of the *Turks*, placed by them in *Spain*. Cant.

(N) Perhaps *Minorca*, *Yvica*, and *Formentera* (or *Fromentera*). Cant.

(O) The Christian historians only say, that, in the year 1555, the admiral *Paşâ*, having recovered his strength after the damage received the year before, surprised the isles of *Blam-*

*bis* and *Elba*, belonging to the duke of *Florence*; but mention nothing of the loss of *Messina*, &c.

(P) This temple stands on a high hill, looking towards the harbour, and built with so much art and elegance, that no structure deserves to be compared to it, as I have heard affirmed, not only by *Turks*, but foreigners of several nations. Cant.

(Q) This book of laws is intitled, *Kanûn Nâmeb*, that is, *the book of rules*, or *regulations*; containing the expences of the *Turkish* government, and may be called *The State of the Othmân Empire*.

THIS

THIS is all which the *Turkish* authors, made use of by prince *Cantemir* (R), have given us to fill-up the space of ten years in the history of *Soleyman's* reign; during which time however there happened, according to the Christian writers, several transactions, some of equal moment with any before related under this *Soltân*.

A. D.

1557.

MUCH about the same time that the *Turkish* admiral seized the isles of *Blambis* and *Elba*, as hath been already set forth, *Ali Pasbâ* of *Buda*, surprised the strong castle of *Buboza*, in *Hungary*: but failing to do the like by *Sigeth*, he sat down before it next year, on the 30th of *June*, with a great army; who on the 20th won the out-walls: but, in storming the castle, were repulsed with the loss of 800 men. Then they endeavoured to fill up the marsh and ditch about the town, but to no purpose; yet, *July* the 12th, the *Pasbâ* made another assault, which continued for five days together, though without success. Hereupon he raised the siege on the 21st, yet returned six days after, and gave another assault as fruitless as the former; having in all lost 2000 men, and spent 10,000 shot. Nor was he more fortunate the next year in the siege of this place, which he was forced to raise on the approach of *Ferdinand's* army, under *Polcerher* and *Sirini*; who routed his army near *Boboza*. This, with the coming-down of new supplies under young *Ferdinand*, archduke of *Austria*, the king's son, so terrified the *Turks*, that they quitted *Boboza*, *Sammartin*, *San Laurence*, with several other small places, and fled to *Five Churches*, not without the loss of many in their retreat; and the governor of *Raab* burned the suburbs of *Alba Regalis*, carrying-off several thousands of the enemy's cattle.

Siege of  
Sigeth.

A. D.

1555.

A. D.

1556.

Raised  
with loss.

*BAYEZID*, the younger of *Soleyman's* two sons, who *Bâyezid's* were then alive, having been pardoned by the intercession of *Roxolana*, as before related, behaved very dutifully so long as his mother lived. But she dying, in 1557, he began to tamper with the soldiery; which the *Soltân* being informed of, he sent to put him in mind of his duty; and to place his sons more at a distance, both from himself and each other, ordered him to remove from *Kutayeh* to *Amasia*, and *Selim* from *Magnesia* to *Ikonium*. But *Bâ-yezid*, instead of removing, sought delays, and petitioned either to remain where he was, or have some province less distant than *Amasia* assigned him; especially as his brother was, by a new order, allowed

A. D.

1557.

(R) The *Tarikh al Othmân*, *manidarum*, ends at the year translated by *Gaudier* under the title of *Annales Sultânorum Oth-* 1550.

A. D.  
1559.  
against  
Selim :

to reside at *Purfa*, where he was daily contriving mischief against him. Upon this *Soleyman* sent over two *Pasbas* to see his sons settled in their respective provinces : but *Bâ-yezîd* still declining to obey, his father prepared to oblige him by force ; and, finding the *Janizaries* favoured his party, applied to the *Musti* for his opinion in the case ; which was, that both the man (for no person was named), and his accomplice deserved death. This sentence was published, and sent to *Bâ-yezîd* ; who, in answer, desired his father not to meddle in the quarrel between him and his brother ; intimating by the same hand, that, if he did, he knew how to destroy the country, and provide for his own safety.

defeated  
by him :

For all this he set-out towards *Amasia* ; and being gotten as far as *Ancyra*, *Selim* thought he might, without danger, repair to *Ikonium* ; which opening a passage to *Syria*, *Soleyman* took care should not fall into *Bâ-yezîd*'s hands. But that prince, having gathered a good force, by the resort of vagabonds, and some troops of *Kiurds*, resolving, if possible, to be master of that city, marched thither to attack *Selim* ; who was then joined by all his father's forces. The battle was very fierce ; and, though after 40,000 had fallen on both sides, *Bâ-yezîd* was forced to retreat, yet he did it leisurely, and in good order. This action, wherein a handful of men were engaged against a well-disciplined army ; supported by great artillery, procured *Bâ-yezîd* great reputation, and made *Soleyman*,

A. D.  
1559.

flies into  
Persia :

in June 1559, haste over into *Asia* : however he resolved not to remove far from the coast, fearing the *Janizaries* might revolt. Mean time, *Bâ-yezîd*, by letters, desired a reconciliation with his father ; who, dissembling resentment, seemed inclined to pardon him : but at the same time resolved to have him seized, and ordered the governors on the borders of *Persia* to prevent his escape. *Bâ-yezîd*, being informed of this design by his friends, set-out from *Amasia* with twenty followers ; and so well deceived the governors of *Siwâz* and *Arzerûm*, by setting them upon a false pursuit, that he got safely out of *Turky*, and was kindly entertained by *Shâh Tahmasp* ; who promised to reconcile him, if possible, with his father.

put to  
death.

For all this, in some time, the *Shâh*, whether with or without grounds is uncertain, grew jealous of him ; and, having dispersed his men in the villages about *Kasvin*, clapped him and his three sons up in prison. Of this an account being sent to *Soleyman*, continual messages passed between him

<sup>1</sup> RICAUT. ubi supr.

and *Tâhmaşş* about delivering him up : but finding the *Shâh* could not be brought to that condition, he resolved to try if he could get him made away with, by proposing to pay the charges which *Tâhmaşş* demanded for maintaining *Bâ-yezîd* and his men. To this end *Hassan Aga* and the *Pâşbâ* of *Marasş* were sent to *Persia* ; where after they had gone to prison to see the prince (whom they found in a miserable plight), that they might be sure of their prey, they struck the bargain ; upon which *Hassan*, being admitted a second time, strangled him, and three of his children, with his own hands. *Mohammed* the youngest, an infant, suffered the same fate at *Prusa*.

A. D.

1560.

THE knights of *Malta* having for some years solicited the pope, the *Spaniards*, and other powers, to assist them in recovering *Tripoli*, in *Barbary*, taken from them nine years before by the *Turks*, they, at length, obtained the desired succours, and in *February*, 1560, sailed for the isle of *Zerbi* (or *Jerbi*) ; and although *Drâgut*, governor of *Tripoli*, had landed before with 800 *Janizaries*, and provided for defence of the city, yet having laid siege to the strongest castle in the island with 8000 men, it was presently surrendered to them. But while *Karawân*, a poor king of the *Moors*, from whom that isle had been taken, was gravely discoursing with the generals about the methods for driving the *Turks* out of *Africa* ; advice came that *Piala Pasbâ*, the *Turkish* admiral, was at hand with a fleet of 85 gallies, and was daily reinforced from divers parts. Hereupon they obliged the chief of the *Moors* to pay the king of *Spain* the same tribute which was paid to *Drâgut*, and began to fortify the castle : but the soldiers were so long about it, that the *Turkish* fleet came in *May*, and surprised them before they could get on board. It happened luckily, however, that the greater part of the ships, and 14 gallies, had set sail the night before ; and the grand master had recalled his gallies in *April*. Of the rest, ten gallies were immediately taken, as were afterwards some others which ran aground. Only some few escaped : but the viceroy, and the admiral *Giovanni Andrea Doria*, got-off the night following in two small frigates to *Malta*.

Zerbi  
invaded :

A. D.

1560.

Doria de-  
seated :

THE *Turks*, flushed with this success, laid siege to the castle ; which, notwithstanding the reinforcements brought by *Drâgut*, held-out three months : and would have done so much longer but for want of water, there being only one large cistern to supply the garrison ; so that many died of thirst. Hereupon *Don Alvarez*, the governor, with the admirals of the *Neapolitan* and *Sicilian* gallies, endeavoured to escape in the night aboard a vessel which lay under the castle :

the castle  
taken :

but

**A. D. 1565.** but being discovered by the *Turks* they were all taken; on which the soldiers gave up the place, on condition of having their lives (S). Thus ended this unfortunate expedition, in which the Christians, one way or other, lost 18,000 men, besides a great part of their fleet. The following year also, they, with their gallies, spoiled several places on the coasts of *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Mâlta*.<sup>\*</sup> *Philip II.* king of *Spain*, sent indeed a fleet against them; but lost 25 of his gallies, with *Mendoza* the admiral, in a dreadful storm; which happened on the 18th of *September* <sup>i</sup>.

**Peace concluded:** NOT long after this, *Ferdinand* (to whom *Charles*, his brother, had resigned the empire in 1559), having, with much difficulty, obtained a peace of *Soleymân*, he, in a diet held at *Frankfort*, *November* the 24th, 1562, got his son *Maximilian* elected king of the *Romans*. Thither came *Ibrâhim Pâsbâ* with presents, and a letter written to the emperor in a haughty style, containing the conditions of an eight years truce; the most material of which was, that *Ferdinand* should pay to *Soleymân* a yearly tribute of 30,000 ducats for *Hungary*, and the arrears of two years. The truce held till 1564; when that prince dying and *Maximilian* succeeding to the empire, *Melchior Balas*, the emperor's lieutenant in *Hungary*, towards *Transilvania*, first violating it, surpris'd several towns on those frontiers. This was revenged by the *Waywod* of that country, who took *Sakma*, with the wife and children of *Balas* in it; then being aided by 4000 *Turks*, and 300 *Moldavians*, he ravaged the emperor's territories, reducing *Haden*, and laying siege to *Ungar*. Hereupon *Maximilian* sends *Lazarus Suendi*, a valiant commander, with 8000 men to besiege *Tokay*; which he took in *February*, 1565, and then the rich town of *Erden*.

**A. D. 1565.** **prepare for war.** MEAN time *Soleymân*, to facilitate his intended revenge, dispatches an ambassador to the emperor, to put him in mind of the league between them; while the *Pâsbâ* of *Temeswar* besieged *Giula* with 6000 men, as the *Transilvanians*, in *June*, did *Erden*. *Chernovich*, the emperor's ambassador, returning from *Constantinople* about this time, assured his master, that the *Turks* meant nothing but war, for all their

\* RICAUT. ubi suprà.

(S) Among the prisoners, the chief were *Don Alwares Sandes*, *Don John* of *Cordova*, and a son of the duke of *Medina*: the two first were ransomed, but the last was never heard of; being

(as was conjectured) made away with by *Piâla*, the admiral, to disguise his concealment from *Soleymân*, who made great enquiry after him.

pretences



pretences to the contrary. Hereupon he made all necessary preparations for it, although the *Turkish* ambassador was still dissemblingly treating of peace, notwithstanding the arch-duke *Charles* had cut-off 8000 *Turks* at one time, who were ravaging the borders of *Stiria*. In short, *Maximilian*, being confirmed on all hands, that *Soleymân* had projected grand designs against him, not only fortified his frontier garrisons, but resolved to call a general diet of the empire, next spring, at *Ratisbon*, to provide against the attempts of the common enemy; where we shall at present leave this matter, to relate the proceedings of the *Turks* in the *Mediterranean* against the knights of *Mâlta* <sup>k</sup>.

THE continual damages done to the subjects of the *Othmân* *Mâlta* <sup>empire</sup> at sea by those knights, determined *Soleymân* to take <sup>vaded.</sup> a severe revenge upon them; to which he was particularly solicited by *Kossum*, son of *Barbarossa*, king of *Algiers*, and *Drâgut*, governor of *Tripoli*. Having fitted out a fleet for that purpose, and exhorted his commanders to destroy the *Mâltese* pirates, as he called them; the better to effect it, he gave them a map of the island, with draughts of the several fortifications on it. The grand master of the order, *John Valette*, otherwise *Pariset*, a *Frenchman*, being informed of these preparations, immediately went to work; and while he laboured for his defence at home (by pulling down the suburbs and trees, which were injurious to the fortified places, strengthened the garrison, and laid-in necessaries of all kinds), he sent abroad to the pope and other Christian princes, to demand their aid against the common enemy of the cross.

MEAN time the *Turkish* fleet, commanded by *Piâla Pâsbâ*, <sup>The Turk-</sup> set sail, consisting of 142 galleys, 17 galliots, and 22 ships <sup>ish forces.</sup> of burden (T), with other small vessels. They had on board <sup>A. D.</sup> above 30,000 soldiers; among whom were 7,900 *Spahis*, or <sup>1565.</sup> *hirsemen*, and 4,500 *Janizaries*, all under the conduct of *Mestafa Pâsbâ*, a man seventy-five years of age. These forces arriving at *Mâlta*, on the 18th of *May*, put into *Porto Maggiore*, on the north-west side of the island; which is about 20 miles long from north-west to south-east, and 12 broad. On the east side of the isle are two harbours, divided by a high bridge, or tongue of land, which shoots out north-eastward. That to the north is called *Marza Musbet*; the

<sup>k</sup> *RICAUT*. ubi sup.

(T) Besides one cast away 6000 barrels of powder, 13,000 near *Modon*, wherein were lost cannon-balls, and 400 *Spahis*.

8

other,

**A.D. 1565.** *City de- scribed :* other, to the south, *Port Majore*. Within this last, on the left hand, are four promontories ; on the second of which, at the very point, on a rough high rock, stands the strong castle of *St. Angelo* ; and adjoining to it the town, by some called the *New City*, separated from it only by a wall and ditch, and situate in a hollow cut-out of the main rock, strengthened also by the sea, and human industry. Upon the third head of land stands a castle, called *St. Michael*, with a town also (U) ; and, at the point of the tongue of land, another castle, named *St. Elmo*, very strong both by nature and art.

*forces there.* FOR the defence of this important place there were in the island about 1300 *Messinars*, *French*, *Spaniards*, and *Italians* ; 1000 seamen of the knights fleet ; 500 men in *St. Angelo Castle* ; 5000 country people fled into the fortified places ; 500 knights, besides esquires and priests. In the city of *Málta* itself, called the *Old City*, which stood in the middle of the island, there were 200 soldiers, as many citizens, and 300 country horse <sup>k</sup>.

*St. Elmo besieged :* THE *Turks* landed 20,000 men at *Marza Siroco*, on the south-east side of the isle (X), while *Piála Pásbá*, with 7000, went to view the castle of *St. Michael* : but at length, having resolved to besiege that of *St. Elmo*, they cast-up a mount (Y) in order to batter it, and play upon the gallies in the haven, that so they might open a way for their fleet to enter. But being beaten from that post by the cannon of the castle, they raised another mount upon higher ground, and ran their trench nearer to *St. Elmo* ; from whence they annoyed not only the harbour, but also the castles of *St. Angelo* and *St. Michael*. At length *Drágut* arriving with 13 gallies and 1600 soldiers, followed by 19 galliots with two companies from *Bona* ; the *Turks* of a sudden, on the 3d of *June*, assaulted *St. Elmo*, with an intent to scale the rampiers which were highest the bulwark : but the besieged, from a strong flanker made in the ditch of earth and faggots, repulsed them with great loss. However, returning to the attack, they, by their multitudes, at length gained the flanker ; whereby they commanded all that part of the ditch towards *Marza Musbet* ;

*fiercely assaulted :*

<sup>k</sup> RICAUT. THEVENOT. Trav. part. i. ch. 5.

(U) This town is now called *Iegirino*, on the west side of *Porto La Sangle* ; and, by *Thevenot's* account, there is no castle there at present.

(X) Others say, at *Mount Pe-*

*Majore*.  
(Y) In the place where the city of *Valetta* (built afterwards by the grand master) called also *The New Town* now stands.

and

and there, with amazing celerity, so fortified themselves, that the besieged could not hurt them. In the night they filled the ditch under the bulwark : but lost 800 men in a fresh assault, to 45 only of the Christians. However knowing that the besieged expected supplies every hour, and that, provided *St. Elmo* was in their hands, they might secure their fleet in *Marza Musbet*, as well as more easily carry the rest, they battered the castle anew for four days without intermission, and the night following gave an assault : but the place having been reinforced a little before with 200 knights, and several other soldiers, when the enemy, with their ladders, had almost gained the top of the walls, they were beaten down with such violence by the besieged, that they durst not attempt scaling afterwards till the last attack.

THE *Turks*, more enraged, continued their batteries with greater fury than before, for eighteen days together, with 13,000 shot. During this time also they made a bridge over the ditch, broad enough for ten men to march abreast, placed 4000 musketeers about the ditch, and brought their fleet to *St. George's Shore*, not far from the castle. When they began the assault, for which these preparations were made, a body of valiant knights and soldiers ran to the bridge, and there resolutely encountered the multitude hand-to-hand. Mean time some thrust barrels of powder under the bridge, others threw down stones and wild-fire upon the enemy, while others galled them at a distance with their fire-arms. At length, the bridge blowing-up, 800 *Turks* were destroyed, and many wounded ; which obliged them to retire, after they had lost 2000 of their best men, and the Christians near one hundred.

THE same day, the grand master caused a brigantine to be carried from *Marza Musbet*, over land, to *Marzia Scala* (Y); which he sent with letters to the viceroys of *Sicily*, requiring the most speedy relief. In the interim, the enemy, after battering the castle for 24 hours, gave a most dreadful assault on the breaches, which lasted five : but they were at length repulsed, after they had lost a vast number of men, with the famous *Dragut*, and the besieged two hundred. The grand master, perceiving the *Turks* determined to take *St. Elmo*, and preparing for the last assault, sent three knights to bring-off the defendants in pinnaces : but they resolving to maintain the place or perish, on the 13th of *June* the *Turks*, with all their power, both by sea and land, surrounding the castle in the dead of night, set-up their ladders, made bridges, worked

(Y) The bottom of all the *Marza*, or *haven*.

A. D.  
1565.

at their mines, and with their artillery battered down the rest of the walls to the very rock. So that, although the besieged did wonders in its defence, yet having already lost 400 men, the *Turks*, about noon, prevailed over the small remainder, and slew every man. Then, beheading the dead knights, and cutting-out their hearts, hanged them up by the heels in their red cloaks and red crosses, in sight of the other castles: which so enraged the grand master, that he ordered all the *Turkish* prisoners to be slain, and his men to give no quarter<sup>1</sup>.

*Succours  
slow.*

UPON this loss, *La Valette* sent again for succours to the viceroy of *Sicily*; who yet was so cold on the matter, that he only let the knights residing there depart with two gallies. Mean while he rejected proposals of surrendry from *Mostafa*, whose designs were discovered by *Philip Laskaris*, a *Greek*, of *Patras*; who swam from *St. Michael* to the *Turkish* fleet. At the same time a *Greek*, being by a boy from a window discovered making-off to the enemy's camp, was taken and cut in four pieces. The new supplies having in a sally slain 200 *Turks*, *Mostafa* blocked-up the harbour of *Marza Musbet* with his chained gallies, and sent to acquaint *Soleymân*, that the place was much stronger than he expected; requiring more supplies in case the siege was to be continued. Presently after, he fell to batter the towns and castles of *St. Michael* and *St. Angelo* with the greatest fury.

*St. Mi-  
khael at-  
tacked*

*by king  
Kossum*

WHILE three gallies from *Messina*, with 900 soldiers on board, besides the knights of the order, were obliged to return, as not being able to land in safety; *Kossum*, king of *Algiers*, with 2000 soldiers, seven gallies, and ten galliots, came to reinforce *Mostafa*; who, at his request, permitted him to carry-on the siege of *St. Michael*, and joined 2000 of his own best soldiers to *Kossum's* troops. Hereupon he ordered 90 small vessels to be carried from the port of *Marza Musbet*, over land, to *Aqua Martia*, designing to besiege the castle on that side by water. Of which the grand master being informed by a Christian fugitive, he ordered a chain to be drawn from the castle of *St. Angelo* to the place where the enemy designed to land: but while the *Turks* stood non-plused at this baulk, a deserter undertook with hatchets to cut the chain; which being perceived by the besieged, five or six swam thither with their swords, and having killed two of the workmen, the rest fled. However, *July* the 15th, the king began the siege both by land and water: but during the assault by sea, which lasted three hours, the besieged, with their cannon, slew him 2000 men, and sunk 12 gallies;

<sup>1</sup> RICAUT. &c. ubi supr.

while the rest of them, unable to land their men for the chain, A. D. were forced to retire. The attack by land endured five hours; 1565. wherein many of the enemy were slain, and 200 of the besieged.

For all this, the *Turks* battered the castle so violently; *with great* that they beat down in the day the repairs which were made *loss*. by night. On the 20th, they threw a bridge over the ditch, and the 28th gave desperate assaults in three places: but, being forced to retire, went to work at a mine; which, when just finished, was countermined. *August 1.* the besieged in a sally burned the bridge, and next day slew 300 of the enemy: but lost their captain *Rufus*. However the *Turks* filled-up the ditch at the castle-bulwark, and having by this time made breaches both in the walls of the *New City* and the castle of *St. Michael*, wide enough for carts to enter, on the 17th they assaulted both places at once with incredible fury and noise: but, being heard by the knights in the city of *Málta*, they sallied with their horse, and fell on those at *Aqua Martia* by surprize, with so much vigour, that they fled to their companions; who, being discouraged, gave over the assault, with the loss of more than 1500 men; to not above 100 of the besieged.

*MOSTAFA Páshá*, finding neither this nor a subsequent *St. An-* attack had any effect, wrote to acquaint *Söleymân* with the *gelo at-* small hopes there were of subduing the place. At the same *tacked:* time, the viceroy being informed by one *Salazar*, who ventured to *Málta* in a boat, as well as by others, how much the *Turkish* forces were diminished, he began to think of going to their relief. Mean while old *Mostafa* continued the siege by battering, mining, filling-up the ditch, casting-up mounds, and the like: but all his attempts being frustrated by the valour and address of the besieged, the admiral *Páshá*, at last fearing to be surprized by the Christian fleet, which he heard was preparing against him, ordered 110 gallies to be in readiness, and took his soldiers on board. However, after long expectation, finding no appearance of the enemy's fleet, he landed them a second time. Hereupon the *Turks*, with greater fury than ever, battered the walls, which had been repaired; and, having made new breaches, on the 18th of *August* attacked both *St. Angelo* and *St. Michael*, at noon-day, with all their power, and, after three repulses, came on again: but were at last glad to retreat to their trenches. The great master did wonders during this cruel fight, which lasted five hours: yet the obstinate *Turks* renewed the assault next day at the same places; as they did the day following no fewer

*New City*  
*in danger:*

A. D.  
1565.

than seven times, but without success. They were repulsed also at the *Spur*, when they attempted to enter *St. Michael's Castle*, with great loss, to only 100 of the besieged: but among them many brave knights. For all this the *Pâsbâ* assaulted the same breaches next morning early, with such success, that three or four ensigns broke into the *New Town*: on which the grand-master, halting with all his soldiers and citizens, both men and women, old and young, against the enemy, with much difficulty and incredible bravery, forced them at sun-set to retire, with the loss of 2000 men, and only 200 of his own.

succours  
arrive.

THE knights having repaired the breaches, and raised other works for their defence with great application, *Mostafa* resolved once more, with all his troops, to storm the breach in the wall in *St. Michael's Town*; where there ensued a most terrible fight; and though the *Turks* were driven back, their general obliged them to renew it, yet to as little purpose. The besieged also in a sally at night drove them from their mount, and blew-up one of their mines, which destroyed threescore men. The enemy was now preparing to make a last effort; when, *September 7th*, the Christian fleet of 72 gallies, with 10,000 soldiers, and *Don Garcias*, the viceroy of *Sicily*, on board, put into *Málta*, and landed the forces: after which the viceroy returned for *Sicily* to bring over more forces, in order to attend the *Turkish* fleet. On this news the *Turks* hastened on board their ships; which passed out of the haven of *Marza Musbed* on the 11th, in order to be gone. Yet *Mostafa*, being informed that the Christian succours did not exceed 3000 men, he landed 7000 *Turks* at *Port St. Paul* (seven miles northwest of the city), towards which they marched: but, being met by the Christians, they were quickly routed, and pursued to their gallies, with the loss of eighteen hundred slain, and four hundred drowned. During this siege, which lasted five months, they lost in all twenty-four thousand men, with twenty-four great cannon; and the Christians five thousand.

The *Turks*  
retire:

take *Scio*.

A. D.  
1566.

ALTHOUGH the *Turks* were scarcely ever more baffled in any enterprize than this; yet we do not find that *Soleyman* resented it in the commanders, as was customary: but, after the return of his fleet, he sent *Piálá Pâsbâ* with it to subdue *Scio*; whose governor, being his tributary, had held intelligence with the *Máltese* during the siege. The admiral, having arrived there in the middle of *April 1566*, possessed himself of the haven, and then sends for the governor, with

twelve of the principal citizens, whom he lays in irons. Then, seizing the town, he appoints a *Turkish* governor; and, leaving a strong garrison in the place, sails for the coast of *Apulia*, in *Italy*; where he destroyed many villages, and carried away many into captivity.

It is time now to return to the affairs of *Hungary*. *Maximilian*, having in the diet called at *Frankfort*, as before-mentioned, obtained aid from the empire, he drew together a great army out of *Germany*, *Italy*, and other countries. These, under the command of *Suendi*, laid siege to the town of *Husth*, on the borders of *Transylvania*; whose *Vayvod* aspiring to be king of *Hungary*, upon the same terms as *John* had been, much inflamed this rupture between the two empires. At the same time the *Pásbá* of *Buda* attacked *Palotta*, about eight miles from *Raab*, with greater fury than success; having been forced to rise from before it, with the loss of some cannon and baggage, by the count of *Hoffenstein*, who also took *Wrisboun*. Soon after count *Salm* reduced *Tatta* or *Dotis*: and the castles of *Gestles*, *Witha*, *Ischolika*, and *Samboc*, were abandoned by the enemy. Mean time count *Serini*, governor of *Raab*, understanding that *Soleyman* approached, detached fifteen hundred horse and foot, to lie in ambush for the forlorn of the *Turkish* army; who, being met with near *Five Churches*, were routed, and most of them slain or wounded<sup>n</sup>.

In this place, after a long chasm, the *Turkish* historians *The empire* coincide with the Christian writers. According to these latter, the *Germans* began the war: but the former speak as if *Soleyman* first entered on it without any provocation, pursuant to a project he had long mediated, of overthrowing the *German* empire. They tell us, that when he had made vast preparations, as before-mentioned, he assembled his troops from all parts, in order to execute the design, in which only *Mohammed Fatih* had gone before him, and which he himself had already attempted in vain.

To this end, in the year 974, he leads a mighty army to *Soleyman* *Adrianople*; from whence, dispatching the prime *Wazir Per-dies*. *tu Pásbá*, with some troops, to seize *Giula* (A), he follows more slowly with the rest. Though every thing else was ready, youth was wanting, and old age refused to execute his purposes. Worn out with years, and fatigued with la-

<sup>n</sup> RICAUT, &c. ubi sup.

(A) So called in the map. wards *Transylvania*, and near *Great Waradin*.

A. D. 1566. bouts, when he came to *Segetwar* (B), he was seized with a slow fever, which, increasing by degrees, turned to a malignant one. Though grievously tortured, and almost past hopes of recovery, yet, invincible in mind, he orders the city to be invested and assaulted. But the governor making a brave defence, it increased his illness; and, while he prayed the God of all the worlds to grant that his army of the faithful might conquer the place, he expired on the 13th of *Asfer* (C).

THE prime *Wazîr* having sent notice to *Selim*, then at *Magnesia*, of his father's death, which he concealed from the soldiers, he, on the 18th of that month, takes the city by a general assault, assisted by an accidental fire (D): and at the same time news came of the reduction of *Giule*.

THUS ended, in the taking of two towns, all *Soleymân's* vast preparations, and vaster design against the *German* empire, which the *Turkish* historians boast of. Let us now supply their account of the siege of *Segette*, or *Ziget*, from the Christian writers. The *Soltân* being come to the *Drave*, ordered a bridge to be made over that river, and the morafs beyond it, a mile in length. This proved a work of almost insuperable difficulty; but was at last accomplished, and the army passing over, sat down before *Sigeth*. This city is strongly situated in a marsh, about fifteen miles to the north of the *Drave*, on the frontiers of *Slavonia*; and was then a bulwark to prevent the *Turks* entering into *Stiria*. It had a garrison of two thousand three hundred men, under the command of the valiant count *Nicholas Serini*. The *Turks*, having raised a great mount, and planted a battery, *August* 8th, fired terribly upon the new town from three several places. They next, with incredible labour, cast-up a mountain in the midst of the marsh, and from thence so cruelly annoyed the inner castle of the town, that the count thought fit to withdraw the garrison, and set it on fire. On the 10th, they

° CANT. p. 215, & seq.

(B) By the Christians called *Sigeth*. Cant.

(C) The Christian historians say, that *Soleymân* fell sick towards the end of *August*, when the siege was at the height, being taken with a loofeness; and that hereupon he withdrew to *Five Churches* (about twelve miles to the south-east), where

he died, on the 14th of *September*; which, according to their account, was some days after the place was taken.

(D) The *Turks* ascribe intirely to *Soleymân's* prayers, this fire; by means of which the city was taken, and not by force of arms. Cant.

furiouſly



furiously battered the old town in three places, and set all hands at work to make two ways or bridges thither over the marsh; from whence the *Janizaries*, covered with sacks and the like, mightily annoyed the besieged.

AT length, on the 19th, they entered the town with so much fury and celerity, that many of the garrison were slain before they could recover the castle. Against this, next day they planted four batteries, and having also made two plain ways to it over the marsh, they fiercely assualted the breaches on the 29th; but were beaten back, with the loss of many men and one of their *Pâsbâs*. The *Turks* having by the 5th of *September* undermined and blown-up the greatest bulwark of the castle, at length took that also near the gate. This made the brave *Serini* retire into the inner castle, which on the 7th was set on fire by them also (E). So that the distressed general, putting on a new suit of cloaths and encouraging his soldiers to sell their lives as dear as they could, sallied-out at the head of them, with his sword and target in hand, into the midst of his enemy, by whom he and his followers were all slain, excepting a few.

BUT this siege cost the *Turks* very dear; for, by their own confession, they lost seven thousand *Janizaries*, and twenty-eight thousand other soldiers, besides volunteers and three great *Pâsbâs*: *Serini's* head was cut off, and set on a pole for the army to gaze at; after which it was sent by the *Wazîr* as a present to count *Salm* (F), then at *Raab*. *Goila* (or *Giule*) also was delivered to the *Turks* by the governor *Kerettschen*, for a great sum of money; and most of the garrison put to the sword, contrary to articles. But they were not so successful near *Alba Regalis*, where several of them were slain, and the governor of that place taken by *George Thuriger*; for which he received knighthood with a gold chain P.

SOLEYMAN reigned one-and-forty years, and lived seventy-four (G). He had seven sons. *Morâd*, *Abdollah*, *Mehmed*, *Mostafa*, *Selîm*, *Bâ-yezîd*, and *Jehângîr*; who all but *Selîm* died before their father.

#### P RICAUT in Soliman.

(E) It is hard to say, whether this or the former was the accidental fire spoken of by the *Turkish* historians.

(F) With this short letter: In token of my love, I send thee the head of a most resolute and valiant commander, thy friend. The re-

mainder of his body I have decently buried, as became such a man. Sigheth bids thee farewell for ever.

(G) The Christian writers make his age seventy-six years, and his reign forty-six.

A. D.  
1566.  
His cha-  
racter.

SOLEYMAN was a prince of an heroic and invincible mind; of great valour and wisdom. He endured the hardships of war with surprising patience. Besides the *Turkish* language, he spoke also the *Persian* and *Arabic*. In that kind of poetry by the *Persians* called *Nazm* (H), he excelled all for elegance and wit. His *Persian*, *Hungarian*, and naval victories gained him a great name: but his reformation of the courts of justice, and his excellent laws, by which the *Othmân* empire still flourishes, acquired him greater. On this account the title of *Kanûni* was ascribed to him by the *Turks* \*. According to the Christian writers, this *Soltân* was tall, and of a slender make; his neck long, his face pale and wan, his nose long and hooked: by nature ambitious and magnificent; more faithful to his promise than most of his predecessors; in a word, he wanted scarce any thing worthy of a prince. The same authors add, that *Mohammed*, the prime *Wazîr*, for fear of the insolence of the *Janizaries*, to conceal his death till *Selim's* arrival, ordered his physicians and apothecaries to be secretly strangled. However, the *Janizaries* beginning to mistrust the matter, he caused the dead body, in the *Soltân's* usual dress, to be brought into his tent, sitting upright in his litter, as if he had been ill of the gout, which dissipated all their suspicions †.

Death  
concealed.

## C H A P. XII.

### The Reign of Selim II. Surnamed Mest (A),

#### S E C T. I.

1) Soltân  
Selim.  
Hej. 974.  
A. D.  
1566.

*SELIM*, upon notice of his father's death, leaves *Magnesia* in the year 974, and, on the 9th of *Rabio'lauwel*, which day the planet *Merikh* (or *Mars*) ruled in the firmament, he

\* CANT. p. 127.

† RICAUT. ubi supr.

(H) A poetical metre often occurring, particularly in the *Korân*; and for that reason accounted more elegant than the rest. *Cant.*

(A) That is, *drunken*; because he was extremely given to wine: yet he never omitted the usual prayers. There are other

historians (besides *Saadi Effendi*, we suppose he means) who pretend, that he was seized with a sort of divine enthusiasm; which, lest people should suspect to be hypocrisy, he declared to be drunkenness. But such colourings for the vulgar. *Cant.*

entered

entered *Constantinople*, and mounted his father's throne. Next day all the great men of the empire, according to custom, appear in mourning at court, to adore the new emperor, and comfort him on the occasion with excellent speeches. Three days after he sets out with a few attendants towards *Seget-war* (or *Ziget*). But at *Belgrade* finds *Mehemed Pásbá*, who had sent the army into winter quarters. As *Soleymán's* demise was still a secret, the soldiers were troubled at *Selím's* unexpected arrival in the camp; and, fearing he might, after the example of his grandfather of the same name, do some injury to his father, ran to their arms: but the long concealed death (B) being divulged, they paid obedience to him as their sovereign.

AFTER this, *Soleymán's* body, being laid in a gilt chariot, *Soley-* is conducted by the whole army to *Constantinople*, and depo- *mán's* sited in the court of the *Ĵâmi* built by him; where all the *funeral* ecclesiastics of that metropolis were ordered to finish the *Tela-veti Korán* (C) forty times a day for forty days, and by their prayers obtain peace for his soul. Moreover, *Selím* caused a *Mihrah* (D) to be erected before the *Ĵâmi*; and over his grave a large marble *Turba* (E); which is religiously visited by the *Turks*: for they are persuaded, that he was a great favourite of heaven, because he not only lost his life at the siege of *Segetwar*, and so became *Shahíd* (or martyr), but was also *Gâzi* (or conqueror), two cities having been taken under the conduct of his relics.

WHEN the funeral ceremonies were over (F), *Selím*, after being again confirmed in the throne by all orders and degrees of people, celebrates his father's victories with a splendid triumph. Then he distributes to the *Ĵanizaries* and *Spahi* the usual *Bakhshish* (G), or donative; and presents the *Ule-*  
*mas*

(B) In all forty-one days, as both *Turks* and Christians agree. This, to a person ignorant of the *Turkish* customs, may be deemed impossible to be done among so many thousand soldiers; but will not be doubted by those who know the more than *Pythagoric* silence of the *Othmán* inner court; where no man speaks unless ordered, nor dares so much as sneeze or cough. *Cant.*

(C) The reading of the whole

*Korán*, which is usually done over the grave of the deceased. *Cant.*

(D) It signifies both an altar and the southern part of a *Ĵâmi*. *Cant.*

(E) Or monument.

(F) Formerly they used the greatest solemnities, and chose the colours at the emperor's death; but at present they only mourn three days in red, and that not very strictly. *Cant.*

(G) Each *Ĵanizary*, of whom  
Z 4 there

A. D. 1567. *ma* (H), with the rest of the ecclesiastics, who officiated at the funeral, with silk robes and money<sup>a</sup>.

Peace  
with Ger-  
many.

A. D.  
1567.

THINGS being thus settled at home, *Selim* was desirous of peace abroad, particularly in *Hungary*, as *Maximilian* himself, that he might be more at leisure to suppress a dangerous rebellion in *Arabia*; and oppose the *Persians* in case they attacked his dominions, which stood in some danger from that quarter. At last it was agreed-on, that, if the emperor would send ambassadors, with the arrear of tribute-money, they should have a safe conduct, in order to treat of peace. They arrived at *Constantinople* August 22d, and six days after visited the prime *Wazîr Mostafa Pâshâ*, with *Parteu* and *Terhad Pâshâs*; but could not obtain audience of the *Soltân* himself till *September 21*, when they were honourably received, and made rich presents. At length the peace was concluded, at *Adrianople*, in *January 1568*, for eight years; on these conditions: that each prince should hold what he had: that the emperor should pay thirty thousand ducats, as a yearly tribute, for *Hungary*: that the subjects on neither side should pay any thing to those of the other prince: and, lastly, that the *Vayvod* of *Transylvania* should be included in the treaty<sup>b</sup>.

Arab tribe subdued. MEAN while *Ulian Ogli* (I), the *Arab*, hearing of *Soleyman's* death, throws off the *Othmân* yoke; and, persuading his neighbours to join in the rebellion, cruelly lays waste the territories of *Baghdâd*: but they are quickly routed and dispersed by the governor of that city, in conjunction with those of *Bâsrah* (K) and *Shehresul* (L). The same year *Selim* finished

Hej. 975.

A. D.

1567.

\* CANTEMIR Othman Hist. p. 218, & seq.  
edit. Ricaut in Selymis.

▷ KNOWLES

there are 40,000, receives 20 dollars; and every *Spahi*, whose number is 15,000, twenty five. *Cant.*

(H) This is the name used to denote all those who are distinguished with any ecclesiastical degree. They have very great authority with the people. If they join with the army to oppose any measure, you may be sure it will never be carried into execution. *Cant.* — The *Ulema* may be called the body of the *Turkish* clergy.

(I) Of the tribe of *Bani Omer*, or the sons of *Omer*; who live in the deserts towards *Baghdâd*. They were very powerful, and in *Soltân Mostafa's* reign were masters of the city of *Bâsrah* for two years. But *Dalîaban Mostafa Pâshâ* of *Baghdâd* expelled them, and crushed the whole tribe by killing 30,000 of them. *Cant.*

(K) Corruptly called *Bassora* and *Balsora*. Prince *Cantemir* commits several mistakes about this place: he says, 1. That it was

finished a bridge (M), began five years before by his father, not far from *Constantinople*.

A. D.  
1567.

A PEACE having been concluded with *Germany*, *Selīm* had now leisure to turn his thoughts towards the *Persians*; who, by their continual incursions into the *Othmān* dominions, had justly given occasion for a war: but he was deterred from this by the difficulty of the passages, which fatigued his troops, as well as rendered the carriage of warlike stores and provisions, impracticable; for want of which, numerous armies of his ancestors had miscarried. To remove this obstacle, he sends a body of soldiers over the *Euxine* sea to *Kiefe* (or *Kassa*), and orders the *Khān* of *Krīm*, with labourers hired out of all the tribes of *Tatars*, to encamp near the river *Ezel* (N), in that place where it is but six *Italian* miles distant from the *Teri* (O), and by a canal to join the two rivers. By this means he hoped to penetrate with ease out of the *Euxine*, through *Maille* (P), and those rivers, into the *Caspian* sea; and, as the *Persians* had no fleet there, so, by transporting an army into *Shīrwān*, without much difficulty,

Attempt to  
join

Hej. 976.  
A. D.  
1568.

the Don  
and Wal-

was formerly called *Bosra*; whereas *Bosra* stood in *Syria*, to the south of *Damaskus*. 2. That it lies six days journey from the mouth of the *Euphrates*; yet is but one day's journey and half from thence. 3. That *Kurma*, the most noted mart in the east, though unknown to all the geographers, is situate at the mouth of that river: whereas *M. Otter*, who was at *Basrah* in 1743, and mentions all the places from thence to the mouth of the river in the *Persian* gulf, mentions no such place, any more than *Tbevenot*, *Tavernier*, and others, who were there before him. Without doubt, by *Kurma* is to be understood *Kurna*, or *Kernā*; a castle at the confluence of the *Euphrates* with the *Tigris*, two days journey above *Basrah*, but mentioned by many travellers, and a place of no considerable trade.

(L) A city of *Kiurdisān*, towards *Persian Irāk*. Though a

*Pāshalik* of three horse-tails, yet the promotion is looked-on as a kind of banishment.

(M) Built over the lake *Buyuk Chekmejah*, where it runs into the *Propontis*, at a village of the same name, about two hours distance from *Constantinople*. It is all built of square stones, and 2000 paces long; a truly imperial work. *Cant.*

(N) Or *Edel*; hence *Edilla* and *Atilla*: so the *Tatars* call the river named by us *Wolga*, and the antients *Rka*.

(O) The *Don*, *Dona*, or *Tana*, the antient *Tanais*.

(P) This from the context must be the *Palus Meotis*: but at present the *Turks* give that name to the gulf of the *Black Sea*, which washes *Ochakowwa*, the *Olbiopolis* of the antients. The *Palus* is now called by the *Turks* *Azak Denizi* [or *Denghizi*]; that is, the sea of *Azak* [as they term *Axof*], and its mouth *Ghierch Taman Bogasi*. *Cant.*

subdue

A. D. 1568. subdue all *Persia*, the *Khân* immediately repaired to the place appointed, by the way of *Aizderkhân* (Q) : but scarce one third part of the canal was finished, when the labourers were so infested with continual rains, cold storms, and want of provision, that many perishing, the rest were forced to abandon the work. This expedition was however attended with one advantage; namely, the submission of thirty thousand *Nigayan Tatars* (R); who, having thrown-off the *Russian* yoke to receive the *Othmân*, departed with their families to settle in the *Krêm* <sup>c</sup>.

Peace  
with Per-  
sia.

WHILE these matters were in agitation, an ambassador arrives from *Shâh Tâhmâsh*, king of *Persia*, to treat of peace. The ambassador was honourably entertained at *Adrianople* : but had not been there long, when, going to visit *Mohammed* the prime *Wazîr*, a *Jumoglan* shot at him with a musket. Although the ball missed the ambassador, he was very much startled : and the assassin being seized, boldly answered in his presence, before the prime *Wazîr*, that his reason for shooting at the ambassador was, *that he was an heretic, and sent from an heretical king ; who, being an enemy to their religion, was not worthy of a peace.* But this zeal for orthodoxy did not save him from punishment ; for, after being dragged at a horse's tail through the city, he had first his right hand and then his head cut-off. In *December* *Selîm* allowed the *Persian* for him and his retinue five hundred ducats a day : but having delivered his presents, carried on forty-four camels, in *December*, the peace was soon after concluded, and he returned home.

Yammen  
revolts.

Hej. 977.

A. D.

1569.

THE *Venetians* renewed their league with *Selîm* this year ; but he broke it the next, without any just provocation, as the reader will see presently <sup>d</sup>. About the same time *Muttahir Sharîf*, of the kingdom of *Yammen*, with some *Arabs* gained to his party, suddenly attacks *Morâd Pâshâ*, *Begler Beg* of

<sup>c</sup> CANT. ubi supr. p. 220, & seqq.

<sup>d</sup> RICAUT. ubi supr.

(Q) The *Tartarian* kingdom now subject to the *Russians* called *Astrakan*. The name in *Persian* signifies the habitation of dragons, or the lord of dragons, given to the inhabitants for their fierce and wild nature ; which is now so tamed, that when they have an opportunity, they do not attempt to recover their liberty. *Cant.*

(R) These had habitations assigned them with the *Bujâk Tatars* in *Bessarabia* (now *Bujâk*) ; among whom, even at this day, are reckoned above 18,000 *Tatars* of *Kazan*, exactly resembling their brethren in the *Russian* empire, in language, looks, and manners. *Cant.* — These are commonly called *Nagay* and *Nagay*.

that

that province; and, having slain him with his whole army, frees the country from the *Turkish* yoke. But *Sinân Pâshâ*, governor of *Egypt*, in conjunction with *Ozdemîr Oglî* (S), being sent against the rebels, comes on them by surprize, routs, and having dispersed, them, reduces the whole country once more to the *Othmân* obedience. But the joy for this success was interrupted next year, by a sudden fire breaking out at *Constantinople*, which raged with such violence for seven days together, that almost the whole city was laid in ashes.

A. D.  
1570.

IN 978, the remains of the *Spanish Saracens* (T), who had hitherto been ill-treated under the dominion of the Christians, rise in arms, seize *Garbia* (U), and make *Manşûr*, of the race of the *Bani Akhmer* (X), their king; then, vigorously attacking the *Spaniards*, vanquished them, with great slaughter. But, perceiving themselves too weak to withstand their power long, they send ambassadors to implore *Selim's* assistance. The *Soltân*, whose thoughts were bent on the conquest of *Cyprus* (Y), promises aid, but not till that island was taken. In the mean time he exhorts them to keep as close together as possible, and only stand on the defensive.

Moors in Spain.  
Hej. 978.  
A. D.  
1570.

*SELIM* had now sent numerous forces to subdue *Kibris* (Z), under the conduct of the prime *Wazîr*, while *Kapudân* *Ali Pâshâ* kept off succours by sea. The *Wazîr* begins with the siege of *Nikofia* (A), and vigorously assaults it: but his attempts being baffled by the strong situation of the place, as

Cyprus  
invaded

(S) *Ozdemîr* signifies, *all of iron*. He was the *Turkish Sampson*; and of so great strength, that they believe he never had or will have his fellow. *Cant.*

(T) It is scarce possible that the word *Saracens*, which is unknown to the *Orientalists*, should be in the original *Turkish* historian. And indeed Prince *Cantemir* is not uniform in giving the proper names, sometimes using the *Turkish*, at other times those of his own fancy.

(U) Or with the article *Al Garbiya*; that is, *the western coast*; a noted kingdom, now subject to the king of *Portugal*, and called by the Christians *Algarva*. *Cant.*

(X) A descendant of the an-

tient *Saracen* kings, driven-out of *Spain* by *Ferdinand* the catholic. *Cant.*

(Y) The Christian historians tell us, that *Selim* being about to build a magnificent temple at *Adrianople*, with a monastery, college, and alms-house, but wanting lands wherewith to endow them, some of his courtiers put him upon conquering *Cyprus*; and this, they say, was the cause of his breaking the peace.

(Z) That is, *Cyprus*.

(A) Called, by the *Turks*, *Kibris*. To which city they seem to have given the name of the whole island; because it was the first which they subdued there. *Cant.*

A. D.

1571.

Hej. 979.

A. D.

1571.

well as obstinacy of the garrison, he is obliged to turn the siege into a blockade, and put his soldiers into winter-quarters. However, the following year, *Kapudân Ali Pâsbâ*, with a fresh supply of ships, stores, and forces, under the command of *Parteu Pâsbâ*, arriving in *Cyprus*, renews the siege; and, having made breaches in the walls both by battering and mining, carries the city by assault. The island seeing itself destitute of relief, *Magusa* (B) first, and then the rest of the towns, strive to gain the conqueror's clemency by a surrender<sup>c</sup>.

In the  
Turks.

WE have the less reason to find fault with the *Turkish* historians made use of by prince *Cantemir*, for giving an imperfect account of the Christian victories, since they give such a scanty relation of their own. To make an estimate therefore of the glory due to either side in this important war of *Cyprus*, we must have recourse, as on many occasions before, to the Christian writers. According to them, when this war was proposed by *Selim* in council, *Mohammed Pâsbâ*, the prime *Wazîr*, was against it, both on account of the dishonour in violating the peace, and danger of the enterprize: but the arguments of *Moskafa Pâsbâ* and the admiral *Piâla Pâsbâ* prevailing, preparations were set on foot both by sea and land. These motions being observed by the *Venetian* merchants, whom now the *Turks* began to obstruct in their trade, *Antonio Barbaro*, ambassador from the republic, complained to the prime *Wazîr* of the injustice they were going to do his nation; and, more to gain time to prepare against the storm, than in hopes to divert it, pressed the sending an ambassador to *Venice*, in order to prevent hostilities by a friendly accommodation.

Reasons  
alleged.

AT length one *Kobâl* was sent from the *Porte*, with letters from *Selim*, mentioning several pretended injuries done to his subjects by the *Venetians*; and requiring the surrender of the island of *Cyprus*, by way of satisfaction; otherwise he threatened to take it from them by force. The senate answered: that they had always kept their leagues with the *Othmâns*, even when they might have broken them to advantage: that they had put-up with many injuries received from the *Turks*; and that *Selim*, for all he complained, was himself the aggressor. In short, that since the *Othmân* faith was no defence to them, they would by force defend themselves. The ambassador being sent away privately, for fear of the

<sup>c</sup> CANT. p. 221, & seqq.

(B) That is, *Famagusta*:

people,



people, the republic made all the necessary preparations for defence of the island : they sent also for succours to the Christian powers ; but could obtain none, except from the pope, the king of *Spain*, and some *Italian* princes.

A. D.

1570.

*CYPRUS* lies at the farther end of the *Mediterranean Account of* sea, on the coast of *Anatolia* to the north, and that of *Syria* to the east. It is shaped like a spread-bat, with its head pointing north-east towards the bay of *Alexandretta*, or *Skanderûn*. It is 150 miles long and sixty broad. It has undergone many vicissitudes of fortune. It was given or exchanged by *Richard I.* king of *England*, to *Guy of Lusignan*, king of *Jerusalem* ; and continued in his line by many descents till it came to *Janus*. This prince, in 1423, was taken prisoner by *Mâlek Al Asbrâf Barse-bay*, eighth Soltân of the *Cherkassian Mamlûks* in *Egypt* ; but was ransomed, on paying a yearly tribute of forty thousand crowns. *John* the son of *Janus the island* had a natural son called *James*, who during the broils which arose in his weak father's reign, usurped the kingdom ; and was therein protected by the *Egyptian Soltân* against *Lewis* son to the duke of *Savoy*, who had married *Charletta*, the daughter of *John*, by *Helena*, of the family of the *Paleologi*. Afterwards *James*, to strengthen himself the more, joined in league with the *Venetians* ; and, having married *Katarina Cornelia*, daughter of a noble *Venetian*, died not long after, in 1470, and left her big with child : but the posthumous son dying soon after he was born, queen *Katarina* was persuaded by her brother to make a resignation of the kingdom of *Cyprus* to the republic, who held it till it was taken from them in this war by the *Turks* <sup>f</sup>.

As soon as their ambassador was returned to *Constantinople*, *The Turk-Selim* confined the *Venetian* ambassador *Barbaro*, and imprisoned all the Christian merchants of the west throughout his dominions. Then, having made all things ready for the expedition, to divert the *Venetians* near home, he, in the beginning of *February*, sends a good body of horse and foot to infect the borders of *Dalmatia* ; while *Piala Pâshâ* set sail with the fleet, consisting of two hundred gallies, galliots, and small men of war, with many transport ships. In the way he furiously attacked *Tenos*, one of the *Cyclades* ; but in vain. At *Rhodes* he took up *Mostafâ*, the general, and *Ali Pâshâ* : from whence the former sent a letter, requiring the *Venetians*, with threats, to give up *Cyprus* : for they reckon their military expeditions unlawful, unless they give notice of their design to the nation whom they intend to attack.

<sup>f</sup> RICAUT. in Selymus II.

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Nikofia  
besieged,

BEING arrived at *Cyprus*, they landed their forces; and, after considering the country very well, resolved to begin with besieging *Nikofia*, the capital of the island; which had about eight hundred horse and foot in garrison, but most of them natives and raw soldiers. The city stands towards the middle of the island, in an open country, inclosed with a wall eight miles in circumference: but the *Venetians* had latterly fortified it with new walls, thick rampiers, and eleven strong bulwarks. They had likewise raised three great fortresses, for defence of the place, provided with store of cannon, and other necessaries of war.

and as-  
saulted.

*MOSTAFA PASHA* having, on July 22d, incamped within a mile and half of the city, planted and played his batteries with such wonderful celerity, that the *Turks* soon ran their trenches to the very brink of the ditch; and then battered the walls so furiously, that in a few days all the curtains between three of the bulwarks were beaten down. At these breaches however the besieged made a desperate resistance: but after long fighting the *Turks* entered the ditch, which had not been well scoured by the besieged, and made two ways to the walls; which they fortified on the sides with waggons and earth. Then they fell to fix their ladders, to fill the ditch, and undermine two bulwarks: however, the Christians repulsed them in the assault with great loss.

The *Turks*  
repulsed.

AFTER this, *Mostafa*, dividing his army into four parts, attacked four bulwarks of the city with greater fury than ever. For all this the enemy was bravely forced back, altho' the besieged were much diminished by these encounters. Yet, to put the best face on it, a company of *Italians*, contrary to the opinion of *Dandalo*, the governor, made a sally to the very trenches of the unwary *Turks*; but were compelled at last to retire with the loss of many men, and their two commanders. Mean time *Mostafa* endeavoured to persuade the inhabitants to surrender, by shooting letters into the city, and desiring a conference with one *Constantius*: but, finding those methods ineffectual, encouraged his men to another assault. However, the besieged still valiantly endured the storm, in hopes of being relieved by the Christian fleet, which now was approaching to their relief.

The city  
taken.

AT length, the general, knowing in what distress the besieged were, artfully caused the army to retire, in order to amuse them into security; which succeeded so well, that two hundred of his choicest soldiers secretly mounted the four bulwarks, and slaying the negligent guards, took them. These being seconded on all hands by fresh troops, quickly cleared the walls, with great slaughter; whilst the governor,

bishop, and better sort of citizens, retired to the town-hall ; where the *Turks*, breaking-in upon them, put all to the sword. Great barbarity was used by the victors, who slew in all 14,000 people, and took an immense booty (C), with 250 pieces of cannon. This happened on the 9th of *September* 1570 ; and soon after *Cyrina* (D) was delivered-up by *Palaccio*, the cowardly governor, on condition that he might march-off with his garrison.

A. D.  
1570.

FROM *Nikofia*, *Mostafa Pásbá* went and laid siege to *Famagusta* : but, finding winter approach, and the place too strong to be soon reduced, thought fit quickly to raise it, and leave the work for another year.

LET us now see what became of the great naval preparations made for relief of *Cyprus*. Summer was near half spent, when the *Venetian* fleet, which had been infected with the plague, sailed for *Korfú*, in expectation of being joined there by *Doria*, the *Spanish* admiral. He not coming quickly, they sailed to *Kandia* ; and, on the 12th of *August*, landed at *Suda* ; where, in the end of the month, *Doria* and *Colonna*, the pope's admiral, arrived. The whole fleet, consisting of one hundred and ninety-two galleys, and twelve galleasses, besides victuallers and tenders, about the middle of *September*, sailed to the relief of *Nikofia* : yet, hearing by the way that the city was lost, *Doria*, in spite of all the arguments used by the admirals of the pope and *Venice*, would not proceed to succour the rest of the island ; but returned to *Messina*, as the others did to *Korfú* : from whence *Zani*, the *Venetian* admiral, was, by order of the senate, carried prisoner to *Venice*, and *Venieri* appointed in his room.

WHILE the new admiral lay at *Korfú*, the *Venetians*, by the advice and assistance of the rude *Acroceræonian* people, quickly took the strong castle of *Khimera* ; and soon after their vice-admiral *Quirini*, landing near the Bay of *Mayna*, in the *Morea*, stormed a strong castle built by the *Turks* two years before, and put all the garrison to the sword : then, razing it, carried twenty-four pieces of cannon to *Zant*. Early next year he reinforced the garrison of *Famagusta*, with seventeen hundred men, besides store of ammunition and provision, after he had gallantly beaten some *Turkish* galleys and

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§ *RECAPT*, as before.

(C) In the text it is said to have been, by report, twenty hundred thousand millions of ducats. But there must have been some dreadful mistake in

casting up the accounts. Perhaps it should be two millions.

(D) It stands on the coast, to the north-west of *Nikofia*.

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run them a-ground. For suffering this supply to get into that place, the governor of *Scio* lost his head: he of *Rhodes*, who had guard of those seas, was disgraced, and *Parteu Pâsbâ* made admiral in room of *Piâla*.

League  
among

FROM the beginning of this war the *Venetians*, pope, and king of *Spain*, had been deliberating about a perpetual league against the *Turks*, without coming to any resolution; when an accident happened which quickly brought them to an agreement: for now *Mohammed*, the prime *Wazîr*, giving the republic hopes of peace, they sent an ambassador to *Constantinople*, to see to procure one. This coming to the knowledge of the other two powers, so alarmed them, that they immediately agreed to conclude the perpetual league; and the *Venetians*, inclining rather to them than to the *Turk*, sent for their ambassador to return, under pretence of furthering the peace, which had been very far advanced. The treaty was signed *May* the 24th, 1571, wherein it was stipulated, that the sea and land forces should consist of two hundred gallies, one hundred ships, fifty thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse, to be ready every year in *March* or *April* at farthest. Of this expence the king of *Spain* was to discharge one half; the *Venetians* two thirds of the other half, and the pope the remainder. *Don John* of *Austria*, the king's natural brother, was to have the chief command. *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, and *Algiers*, if subdued, were to remain to *Spain*; but all other conquests were to be divided among the confederates. These were the chief articles of the league. Mean time the *Venetians* sent *Vincenzo Alessandro*, one of their secretaries, by way of the *Euxine* sea and *Sinope*, to *Kasbin*, in *Persia*, to excite *Shâh Tâhmasp* to make war on the *Turks*. The *Shâh*, after long sollicitation, answered, that he would for two years wait the success of the Christian league, and then resolve on peace or war, as he saw occasion: but this imprudent resolution he afterwards repented of<sup>h</sup>.

Some  
Christian  
powers.

Fama-  
gusta  
besieged.

To return to the war in *Cyprus*. *Mostafa Pâsbâ* having reinforced his army to near two hundred thousand men, in *April* this year, renewed the siege of *Famagusta*. The city is situated on the east side of the island, in a low ground, between two promontories. It was then two miles in compass, and of a square figure; but the east side more long and winding than the rest. Almost one half of it lay open to the sea; the remainder was defended by a ditch not above fifteen feet wide, and a stone wall, strengthened with some bulwarks and parapets. The harbour, whose entrance is narrow, was

<sup>h</sup> RICAUT, ubi supr.

shut-up with a chain; and near it stood an old castle with four towers. It had one strong bulwark, of a modern fortification; and its garrison consisted of two thousand five hundred *Italians*, two hundred *Albanian* horse, and two thousand five hundred *Cypriots*, all determined men. These forces were commanded by *Baleoneus*, and *Bragadino* was governor of the city.

*MOSTAFA* having battered the walls and town severely and furiously with his cannon and mortars, made several successive assaults; but was always so effectually repulsed, that in a few days he lost thirty thousand men; which made the *Turkish* commanders not only admire the bravery of the besieged, but begin to despair of success. However, the *Pâshâ* having ordered mounts to be cast up higher than the parapets of the city, and walls raised of the broken stones on each side, to save his men from the flanking shot of the besieged; they renewed the assault, which was maintained daily on the breach for six hours together, and also kept them in a continual alarm by night. Finding all this prevailed not, they tried to possess themselves of *Limosin* gate, by setting fire to a great quantity of wood heaped near it for that purpose; in hopes its intolerable offensive smell (E) would have obliged those who defended it to abandon that post: but they endured it with patience for twenty-four hours.

WHILE the senate of *Venice* wrote to the citizens to hold out, promising them speedy relief, the *Turks* fell to sinking mines in four several places. One of these blowing-up great part of the wall near the tower on the haven, they presently mounted, and began a most terrible fight, in which they lost four thousand men and fourteen colours; whereas of the besieged were slain not above one hundred. For all this the enemy played their batteries so furiously, that on the eighth of *June* only no fewer than eight thousand cannon-balls were shot into the city; which having so shattered one of the bulwarks that it was ready to fall, the besieged themselves blew it up, and with it above six hundred *Turks*, who came to assault the place. However, the enemy still obstinately continuing their batteries and assaults, whereby at length the fortifications were greatly ruined, and the garrison reduced to three hundred sound men; the powder likewise being consumed to no more than seven barrels, and other wants increasing upon them, the citizens prevailed on the governor to capitulate.

(E) This wood grows plentifully in the isle. It is much of the nature of fir, easy to be set on fire, and very difficult to be quenched.

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1571.and city  
surren-  
dered.

ACCORDINGLY the place was to be delivered-up, on condition that the inhabitants should enjoy their lives, liberty, and goods, with the free exercise of their religion; and that the governor and remainder of the garrison might march-out with bag and baggage, five pieces of cannon, three horses, and be safely conducted to *Kandia*. Hereupon *Bragadino*, attended by some others of quality, having leave to wait-on *Moskafa Pâsbâ* in his camp, the perfidious general had them all secured; and next day the brave but unfortunate *Bragadino* was brought out to be gazed-at, with his ears cut-off: after this he was tortured with the most exquisite cruelty, and made to endure the greatest indignities; among which one was to carry on his back baskets full of earth, to repair the rampiers. At last, being flay'd alive, his head was cut-off, and his skin, stuffed with straw, hung at the yard-arm of a galley. Two days after, they hanged count *Theupolus*: but the famous commander *Martinengo* had the good fortune to be hidden by one of the *Pâsbâ's* eunuchs, and, by help of a fisherman, got safe to *Leptis*. The loss of *Famagusta* was followed by that of the whole island of *Cyprus*<sup>1</sup>.

Tunis  
taken.

THUS far the Christian historians. Let us now return for a while to the *Turkish*. About the same time that the conquest of *Cyprus* was going forward, *Kilij Ali Pâsbâ* (F), governor of *Jezayr* (or *Algiers*), takes *Tunez* (G) from the *Arabs*, and annexes it to the *Othmân* empire; while *Deulet Ghieray*, *Khân* of the *Krîm Tatars*, assembling all his hords, enters *Russia*, and penetrates to the metropolis (H), ravages the country, and slays or carries-off all who could not save themselves by flight.

Great naval over-throw.

THESE victories were followed by the greatest blow which the *Othmâns* ever received since the defeat of *Illderîm Bâ-*

<sup>1</sup> RICAUT, *ibid*.

(F) He is reckoned among the *Turks* next to *Khâiro'ddin*, or *Barbarossa*, in sea-affairs. He built a large *Jâmi* in the suburbs of *Top Khaneh* (that is, the arsenal,) on the *Bosphorus*; the foundations of which, as high as the lower windows, they say, were run-up in the night, without any signs of preparation, by the galley-slaves; which at first passed for some miraculous work. *Cant*.

(G) That is, *Tunis*; not *Tremisen*, as is in the margin of the translation of prince *Cantemir's* history.

(H) The *Turks* seem to mean *Moskow*: but the *Russian* annals say, they penetrated no farther than *Tula*, 190. *Italian* miles short of that city: and that, being over-taken near *Kurska*, by the *Russian* army, they were almost all put to the sword, and the spoils recovered, *Cant*.

yezid:

*yezid*: by which fortune shewed, that no empire, though ever so extensive, and firmly established, is out of her reach. *Ali Pâshâ*, having taken *Cyprus*, left the flower of the army to garrison the towns, and dismissed the *European* forces, fatigued with twelve months toil: but, as he was returning with the rest of the forces by sea, he was suddenly attacked by the enemy's fleet (I), strengthened, as some say, by the assistance of the *Germans* and *Spaniards*. The admiral, scorning to fly, bravely engages with the few (K) forces he had, and renders the success of the battle for many hours doubtful: at last, after repelling the enemy several times, he is slain, whilst discharging the part sometimes of a general, sometimes of a common soldier. Upon his death, the *Othmân* ships immediately take to flight, when the enemy pursuing, sink and take almost the whole fleet<sup>k</sup> (L).

ALTHOUGH this is a full confession of the *Turkish* loss, yet as other matters are extenuated, and so great an engagement deserves a more explicit account, we shall relate in brief what the Christian historians have written about it. While *Dulcigno* *Moftafa* was engaged in the siege of *Famagusta*, the *Pâshâs* taken. *Parteu* and *Ali*, joined by *Kilij Ali* (M), viceroy of *Algiers*, with the *Turkish* fleet, June 13th, landed twelve thousand men at *Suda*, in the bay of *Kandia*; where, after ravaging the country, they were set-upon by *Justiniano*, who slew a great number of them, and forced the rest to their gallies. From thence, sailing by *Cytherea*, *Zant*, and *Cefalonia*, from which islands they carried-off six thousand people, they put into *Dulcigno*, in *Dalmatia*; which, having been but a little before besieged by a body of *Turks* by land, was quickly surrendered to them, as were also the towns of *Antivari* and *Budua*. But the town of *Katharo* bravely withstood their attacks.

MEAN time *Kilij Ali*, and *Kârakoja*, a famous pirate, departing with sixty gallies, for ten days, to ravage the *Vene-* Remark-  
able ex-  
ploit.

<sup>k</sup> CANT. p. 222, & seqq.

(I) At *Lepanto*.

(K) It is the usual way with the *Turks*, to ascribe their ill-success, not to the bravery of the enemy, or their own inactivity, but to some accident, or the general's imprudence. Cant.

(L) Both *Turks* and Christians vary in their account of the

number of the *Turkish* ships: some say they had 270; others, at least, 170: but all agree, that no more than 28 escaped. Cant.

(M) Written by the Christian writers, *Fluzales*; which seems to be a corruption of *Kilij ali*, governor of *Algiers*, above-mentioned.

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*tian* isles, came to that of *Karzola*, about eighty miles to the east of *Ragusa*; and, assaulting the town of the same name, *Contareni*, the governor, and the inhabitants, fled-out by night, leaving behind about twenty men and eighty women. These all unanimously, with arms in their hands, resolved to die, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy: but while, with stones, fire, and other weapons, they bravely opposed the assailants, these latter were so incommoded by a violent storm, which came suddenly from the north, that they gave over the assault, and went to other places.

Turkish  
ravages.]

HAPPENING at length to take a ship bound from *Messina* to *Korsû*, they found on board letters to the governor of that place, giving him an account of the above-mentioned league concluded between the Christian princes against the *Turks*. These letters were immediately sent to *Selim*; who thereupon having ordered his admirals to commit all manner of hostilities in the dominions of the confederate princes, they ravaged not only the coasts of *Dalmatia* and *Istria*, but that of *Italy*, in such a manner as made the *Venetians* fortify their capital and other places with the utmost diligence, for fear of an attack. At length the whole fleet, leaving the *Adriatic*, sailed for the gulf of *Lepanto*; and, by the way, paid an unwelcome visit to *Korsû*<sup>1</sup>.

The Cbri-  
stian fleet

WHILE these things are doing by the *Turks*, the Christian preparations are going-on but slowly. At last, after long expectation *Don John* of *Austria*, natural son of the emperor *Charles V.* about twenty-four years of age, with admiral *Doria* and the *Spanish* fleet under his command, consisting of eighty-one gallies, whereof three were from *Malta*, arrived at *Messina*. There he found the *Venetian* fleet of one hundred and eight gallies, six galleasses, two tall ships, and a great many small galliots, under admiral *Venieri*; likewise twelve of the pope's gallies, commanded by admiral *Colonna*, his kinsman. On board this fleet, besides seamen, were reckoned twenty thousand good soldiers, and among them several persons of great quality, who went as volunteers in this expedition; particularly *Alessandro Farnese*, prince of *Parma*, who afterwards became the greatest general of the age; *Francisco Maria*, prince of *Urbino*, and *Paolo Jordano Ursino* of *Rome*.

put to sea;

WHEN it came to be debated in council, whether they should give the enemy battle, or besiege some town; *Requijenez*, great commandary of *Casile*, the vice-admiral and director of all *Don John's* affairs, advised besieging *Durazzo*, or some other maritime city, rather than fighting: but it be-

<sup>1</sup> RICAUT in *Selimus*.



ing carried in behalf of the latter measure, the fleet set-sail from *Messina*. At *Paxo* the whole expedition had like to have miscarried by discord : for *Don John*, finding the *Venetian* gallies but ill manned, put on board them four thousand *Spaniards* and one thousand *Italians*. Of the former, *Tortona*, a captain, beginning a mutiny without cause, and likely to do mischief, the *Venetian* admiral caused him to be hanged at the yard-arm. This his countrymen, and chiefly *Don John*, took so ill, as thinking it intrenched upon his authority, that all the arguments used by admiral *Colonna* could scarce appease him ; nor would he afterwards impart his councils to *Venieri*, but *Barbadico* the proveditor-general.

BEING informed at *Cefalonia* where the enemy lay, they sailed directly for *Lepanto*. On their approach, the *Turks*, whose fleet consisted of three hundred and thirty-five sail, consulted whether they had best fight the confederates, or lie secure in their harbour. *Mohammed Beg*, otherwise named *Chiroche*, or *Sirok*, a person of great years and experience, was against a battle ; urging, among other things, that there was no necessity for it. *Parteu*, the admiral *Pâsbâ*, seemed indifferent in the matter : but *Ali Pâsbâ*, who was of a fiery temper, and the great champion of the *Turks*, was for engaging without delay. In this opinion he was not a little encouraged by the report of *Kârakoja* ; who, viewing the Christian fleet in a swift galliot, by some means mistook the number : so that their advice prevailed, contrary to the information given by two other fly-boats of the great strength of the confederates.

A BATTLE being thus agreed on, *Parteu Pâsbâ* took on board twelve thousand *Janizaries* and *Spahis*, drawn out of the neighbouring garrisons ; besides four thousand other soldiers. Then, putting-out of the gulf, the fleet steered their course for the isle of *Corzulates*, of old *Echinates*, half-way between *Lepanto* and *Patras*. Their line of battle was thus : *Parteu* and *Ali Pâsbâs*, commanded the center ; *Mohammed Beg* with fifty-six gallies was in the right wing ; and *Kiliç Ali* with ninety-five gallies in the left : while *Morâd Dragut* with thirty gallies, and several other small vessels, brought-up the rear. Mean time, the Christians moving towards them, both fleets came in sight *October* the 7th, afternoon. Here-upon *Don John*, having ordered the great ensign of the confederates, which was the signal for engaging, to be hoist, clad in armour, went in his long boat to encourage the several squadrons of the center under his command ; while *Doria* did the like in the right wing, and *Barbadico*, the *Venetian* proveditor-general, in the left.

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The fight  
begins

THE day was now well spent, when both fleets were ready for the battle, which was one of the most considerable that ever happened at sea. The signal was no sooner given, than the *Turks*, with a hideous cry, fell on six galleasses which lay at anchor near a mile a-head of the confederate fleet: but those ships fired so briskly on them, first from their fore-castles, and then as they passed by so galled their galleys with whole broadsides, that several of them were sunk, which made the rest bear farther-off. The wind likewise chopped about to the west, and incommoded the *Turks* with the smoke. However, they soon made good their disordered squadrons, and came-on with surprising resolution. *Ali Pâshâ*, observing the admiral's galley, ran upon her with such violence, that both their beaks were broken-off, and fell into the sea. Hereupon ensued a most terrible fight between these two great commanders, and the other ships which seconded them: but as there were in *Don John's* galley four hundred men picked out of the whole army, and consisting mostly of officers, they entered the enemy's galleys three times to the very main-mast, yet were as often repulsed.

with great  
obstinacy.

*VENIERI*, seeing how things went, hastened to the general's relief; but on his way was encountered by *Parteu Pâshâ* with his galleys. Here the *Turks* behaved so bravely, that, notwithstanding the example and amazing courage of that admiral, now seventy years old, they entered the prow of his galley, and must have taken it, had not the sudden coming of two brave *Venetian* captains to his relief turned the scale a little, though with the loss of their own lives. At length *Venieri's* ship took two of the *Turkish* galleys, while *Parteu Pâshâ* fled out of the danger in a long boat. Not far from thence *Colonna*, the pope's admiral, being furiously engaged, made great slaughter of the enemy, and took one galley. *Ligni*, the *Genoese* admiral, did the like; on board of whom the prince of *Parma*, with the other volunteers, gained immortal honour.

Death of  
Barba-  
dica.

AT the same time *Mohammed Beg* falling-on the galleasses with the right wing, and being sorely damaged by them; to avoid this inconvenience, as also a shelf lying between him and the shore, he sent *Ali*, a *Genoese* renegado, with great part of his galleys, round about on the right, to fall-on the rear of *Barbadico*, who presently tacked about to receive him. But, as he had no fewer than five galleys at a time upon his own, he in this terrible fight grappling with the enemy and shunning no danger, was struck-in at the left eye and almost through the brain with an arrow; of which wound he died three days after. This encouraged the *Turks* so much, that

that the galley must needs have been lost, had not she been speedily relieved by *Nani* and *Portia*. These presently cleared her of her boarders, among whom they made a great slaughter : but were themselves dangerously wounded, and had been lost, if more gallies had not come to their assistance ; with which reinforcement they took one of the principal gallies of the enemy. Not far from thence the noble *Giovanni Contareni* had a terrible engagement with *Mohammed Beg* ; whose galley at length being taken, and all the men either slain or forced over board, he was found half-dead and dispatched out of the way <sup>m</sup>.

A. D.

1571.

and Mohammed Beg.

*Don John*, who had been three hours engaged with *Ali Ali Pâshâ Pâshâ*, finding himself in much danger, notwithstanding the assistance from *Bacianono* in the rear ; on a sudden called forth his four hundred select men, before-mentioned, from under the hatches, by whose valour that admiral's galley was soon taken. The *Pâshâ* himself being mortally wounded, and all over bloody, was slain outright ; and his head, being cut-off, held aloft on the point of a spear by *Don John*, as a trophy of his victory. This sight, with the cry of victory through the Christian fleet, so discouraged the rest of the gallies which were still valiantly fighting, that they fled towards the shore, about a mile distant : but several of them were taken by *Cannalis*, who commanded the gallies of *Kandia*. Among the slain was *Karakoja*, the famous renegado pirate ; while *Ahmed* and *Mohammed*, the two sons of *Ali Pâshâ*, and nephews of *Soltân Selim*, were both taken aboard their galley.

For all this good success, the fortune of the day was still doubtful in the right wing, where *Doria* was engaged with *Kilij Ali*, a valiant and expert commander. The *Spanish* admiral at first seemed to keep-off, while the *Turkish* extended his wing as if to hem him in ; yet offered not battle, expecting some advantage. This he soon obtained, by inclosing twelve of the *Venetian* gallies, separated from the rest, which he boarded and took : only *Superantio*, a nobleman, rather than fall into the enemy's hand, blew himself and his galley up. Mean time the noise of the firing in this part of the fleet brought *Pietro Justiniani*, admiral of *Mâlta*, to *Doria's* assistance : but coming-up singly, he was presently attacked by six *Turkish* gallies, which plied him so close that he was on the very brink of being lost. But two of the other *Mâltese* gallies, which were engaged with three of the enemy's, seeing the danger their admiral was in, came presently and rescued him. *Kilij Ali* by this time understanding that the center and

<sup>m</sup> RICAUT, ubi sup.

A. D.  
1571.

Loss of the  
Turks.

right wing of the fleet was overthrown, thought it best to make his escape; which with some difficulty he effected, with twenty-five galleys and ten galliots, into the gulf of *Lepanto*.

THE number of *Turks* slain in this famous naval fight could not with certainty be known. An author, who wrote an account of this war, makes their number thirty-two thousand, besides prisoners, who were about three thousand five hundred. The galleys taken from them amounted to one hundred and sixty-one. Forty more were sunk or burnt; and of galliots, with other small vessels, about sixty were taken. The *Turkish* admiral's galley was exceedingly rich and beautiful. In it was found *Ali Pâshâ's* casket, with six thousand ducats in it. This with a yearly pension of three hundred ducats was given in reward to a *Greek* of *Macedonia*, who slew that admiral. He was likewise knighted for that exploit by *Don John*; and had the barrel of the *Turkish* standard (N) bestowed on him. This barrel, on his return to *Venice*, he sold to a goldsmith; and the senate bought it of the goldsmith, paying a ducat for every ounce, to reposit it among the other trophies of that victory.

Korân  
divination.

THE news of this great defeat being carried to *Venice*, it was celebrated with the utmost joy (O). All prisoners were set at liberty, and *Justina's* day, on which it was gained, was made a festival for ever: a great quantity of money also was coined, with *Justina* upon it, and an impression of the battle. But while *Venice* was filled with gladness on this occasion, we may conceive the deepest melancholy reigned at *Constantinople*. The emperor *Selîm*, otherwise of an invincible mind, was so struck with the news of this great loss, that, for three

<sup>n</sup> RICAUT, *ibid.*

(N) It was all of massy silver gilt, and engraven round with *Turkish* letters. On one side the inscription was, *God conducts and adorns the faithful in worthy enterprises: God favours Mohammed*. On the other side. *There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his prophet*, or messenger.

(O) One of the chief *Turkish* prisoners, hearing this victory compared with the loss of *Cyprus*, no less ingeniously than truly said, *that the loss of the fleet was to Selîm as if a man*

*should shave his beard, which would soon grow again: whereas the loss of Cyprus was to the republic as the loss of an arm, which once cut-off could never be recovered.*—Prince *Cantemir*, in a note, p. 224, relates words to this effect, as spoken by the grand *Wazîr* to the *Venetian* ambassador, detained at *Constantinople*; who, on occasion of this victory, had desired an audience of that minister, and went to it with the greatest parade.

days

days (P), he neither eat nor drank, nor suffered any body to approach him (Q); praying night and day, that the God and protector of the *Musulmans* would have compassion on his people, and remove the dishonour brought on them by this defeat. On the fourth day, he takes-up the *Korân*, and accidentally opens to this passage (R): *In the name of God, clement and merciful! I grieve for the victory which the Europeans obtained over the inhabitants of the earth: gladness shall not be given them any more for victory hereafter.* Selîm, admonished by this oracle, that the overthrow of his fleet had not happened without the finger of God, returned him thanks for his fatherly correction, and recovered his spirits, almost quite sunk with sorrow. This calamity seemed to be foretold, according to the interpretation of the wise men, by the fall of the wooden roof (S) of the temple at *Mekka*; which Selîm ordered to be rebuilt with brick, that it might be a more stable emblem of the empire.

THE *Venetians*, still grieved for the loss of *Cyprus*, were Venetian not content with destroying the *Turkish* fleet: but, repairing *successes*, their navy with thirty gallies, wherein were embarked six thousand soldiers, they won the castle of *Margarita*, in *Epirus*; and recovered the town of *Suppoto*, which the *Turks* had taken from them the summer before. Besides this, the gallies of *Kandia*, under *Canalis*, intercepted many of the *Turkish* vessels, laden with the prisoners and spoils of *Famagusta*. *Martinengo* likewise, who besieged *Castel Novo*, had taken the suburbs, and reduced the town to great extremity; but was obliged to with-

(P) After his example, *Abmed* III. when he sent his *Wazîr* *Abmed Pâshâ* against the *Russians*, into *Moldavia*, prayed, it is said, forty days and nights, and eat nothing till sun-set: neither did he give over fasting till news came of his *Wazîr's* good success. *Cant.*

(Q) Some Christian writers say, he suffered none to speak to him the day on which he received the news; and resolved to massacre all the Christians in his dominions, for fear of a general revolt on that occasion: but was diverted from that cruel design by *Mohammed Pâshâ*. Others write, that he made slight of the loss; saying, that it seemed

from thence that God had allotted to the Christians the dominion of the sea, and to him that of the land.

(R) The *Turks* hold the *Korân*-divination to be infallible. They first read a *Sûrâ* or two, and then, opening the book, read the first line of the first page. They either persist in their design, or drop it, according as the passage turns-out. *Cant.*

(S) It is only a sort of roof, with the opening in the middle. It runs-up from the angles of the walls; and was of timber, before Selîm ordered it to be rebuilt with stone. *Cant.* — It is said to be of brick in the text.

draw;

*Chapter*

A. D. 1572. draw, on the approach of the *Beglerbeg* of Greece, with a considerable power to relieve it. In short, the *Venetian* successes this year were crowned with the relief of *Cattaro*; besieged by the *Turks* both by sea and land, presently after the reduction of *Cyprus*, as hath been before observed. The enemy, to distress the place, having built a strong fort on the bay leading to it, *Superantio*, who commanded then as admiral at *Korsû*, sailed thither with twenty gallies; and, coming by night before the mouth of the bay, left one half of his fleet at anchor before the fort, while with the other he bravely entered farther into the bay. This he did with small opposition: so that battering the fort and landing his men on both sides at once, it was presently taken by assault, and all the garrison put to the sword. They found there seventeen pieces of great cannon, much armour, and abundance of victuals, besides seven galliots which lay at anchor under the fort.

A new  
Turkish  
fleet.

Hej. 980.

A. D.

1572.

NEXT year *Kilij Ali Pâshâ*, a man of great valour, and an excellent seaman, who had succeeded as *Kapudân Pâshâ*, or high admiral, repaired the fleet with such expedition, that the following summer he had ready two hundred and fifty gallies: with which setting sail, he infested the coasts of Christendom where-ever he arrived. At length, the enemy's fleet appearing near *Evarin* (T), the *Pâshâ*, desirous to wipe-out the late disgrace, vigorously attacks it; but, night coming-on, retires to *Korom*. Four days after, the Christian admirals thought to surprise him, by lying concealed with their ships behind the high rocks which surrounded that port: but, being informed by his scouts of their intention, he sails out of the harbour; and, when they thought him still at anchor, find him ready to receive them. However, they advance, as if they intended to fall-on him: but, perceiving they were likely to meet with a rough reception, tack-about, and suffer the fleet, laden with spoil, to return to *Constantinople*.

Venetian  
prepara-  
tions.

THE *Turkish* historians are both defective and partial in their account of this enterprise; which is related by the Christian writers as follows. *Superantio*, having relieved *Cattaro*, as before related, returned to *Korsû*; where *Tuscarini* (now admiral of the *Venetian* fleet, in the room of *Venieri*,

• CANT. p. 225, & seqq.

(T) This must be *Navarin*, very negligent in marking the names of men and places, as in the *Moresa* which answers to hath been observed before. that name. But the *Turks* are *Cant*,

removed

removed to please *Don John*) had lain for some time, waiting for the confederates, who were to have joined him in *April*. The admiral, impatient at their delay, sent *Superantio*, with twenty-five gallies to *Messina*, to hasten their coming: but after many excuses made by *Don John*, particularly the apprehensions of a *French* invasion of *Spain* from *Rochel*, all that could be at length obtained from him were twenty-two gallies, under the command of *Lilly of Andrada*; with whom went *Colonna*, the pope's admiral.

A. D.  
1572.

ON their arrival at *Korsu*, *Fuscarini*, though it was now the month of *August*, failed to fight the enemy. The whole fleet consisted of 155 gallies, six galeasses, and twenty tall ships. In the right wing was *Superantio*; in the left, *Kanalis*; and in the center *Colonna*, *Fuscarini*, and *Lilly*; *Quirini* bringing-up the rear. In this order, having sailed beyond *Cerigo*, they discovered the *Turkish* fleet, consisting of 160 gallies, sixty galliots, and four great ships; who did all they could to decline fighting: for although *Kilij Ali* made a shew as if he intended to engage, yet, on the approach of night, he ordered all his artillery, charged with powder only, to be fired-off, and retreated under cover of the smoke towards *Cape Metapan*; leaving boats behind with lights in them, to make a shew as if the fleet had still been there.

THREE days after, the confederates coming-up with them, the *Turks* put out to sea, with their fleet divided into three squadrons: the left extended a great way into the sea, the right kept near the shore; and *Kilij Ali*, who commanded in the middle, advanced swiftly, ordering both his wings to fetch a compass on the right and left, aloof from the galeasses, which he was much afraid of, and so attack the wings of the Christians either on the sides or behind. But the confederates, perceiving his design on their wings, tacked about also, drawing-up in form of a half-moon, their main-body still facing that of the *Turks*; whose wings, being thus separated from the rest, seemed to offer great advantage to the Christians. Hereupon *Fuscarini*, without staying for the heavy ships and galeasses, proposed attacking the enemy's main-body; which must have been overthrown before the wings could join them. This however both *Colonna* and *Lilly* refused to do, but for what reason is uncertain.

THE wings of the confederates having been a little disordered in tacking, the *Turks*, with fifteen gallies, moved to fall on their straggling ships. But *Superantio*, to prevent them, made-up with four gallies; and, after a sharp fight, was seasonably relieved by twenty gallies and two galeasses, which so galled and tore eighteen of the *Turkish* vessels, that they were

A. D. 1572. were glad to sheer-off. Hereupon both fleets falling into order again, without any further action, the *Turks* sailed away to *Koron*, while the confederates retired to the island of *Cerigo*. Here they received notice from *Don John*, forthwith to meet him at *Zant*; which order *Fuscarini* much opposed, resolving first, if possible, to fight the enemy. Mean time the *Turkish* fleet appearing in the *Fret of Cerigo*, it was agreed to pass by them, in such order as if they offered them battle: but finding that the enemy lay still, more inclined to defend themselves than to fight, they made the best of their way to *Korsû*; where *Don John* was then arrived with fifty-three galleys and eighteen ships of war.

retire to  
Navarin: THE whole fleet at length being come together, consisting of 200 galleys, nine galleasses, and thirty-six tall ships, it was agreed to set-forward once more against the enemy, then at *Navarino*: but failing to surprise them for want of timing matters, they at length got into the harbour of *Modon*, whither the confederates followed them. Being come to the mouth of the bay, the *Venetian* admiral endeavoured to prevail on *Don John* to enter with the whole fleet, and there destroy at once all the naval strength of the enemy; which he represented as a thing very easy to perform: but *Don John*, urging many reasons to the contrary, refused, and returned with his fleet to *Navarino*.

attack  
Modon  
and  
HERE they held a council to consider what enterprize they had best go-upon; and concluding at last, after much consultation, to besiege the castle of *Modon*, they sailed thither again, and landed 7000 of their best soldiers to attack the place by land, while the galleasses were to batter it by sea. To do this the more conveniently, they fastened two of the greatest galleys together with masts and ropes: then, boarding them clear-over, made a floor or platform, on which they placed their gabions filled with earth all afront, and planted great guns between them. But this engine proved quite ineffectual, and the castle being reinforced with some horse, they gave over the siege.

Navarin  
in vain. HOWEVER, resolving to do something before the season was quite spent, they agreed to besiege the castle of *Navarino*, the ancient *Pylos*, and birth-place of *Nestor*. This business was intrusted to the care of the prince of *Parma*; who landing 2000 *Italians*, 1000 *Spaniards*, and 500 *Germans*, began to batter the place with twelve great pieces of cannon, and must soon have carried it: but, neglecting to secure the passes through a thick forest, the enemy, while the besieged made a sally, threw in a great number both of horse  
and



and foot on that side; whereupon the confederate forces forthwith raised the siege.

A. D.

1573.

FOR all these repulses, they might have succeeded tolerably well, had they continued to block-up the harbour by sea, since the *Turkish* fleet, which was still in the bay, now consisted of no more than 100 gallies, and 40 galliots. These were likewise so weak, and slenderly manned, by reason of the plague and famine among the crews, that their largest gallies had scarce 120 men left in them, all so meagre and faint, as scarce to be able to hold-up their arms: but after many consultations and debates, the *Spaniards* would return home, contrary to the intreaties of the *Venetian* admiral; who thereupon steered his course for *Venice*, where he was honourably received. Mean time the senate, made sensible how little they could depend on their confederates, began to think of preserving their state, by suing to the enemy for peace; which at length was, in *February* 1574, concluded on these conditions: that they should pay *Selîm* 300,000 ducats; one-third down, and the rest in two years; that the merchants goods should be restored on both sides; and that such places as the *Turks* had taken from the *Venetians* should remain in their possession: but that those, which the republic had taken from them, should be forthwith restored<sup>p</sup>. Thus far the Christian historians.

Venetians  
make peace

with the  
Turks.

LET US now return to the *Turkish*. The *Germans*, imagining all the *Othmân* forces to have been destroyed in the last year's defeat at sea, and that they might without difficulty recover what they had lost, lay siege to *Nova*, a city of *Bosnia*: but the governors of that and the neighbouring countries, hastening with united forces, surprise the enemy, intent on the leaguer, and put them to the rout. The damages sustained by the late defeat being thus amply retaliated, *Selîm* repairs the injuries done by time to the temple of *Sancta Sophia*, erects four *Minâreh*, or towers, of different shapes, at the four corners; and, demolishing some private houses near it, founds two *Madrefeh*, or academies, of excellent workmanship.

Germans  
defeated.

A. D.

1573.

THE same year *Selîm*, to keep his word with the *Muslimans* of *Spain*, and curb the boldness of the *Spaniards*, in revenge for the blow given him by their fleet at *Lepanto*; sends his *Wazîr* and high admiral, *Piala Pâşâ* (U), with a

Turks at  
tempt

<sup>p</sup> LEUNCL. & RICAUT. in *Selîmis*.

(U) Different from him in *Solymân's* time.

fleet

A. D. 1573. fleet against them. Being arrived at *Messina*, they destroyed the adjacent country with fire and sword; and as no army appeared to relieve that city, they doubtless would have taken it, had not the sudden tempestuousness of the sea obliged them to retire. The fleet returning home thus ineffectual, the king of *Spain*, with the forces he had designed for the relief of *Messina*, sails to *Africa*, and surprises *Tunis*; where, having killed and made prisoners all the *Musulmans*, he strengthens the city with new fortifications, and leaves a good garrison <sup>1</sup>.

The Span-  
ish forces

WE must learn from the Christian writers what the motives were which induced the king of *Spain* to undertake this expedition, as well as the particulars of it. When *Amīd*, king of *Tunis*, before-mentioned (who, after being driven out of his kingdom by the *Turks*, had retired to *Tavares*, the *Spanish* governor at *Gulletta*), heard of the good success of the Christians at *Lepanto*, he sent ambassadors to crave assistance of *Don John*, then in *Sicily*, for recovery of his dominions; promising to defray the whole charge of the war, and to be for ever tributary to *Spain*. This proposal having been accepted of, the king, in *October*, 1573, sent *Don John*, with 105 gallies and 40 ships, to *Gulletta*; where he was joined by admiral *Doria* with nineteen gallies, by *Colonna*, the pope's admiral, with fourteen more, and by the gallies of *Mālta*. *Don John*, immediately landing his men, found the city and castle of *Tunis* desolate, the inhabitants having fled, some to *Katrwan* and some to *Biserta*. But the *Turks*, who went to this last place, being denied entrance, they fell to ravage the country: of which *Don John* being informed, he sent *Tavares*, with part of his army; who routed them, and had the city peaceably delivered to him.

A. D.  
1573.

surprise  
Tunis,  
and

set up  
Moham-  
med.

THE kingdom of *Tunis* being thus reduced without opposition, *Don John* was so far from bestowing it on *Amīd*, who remained at *Gulletta*, that finding he had already held intelligence with the *Turks*, and procured the death of some Christians, in hatred to their religion, he sentenced him not only to be deposed, but also deprived of sight, in detestation of his unnatural proceedings against his father and brethren. Then, pursuant to the king of *Spain*'s order, his elder brother *Mohammed* was constituted king of *Tunis*, and his vassal. Hereupon 40,000 *Moors*, who had before abandoned the city, were, on their supplication, permitted by *Don John* to return. The general after this ordered a strong castle to be built between *Tunis* and *Gulletta*, leaving 2000 *Italians* and

<sup>1</sup> CANT. p. 226.

as many *Spaniards* to perform the work. This done, he departed for *Sicily*; carrying with him *Amîd* and his two sons prisoners †.

A. D.

1574-

MEAN time *Selim*, having made peace with the *Venetians*, turned his arms against *John*, the *Vayvod* of *Moldavia*. This *John*, who was the natural son of the *Vayvod Stephen*, lived as a merchant among the *Turks*; and, having embraced their religion, was at length by his intrigues made *Vayvod*, in the room of *Bogdân*, who, for his amity with the *Poles*, was deposed. *John*, soon after his advancement, renouncing *Mohammedism*, and the *Vayvod* of *Lesser Walakhia* (X) applying to the *Porte* in behalf of his brother *Peter*; *Selim* sent to him, either to pay an unreasonable sum of money, which he demanded, or give place to another. The nobles having opposed this tyranny, *John* told the messenger, that the people would not pay the money, and then endeavoured to make a league with the king of *Poland* against the *Turks*: but failing in that point, he took a body of *Polish Kossaks*, under the command of *Sujercevius*, into his service.

A. D.

1574-

THE Soltân, having received *John's* answer, dispatched 30,000 *Turks*, and 2000 *Hungarians*, to the *Palatine* of *Lesser Walakhia*, to secure *John*, and make his own brother *Peter Vayvod*. The *Palatine*, on this encouragement, with these forces joined to his own, amounting in all to above 100,000 men, swam over the river *Moldaw*; and, through confidence of success, kept no discipline in his army. Hereupon *John*, with *Sujercevius*, comes on them so unexpectedly, that, not having had time either to recover their horses, grazing in the meadow, or their arms, few or none of that great multitude escaped the slaughter, excepting the *Palatine* and his brother; who swam over the river to the castle of *Brahilow*. The victor followed, and, having ravaged the country without sparing either age or sex, summoned the governor of the castle to deliver up the fugitives: but a rough answer being returned by four messengers, the cruel *Vayvod* caused first their lips, noses, and ears, to be cut-off; then their feet to be nailed to a long piece of timber, and so, with their heads downwards, to be exposed to the view of the citizens. Presently after he attacked and took the city, with such horrible slaughter, that not so much as the very dogs

† RICAUT. in *Selim*.

(X) Called also *Walakhia Transalpina*; being one of the two parts into which *Walakhia* was formerly divided, *Moldavia* being the other.

were

A. D.  
1574.he is be-  
trayed

were spared. Then giving the spoil, which was exceeding rich, to his soldiers, he razed the place to the ground.

IN the interim news being brought, that 15,000 *Turks* advanced to relieve the castle, he dispatched *Sujercevius* and his *Kosaks*, with 8000 light *Moldavians*; who slew near 14000 of the enemy, while the rest fled to the castle of *Teina*, whose town the *Vayvod* presently besieged; and, having taken it, left not one soul alive. *Selim*, on advice of these proceedings, was so much afraid of being dispossessed of *Walakhia*, that he ordered public prayers to be made for his better success. Mean time, *John*, being minded for a while to break-up his army, left part of it with his old friend *Jeremiah Czarnievice*, general of the horse, to defend the passes over the *Danube*: but this old friend, suffering himself to be corrupted with a present of 30,000 *Hungarian* ducats, withdrew his troops, under pretence of forage, and gave the *Pâsbâ*, who was on the other side, liberty to cross the river with an army of 200,000 men. Then, posting himself with this news to the *Vayvod*, pretended he wanted force to oppose the enemy: but said they were not numerous, and might be easily overthrown, if he advanced with speed against them.

by his ge-  
neral:

HEREUPON *John*, raising the siege of *Teina*, marched forwards; and, being come within three miles of their camp, sent *Sujercevius* and the faithless *Jeremiah*, with forces, to view it. The *Kosaks*, who had long before suspected the latter, judging the enemy's army to be very large by the great number of their scouts, at their return advised the *Vayvod* not to trust him too much: but *John*, giving no way to suspicion, advanced with all his power against the *Turks*. He divided his horse, amounting to 30,000, into thirty troops; before each of which he placed some field-pieces. His foot, which were numerous, and very faithful, though a rude people, and but indifferently armed, he posted by themselves. Being arrived at a hill, from whence he could discern the huge army of the enemy, he sent for *Czarnievice*, whose treachery he now suspected: but the traitor excusing himself, because of the nearness of the enemy, sent word that he should soon see him in the field as forward as any against him. *John* believed so, when upon the signal of battle he saw him advance with 13,000 of the best troops: but as soon as he drew near the enemy, he caused his colours to be lowered, and his men, with their caps on the points of their swords and spears, to bow their bodies, in token of submission. The *Turks*, with their lances lifted-up, joyfully received them: but observing these revolvers, as men pricked in conscience, to shrink back in the battle, they forced them

Czarnie-  
vice

on to blunt their countrymens swords ; slaying such as did not go forward.

A. D.

1574.

THE traitors being by these means almost all destroyed, the *Turks* maintained a most obstinate fight for a while, and then retreated with a view to draw the *Moldavians* into an ambush : but their design being suspected, they came on afresh with greater fury than before, and, after a most terrible conflict, at length prevailed by numbers over the *Moldavians* ; most of whom were slain, and of the *Kosaks* only 250 left. However the *Vayvod*, who had still 20,000 foot and some horse remaining, retreated to the ruins of a town, which he had razed but a little before ; and there fortified himself the best he could. Next day, which was the 11th of June, the *Turks* having fired briskly into his camp to no purpose, sent to advise him to yield before they came to extremities. Hereupon it was agreed, that the *Kosaks* should have leave to return home ; and that the *Vayvod* should receive no manner of violence, but be sent to *Selim* to answer for himself : as for the *Moldavians*, it was represented as needless to make any terms for them, since any injury done to them would hurt the *Soltân*, and the *Vayvod* whom he should appoint.

defeated  
and  
taken :

THESE articles having been sworn to seven times by the *perfidious* *Turkish* officers, the *Vayvod* divided what money and jewels he had among his men, and then went in manner of a suppliant to the *Turkish* camp ; where he talked for above four hours with the chief commanders of the army. -At last, the *Kapujî Pâsbâ*, either offended with his words, or unmindful of his oath, struck him first on the face and then on the belly with his smiter. On this the *Janizaries* smiting-off his head, held it up for every-body to see it ; and with the like perfidy fell upon the *Moldavians*, whom they slaughtered like cattle. The *Kosaks*, expecting no better usage, rushed into the thickest of their enemies, and, valiantly fighting, were all slain ; excepting the brave *Sujercevius*, and a few other officers, reserved for ransom. The *Turks* after this overran all the country of *Moldavia*, put all the nobility to the sword, and carried away great numbers of the people, for settling remote colonies. Thus was the whole province subjected, and by that means a passage opened into *Podolia* . It may be observed, that this remarkable war is omitted by the *Turkish* historians come to our hands, to whom and the affairs of *Tunis* it is time to return.

As the blame for the loss of that kingdom fell on *Piâla* *Turks* *Pâsbâ*, because he returned in too great security, without African expedition.

• RICAUT. ubi Yupr.

MOD. HIST. VOL. XII.

B b

leaving

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Hej. 982. leaving part of the fleet to guard the *African* coasts, he is  
 A.D. dismissed; and *Sinân Pâsbâ*, the former *Wazîr*, being put  
 1574. in his room, is sent, in the year 982, to recover *Tunis*. The  
*Wazîr*, having landed his troops, instantly orders the city and  
 a neighbouring fortress, called *Khalkulvadi* (Y), to be at-  
 tacked: both which, after several assaults, he takes; and sa-  
 crifices the garrison to the ghosts of the *Musulmans* slain there  
 by the Christians the year before. Then he razes the fortress  
 to the ground; and, repairing the walls of *Tunis*, leaves  
 there a sufficient garrison<sup>1</sup>.

*They take* THE Christian historians tell us, that *Selim* made vast pre-  
*Guletta:* parations, both by sea and land, for recovering of this coun-  
 A.D. try. The fleet, consisting of 300 galleys, under the com-  
 1574. mand of three *Pâsbâs*, *Sinân*, *Piâla*, and *Kilij Ali*, arrived  
 before *Guletta*, on the 13th of *July*; where they were joined  
 by more ships from *Alexandria*, *Algiers*, and other places.  
 The first laid siege to the water-town, which was bravely de-  
 fended by a garrison of 800 men; till, most of them being  
 slain, the governor ordered the rest to retire to the castle, and  
 leave it to the *Turks*, who lost 3000 men before it. Here-  
 upon they turned their arms against the castle; and after many  
 furious assaults became masters of the chanel of the lake of  
*Tunis*, which proved of great service to them. Mean time,  
 some companies of *Spaniards*, sent from the new castle, hav-  
 ing gotten into *Guletta*, the besieged made a sally, *August*  
 the 20th, and repulsed the *Turks* with a very great slaughter;  
 yet as they never ceased bringing-on fresh men; the 23d, after  
 continuing a most terrible fight the whole day, they at length,  
 two hours after sun-set, took the castle, and put all therein to  
 the sword.

*the new* THE *Guletta* being thus reduced, the *Turks*, next day, laid  
*castle:* siege to the *New Castle*, which was garrisoned by 4000 choice  
 soldiers, under command of the valiant commanders *Serbellio*  
 and *Salazar*: yet this too, after many most terrible and de-  
 sperate assaults, was taken by them on the 13th of *September*.  
 In the attack, which held that day for six hours together,  
 most of the besieged were slain. The brave *Serbellio*, being  
 shot with two musket-balls, and choosing rather to die than  
 fall into the enemy's hands, rushed into the midst of them,  
 there to have perished; but, by the hasty coming-in of *Piâla*

<sup>1</sup> CANT. p. 227.

(Y) This seems to be the *letta*, as prince *Cantemir* sup-  
 poses it.  
 new castle, mentioned lower  
 down, rather than that of *Gz-*

*Páshá*, both he and *Salazar* were taken alive. The *Páshá*, A. D. 1574, in his rage, struck old *Serbello*; and, the more to afflict him, caused his son to be slain before his face, with the rest of the garrison. But these conquests cost the *Turks* dear: for it was computed that they lost 30,000 men in less than three months time. After this they easily possessed themselves of *Tunis*, where *Mohammed*, the new king, was taken prisoner. Then, having settled matters in that city, and at the *Guletta*, the *Páshás* departed with a fleet of 400 sail. On the 4th of October, they appeared in sight of *Málta*; but understanding that the knights were ready for them, and remembering their former disgrace there, they bore away for *Constantinople*.

WHILE the expedition to *Tunis* was going forward, 1500 Hungarians assembling with a design to surprise *Seghetvár* (or *Sigeth*), *Jaffer Páshá*, governor of *Ghiula*, who was informed of it, lies in ambush for them with 500 *Janizaries*, or more; and, attacking them as they marched carelessly along, routs and takes many of them prisoners. Towards the end of this year, the *Soltán* builds a large and most elegant bath, in that part of the palace which looks to the east. Whilst the mörter yet exhaled virulent steams, the emperor first enters the bath; and, if some writers are to be credited, drinks a large dose of wine to expel the noxious vapours. This was followed by a slight head-ach, then a giddiness, and at length a sort of apoplexy; which, on the 11th day of his distemper, and 28th of *Shában* (Z), carried him out of the world.

*SOLTÁN Selim* lived fifty-two years (A), and reigned eight years, five months, and nineteen days. He was a prince of great valour (B), but not always successful; of an invincible mind in all circumstances; in councils ready and secret; a lover of justice; and a good nam: liberal, and so merciful, that nature seemed to have endued him with a gentler disposition than his predecessors. He was familiar and facetious in talk with his domestics; extremely fond of the learned, and of mimiks: very constant in his devotions. However, some historians, who either had a better opportunity of knowing what passed in the inner seray, or sought to please their readers with novelties, say, that, under pretence of devotion, he gave

RICAUT. in *Selimus*.

(Z) The Christian historians make his reign 52 years.

say, he died the 9th of December, 1574, consumed with wine and women.

(A) The same writers make

(B) The Christian authors say, he had less valour than any of his predecessors, and therefore was least regarded.

A. D. 1575. himself up intirely to wine and lust (C) in the secret apartments of his palace. It is certain, that he put-on a great appearance of religion in public ; and if at any time his actions seemed to deviate from reason, it was ascribed rather to divine inspiration than the vice of drunkenness \*. As to his person, the Christians say, he was of a middle stature, and of a heavy disposition : that his face was rather swollen than fat, and much resembled that of a drunkard †.

## C H A P. XIII.

*The Reign of Morâd III.*

12 Soltân Mo- SELIM being dead, his son *Morâd*, the beginning of *Ramazan*, in the year 983 of the *Hejrah*, and thirty-first of his age, comes to *Constantinople* ; where he is immediately saluted emperor by all the great men, who testify their grief for his father's death in elegant orations : after which *Soltân Selim* is buried in a *Turbeh* (or turret), near *Sancta Sophia* ‡.

Hej. 983.  
A. D.  
1575.

WE are informed by the Christian historians, that his first care was to appease the *Janizaries* ; who, besides the usual largesses, required an augmentation of their pay, and the privilege that their sons, as soon as they arrived at the age of twenty, should be enrolled among the younger *Janizaries*, and enjoy their immunities. After this, to comply with a political custom, rather than from inclination to cruelty, he caused his five brothers *Mostafa*, *Soleymân*, *Abdo'llah*, *Ozmân*, and *Jehân ghir*, to be strangled in his presence. This execution so much affected the mother of *Soleymân*, that she stabbed herself to the heart ; at which tragical sight, it is said, *Morâd* let fall some tears.

Strangles  
his brothers:

invades THE *Soltân's* next care was to enact wholesome laws, alter the coin, and make the poor sensible of his bounty. Then, in prosecution of the wars which his father had begun, he sent the *Krim Tatars* to invade *Podolia* ; which they entered in *October*, 1575, and committed great ravages : but while they were dividing the spoil with *Peter*, the new *Vayvod* of

invades  
Poland :  
A. D.  
1575.

\* CANT. p. 227. & seq.  
† CANT. p. 227, 229.

‡ RICAUT. in *Selim*.

(C) These agree with the wine and women, and that the Christian historians, who say, was wholly given to sensual that he died consumed with pleasures.

*Walakhia*



*Walakhia* before-mentioned, the *Polish Kofaks* broke into their country, in order to make reprisals. Mean time *Morâd*, understanding that the *Poles*, on the desertion of *Henry de Valois*, duke of *Anjou*, were about to chuse a new king, and that even the emperor *Maximilian* and great duke of *Moskovy* were candidates; yet he by letter recommended to them *Stephen Batori*, *Vayvod* of *Transilvania*. To this they paid so great regard, that they actually elected the princess *Ann* of the *Jagellonian* family to be their queen, on condition that she should marry the *Vayvod*; which was accordingly done. So that *Morâd* would often boast, that he had given a king to *Poland*; and soon after he found the benefit of it, since *Stephen* entered into a league with him, whereby he became secure on that side, while he prosecuted his designs against *Persia*; which were favoured by the distractions that arose on the death of king *Tahmâsh*, in May 1576<sup>b</sup>.

A. D.  
1578.

makes  
Stephen  
king:

*MORAD*, after spending three years in settling the public affairs, and making military preparations, resolves, in 986, to undertake the *Persian* expedition. To this end, he sends *Mostafa Pâsbâ*, who commanded in the *Cyprian* war, with the troops of *Arzerûm* and *Diyârbekr* (D), to attack their frontiers. That general first repairs the castles on the borders, and fortifies the city of *Kârs*, almost demolished by several sieges; where he builds magazines for laying-up store of corn, that the want of grain might not obstruct his enterprize, as it had done all the former. After this, he goes and closely besieges *Khaldirân* (E), a strong town of *Persia*; which he takes after several assaults. Then sending part of his forces, under the *Pâsbâs* of *Arzerûm* and *Diyârbekr* against *Tokmak Khân* (F), who was coming with a considerable army (G) to relieve that place, they surprise that general, and

invades  
Persia:  
Hej. 986.  
A. D.  
1578.

<sup>b</sup> *MINAPOR's* wars between the *Turks* and *Persians*. *RICAUT*. in *Morad III*.

(D) The Christian historians say, that, in spring, he assembled an army of 201,000 men from all parts of the empire at *Arzerûm*. See *Ricaud* in *Amurat* 3d.

(E) As we know of no such town in *Persia*, we chuse to follow the Christian historians; who only say, *Mostafa* encamped in the plains, at the foot of the mountains of *Khieldar*, in

the way from *Khârs* to *Tefis*.

(F) *Tokmak* signifies a *mallet*, *pestle*, or *rammer*. A surname, doubtless given to denote some quality of the owner. *Cant*.

(G) The Christian writers say, he had not above 20,000 men; which were all that could then be raised in *Persia*. *Ricaud*.

A. D.

1578.

put his forces to flight (H). The reward of this victory was *Tiflis*, a noted city of *Armenia* (I); which, being taken immediately after, was destroyed. From thence *Mos̄tafa* marches towards *Shamakh̄iya*; but, being stopped by the rains, he leaves *Ozdem̄ir* (K), *Othmân Pâshâ*, and the *Beglerbeg* of *Erzenarrumi* (L), to guard the subdued places, and returns to *Europe*.

Success in  
Georgia:

THE Christian historians are more particular on this occasion. The general having passed the mountains of *Teflis*, an ambassador came from a *Georgian* prince, called *Skânder*, or *Alexander*, with offers of obedience; and, after twelve days march, having reached the neighbourhood of *Shîrwân*, received the submission of the city of *Sekhi*. The soldiers being here much distressed for want of subsistence, they were told by some captives, that three days march thence there were fields of rice and corn, with cattle sufficient for the whole army. Hereupon 10,000 men were detached to bring that provision away: but, being come to the place, they were set on by *Tokmak*, *Khân* of *Reivân*, the *Persian* general, who had rallied his scattered troops, and almost all cut-off. The *Persians* suffered in their turn; for, staying too long to divide the spoil, they gave *Mos̄tafa* an opportunity to inclose them in a peninsula made by the rivers *Arâs* and *Kanak* (M); where they were all slain or drowned, excepting *Tokmak*, with *Amîr Khân*, and a few others; who escaped by swimming their horses over the *Kanak*.

Shîrwân  
reduced:

*MOSTAFA*, on this occasion, having one hundred men, to one against the enemy, lost not above 3000 soldiers; but, next day in passing the *Kanak*, with part of his army, to en-

(H) The *Persians* lost 8000 men: 5000 slain, and 3000 taken, yet put to death, and all their heads piled up in a heap. But the *Turks*, by the battle, and sickness that followed, lost 40,000. *Risâult*.

(I) *Tiflis*, or *Teflis*, is the capital of *Georgia*, or *Gurjestân*, and far from the borders of *Armenia*. The Christian writers say, the *Turks* found it deserted by the garrison.

(K) Different from him mentioned before, p. 347.; and so called from the fortitude of his mind, not of his body. *Cant*.

(L) Rather *Arz-no'rrûmi*.

Prince *Cantemir* says, he cannot tell what city or province is meant by this name; but that it seems to be recovered from the *Turks*, since there is no such *Pashalik* now in the whole empire. Whereas it is no other than the *Pashalik* of *Arzerûm*, mentioned by him twice before within a few lines, only altered a little by being written more at length; and signifies *Arze*, or *Arzen*, of the *Romans*.

(M) Called also *Fori*. This junction happens about twenty-two leagues to the north-west of *Shamakh̄iya*, the capital of *Shîrwân*.

ter *Shtrwān*, 8000 more were drowned. The rest of his troops, who murmured much before, would now probably have mutinied, had they not found a ford by which they crossed the river. At length arriving at *Eres* (or *Arās*) the principal city on that side, but deserted as well as other places by the *Persians*, they refreshed for twenty-one days; in which time, *Mostafa* erected a fortress, and furnished both it and the city with cannon, and a garrison of 5000 men. Then leaving *Ozmān Pāshā*, who had taken *Sbamakhīya*, to govern the province, with a charge to open a passage, if practicable, to *Derbend*, and give the *Tatars* notice of his arrival, he set-out on his return homewards.

BEING come to the *Kanak*, he ordered a bridge to be made Georgian over it; which having crossed, *Sabamal*, a Georgian prince, came and submitted to *Morād*. At length he entered the country of *Alexander*; and being come to *Zaghen*, that prince sent him abundance of refreshments, but did not wait on him on account of his infirmities. From thence he marched to *Teflis*; after which, in passing over rough and woody mountains, he encountered with infinite difficulties, and lost many men cut-off by the *Georgians*. At length he arrived at *Altānkāla*, the palace of prince *Dedēsmit*'s widow; who made her feigned submission, and delivered him her elder son *Alexander*; whom, with his brother *Manujcher* (N), *Mostafa* sent to *Constantinople* as soon as he got to *Arzerūm*, where he disbanded his army.

ACCORDING to the *Turkish* historians, *Manujcher* (or, as *Turks* Prince *Cantemir* writes it, *Munevjeher*), who had till then been subject to the *Persians*, came to *Mostafa*, while he was at *Tiflis*, and delivered him the keys of the towns under his command. Some time after, he turned *Mohammedan*; for which he was rewarded with the *Sanjāk* of *Akhiska* (in *Anatolia*), and made *Beglerbeg* of *Tiflis* itself. As the winter became so severe, that the *Othmān* soldiers, not used to the cold, daily perished in the camp, *Ozdemir Ogli*, *Othmān Pāshā*, sent his forces into winter-quarters, at some distance from one another; because there was no city, in those desert and ravaged parts, capable of receiving the whole army: but this coming to the knowledge of *Euris Khān*, the *Persian* general, he

\* MINADOI, ubi supr. l. iii. RICAUT. ibid.

(N) *Minadoi*, from whom the account of these wars is taken, writes *Manucchiar* (which, according to the *English* ortho-

graphy, should be written *Manucchiar*); for want perhaps of the *English* ch, or j consonant.

A. D.  
1578.Persians  
routed:

unexpectedly falls on the *Turks*, thus dispersed, and makes a great slaughter.

*OTHMAN Pâsbâ*, otherwise an able general, troubled lest this misfortune should be imputed to negligence, assembles his army in the midst of winter, and, with doubtful fortune, fights the *Persians* above twenty times in different places. At last 30,000 of them, under the conduct of *Imam Euli*(O), furiously attack him: but at the end of four days, during which the battle continued, are repulsed, and almost all slain. *Ozdemîr Ogli* after this, repairing the walls of *Samakhîya*, retires with part of his weakened forces into *Europe* <sup>d</sup>.

SOON after *Mystafa Pâsbâ*'s departure from *Eres*, *Ares* (or *Eures*) *Khân*, who had fled from *Shamakhîya* for fear of the *Turks*, resolved, with the other governors of *Eres* and *Sekhi*, to return into their country: but when he was near that capital, and understood by intercepted letters from the *Tatars*, who were newly arrived, to *Ozmân Pâsbâ*, how strong they were, he retired towards the *Kanak*. There *Abdo'l Gheray*, the *Tatar* general, and brother of the *Khân*, surprising him, defeated his army; and taking him prisoner, he was hanged at *Samakhîya* by *Ozmân*'s order, before one of the apartments of his late palace. After this, the *Tatars* went and sacked *Ganjeh*.

Shirwân  
recovered.

MEAN time, *Amîr Hamzeh Mîrza*, the king of *Persia*'s eldest son, with 12,000 new-raised troops, arrives in *Shirwân*, and recovers *Eres* from the *Turks*; with all the booty taken by them, after a fierce battle with *Kaytas Pâsbâ*, the governor; who was there slain, and all his followers. Then, marching toward *Shamakhîya*, he surprised the *Tatars* negligently encamped, made a great slaughter of them, and took many prisoners, with their general. Being come before that city, he summoned *Ozmân Pâsbâ* to surrender, on condition of having his life and effects. The *Pâsbâ* agreed to the proposal, and desired three days to get things ready to march-out: but fearing to trust his enemy, he, in the night, escaped with his effects to *Dârbend*. Next morning, the *Persian* prince, entering the city, took vengeance on the inhabitants for their want of fidelity; and razing the old walls, built new ones. He likewise severely punished those of *Eres* and *Sekhi*: after which he returned victoriously to *Kastîn*, with *Abdo'l Gheray*; who being young and handsome, the queen of *Persia* fell in love with him. The court-lords, offended at this amour,

Ozmân  
Pâshâ<sup>d</sup> CANT. p. 231.(O) Doubtless a mistake for *Imâm Kuli*.

which

which was carried with too little reserve, but more at king Mohammed's intention to marry his daughter to that general, with a view to gain the *Tatars* over to his interest, one morning entered his apartment, and slew him. It is thought they likewise made away with the queen; for she never after appeared in publick.

A. D.  
1578.

*OZMAN Pâsbâ* having gotten safe to *Dârbend*, which was now the only place in *Shîrwân* possessed by the *Turks*, with a view to secure that country to the *Soltân*, married the daughter of *Sahamal*, a *Georgian* lord: but finding soon after by his wife, who doated on him, that her father was underhand engaged with the king of *Persia* to ruin him, *Ozmân* invited him to a banquet, and there slew him, with his attendants. Thus ended the war for this year, in which the *Turks* lost 70,000 men \*.

THE greater part of the *Turkish* army being thus detained in *Persia*, the *Khân* of the *Krîm Tatars* attempts to throw off the *Othmân* yoke. Hereupon *Mostafa Pâsbâ*, being ordered to extinguish this flame in its birth, that general marched over *Mount Caucasus*, by the straits of *Demur Kapi* (P); and, crossing the *Don*, or *Tanais*, in boats, surprised the *Khân*, who feared nothing from a quarter never before traversed by man; and cutting-off his head, sends it to the *Porte* †.

*MORAD* thinking it best, in making conquests, to secure his own borders first, and then encroach by degrees upon his neighbours, ordered *Mostafa* to prepare materials for building forts on the roads leading from *Arzerûm* to *Georgia*. For this purpose, the *Pâsbâ* prepared great forces, with 20,000 pioneers. Nor were the *Persians* idle on their side to oppose the encroaching enemy. *Imâm Kûli Khân*, governor of *Ganjeh*, on this occasion offered to defend *Shîrwân*, and hinder *Ozman Pâsbâ* from either making conquests or building forts in that province. At the same time, *Simon*, a valiant *Georgian* prince, thinking this a proper opportunity to recover his territories usurped by his younger brother *David*, or *Dawd Khân*, undertook to secure against the *Turks* that part of *Georgia* where *Teflis* stood. Hereupon the king made him *Khân* of the whole country, and sent *Ali Kûli Khân* with 5000 men to support his design.

\* MINADOI, ubi supr. c. 3. † CANT. p. 231.

(P) *Demur*, or *Temur, Kapi*, which in *Persian* signifies the iron gate. So the *Turks* call *Dârbend*, or *Derbent*;

A. D.  
1580.Kârs for-  
sised.A. D.  
1579.Teflis re-  
lieved.Mingrelia  
curbed.Persian  
ambassy  
Hej. 988.A. D.  
1580.

ON the approach of spring, *Mostafa* marched from *Azerum* in twelve days to *Khârs*; and having, in twenty more, fortified the place by the hands of the unwilling soldiery, detached about 19,000. men to *Teflis*, under the command of *Hassan Pâshâ*, son of the grand *Wazîr Mohammed*, a very brave officer. Being come to the famous straits of *Tomanis*, he was, in his passage through the woods, attacked by *Ali Kâli Khân* and *Simon*; where he lost a great many men. But as soon as he was clear of the forests, he made a halt; which the *Persians* mistaking as done out of fear to advance, attacked him a second time, and fell into an ambush laid for them; where most of them were slain, and *Ali Kâli Khân* made prisoner. *Hassan* after this relieved *Teflis*; but in his return was way-laid a second time at *Tomanis*. From this danger, however, he was freed by the advice of *Ali Kâli Khân*, on promise of liberty for that piece of service; yet he broke his word, under pretence, that it was not in his power to perform it. *Simon* fretted much at this disappointment; but still pursued him so eagerly, that he destroyed the rear of his army, and took all his treasure from him. *Hassan*, in eight days march, got to *Khârs*, whither *Mostafa* returning not long after with his army, much weakened and discontented; there disbanded them, and finished this year's campaign.

To favour the expedition, and open an easier passage into *Georgia* than that by land, *Morâd* had sent *Kiliç Ali*, with a great fleet, into the *Euxine* sea, to erect some forts in *Mingrelia*; which were presently after his departure demolished by the inhabitants. *Hassan* was nobly rewarded by the *Sultan* for his services: but *Mostafa* was disgraced, and *Sinân Pâshâ*, his enemy, made general. He was likewise soon after advanced to the *Wazîrship* on the death of *Mohammed*; who was stabbed in the open *Divân* by a soldier, whom he had deprived of his pay.

*MORAD*, intent on carrying-on the war, the prime *Wazîr* is sent, in the year 988, with a great army against the *Persians*; who, seeing their whole nation threatened with destruction, sue for peace. For that purpose they send *Ibrîm Khân*, a man of great subtilty; who, by his speeches and presents, so moves the *Wazîr*, then entered within the *Persian* borders, that the army was immediately ordered to march back, and the ambassador sent with recommendatory letters to the *Porte*. But *Morâd* thinking it too early to grant peace till the enemy was exhausted, as well as dis-

honourable for his arms to be diverted by deceitful proposals; refuses *Ibrâhîm's* petition, and deprives *Sinân Pâshâ* of his post; advancing *Ferbâd Pâshâ* in his room.

A. D.  
1580.

THE Christian historians say, there were two ambassadors *unsuccessful* sent from *Persia*; *Maxud* (or *Masûd*) *Khân*, in 1580, and *Ibrâhîm Khân*, the year following, both unsuccessful in their negotiations: that the first year *Sinân Pâshâ* did nothing but supply *Teflis* with necessaries; was hindered by rains from building a fort at *Tomanis*; and lost 9000 men in two attempts to carry-off cattle, by the forces of *Tokmak* and *Simon*, who watched his motions: that *Sinân* having sent to the king of *Persia* about peace, first *Hayder*, an *Aga*, and then *Ibrâhîm Khân*, arrived; who being dispatched forward to *Constantinople*, *Sinân* got leave to go to court, in order to advise what articles were most proper to be insisted upon: that after all, this ambassador not agreeing to their terms, he was first affronted, and then closely confined, with so much rigor; that though 100 of his domestics died of the plague, yet he could not obtain the favour to be removed to some other place, till at length he was sent prisoner to *Arzerûm*.

*SINÂN Pâshâ* was now made grand *Wazîr*; and *Mohammed Pâshâ*, nephew to *Mostafa*, the late general, sent to relieve *Teflis* against the *Wazîr's* advice. Having gathered 25000 men at *Arzerûm*, he was joined by *Hassan Pâshâ* of *Kâza Amîd* (or *Diyrâbekr*), and *Manujeher*, the Georgian prince, now turned *Mohammedan*, and called *Mostafa*. When they were advanced as far as *Gari* (within thirty miles of *Teflis*), they discovered a great army of *Georgians*, mixed with *Persians* in *Georgian* habits; because the peace was then depending. Next day, the *Turks* having crossed a river which parted the two armies, the *Georgians*, with great fury, fell on them before they could draw-up in order, made a great slaughter of them, and took the military chest, with most of their provision: so that when the *Pâshâ*, with the rest who fled, got to *Teflis*, he was forced to raise 40,000 ducats among the officers to pay the garrison, and sent to *Zaghen* for provisions.

*MOHAMMED*, having staid only two days at *Teflis*, *Manujeher* marched back by the way of *Tomanis*; and being come to her's *Altunkala*, the castle of *Mostafa* the *Georgian*, he invited that prince to a council of war, with a design to cut him off. *Mostafa*, who had notice of this plot, with fifty choice men, went to the general's tent, where a sham mandate from the emperor was read. This *Mostafa* promised to obey: but

A. D.  
1583.

when he was about to take his leave, the *Hapji Basbi* came up; and, pulling him by the sleeve, would have forced him to sit down. At the same instant, the *Georgian* prince crying out, with his sword killed the general's lieutenant, cut-off the *Pâsbâ* of *Kara Amid*'s ear, and desperately wounded *Mohammed* himself in several places. This affair caused great confusion in the army; while *Mostafa* immediately gave the *Soltân* notice of the conspiracy against him, and was honoured with a vest<sup>i</sup>.

Turkish  
artificer.

*MORAD* laid all the fault of these misfortunes on the prime *Wazîr*, for not staying in the east to command the army: while *Sinân* retorted the blame on the emperor himself for employing *Mohammed* against his advice. He added, that they ought not to proceed in the war by erecting forts, since there was not money enough in the treasury to support the garrisons; and that if the *Soltân* expected a good issue of things, he ought to go to the war in person. But this advice was so disliked by the effeminate emperor, that he banished *Sinân Pâsbâ*, and made *Shaus Pâsbâ*, his own brother-in-law, *Wazîr*. At the same time, being resolved to carry on the war, he appointed *Ferhâd*, a man of great courage and experience, general of the forces; proposing at first to employ him no farther, than to secure the passage to *Teflis*, and destroy the country of *Mokasa*, the *Georgian*: but when he heard of the troubles arising in *Persia* between the king and his youngest son *Abbâs Mîrza*, he ordered *Ferhâd* to build a fortress at *Rivân*, and secure the passage from *Khârs* thither, so to open the way to *Tauris*. As for *Mostafa* the *Georgian*, he directed the general to dissemble with him for the present, and make use of him to convey succours to *Teflis*<sup>k</sup>.

Persian  
war re-  
newed.

Hej. 991.

A. D.  
1583.

THE new *Wazîr*, in 991, with numerous forces, enters the *Persian* borders, and repairs the walls of *Rivân*; but either through cowardice, or corruption, did nothing else worthy memory. What is worst, he lost *Tibris*; and, after some defeats, returns towards winter with his army.

THE *Turkish* historians afford us no more than this short account of *Ferhâd*'s performances: but the Christian writers relate them more at large, and to his advantage. According to them, *Ferhâd*, having gotten his army ready, marched to *Revân*; where, seizing on the houses and gardens of *Tokmâk*, he, in fifteen days, erects a strong fortress, 750 yards in compass, without opposition from that lord; who could procure no aid for the purpose. Then leaving *Sinân Pâsbâ*, a renegade *Genoese*, with 3000 men to garrison the place, he

<sup>i</sup> MINADOUS, l. 4 & 5. . . . . <sup>k</sup> Ibid. l. 6.

marched



marched to *Khârs*. There he received news of the revolt of *Mostafa* the Georgian: for being on the way to *Teflis*, with 30,000 dukats, accompanied by two *Kapiji* and a *Chausb*, he met with his cousin *Stephen*, who persuaded him to renounce *Mohammedism*; after which, killing the *Turks*, they divided the treasure between them. However, the general had the good fortune to relieve *Teflis*, by means of *Hassan Pâsbâ*; while *Resuan Pâsbâ* ravaged *Mostafa's* country: this done, he returned to winter at *Arzerûm*.

A. D.  
1583.  
Manuje-  
her re-  
volts.

THE king of *Persia* understanding, that *Ferbâd* would next year invade *Naksvân* (or *Nakchuân*), with a mighty army, marched with all his forces to *Tauris*. Hereupon *Ferbâd* encouraged the report of his going to the first place, while he advanced to the castle of *Lori*, within two stages of *Teflis*, and strongly fortified it. After this, he built a strong fort in the strait of *Tomanis*, and then sent 20,000 men, under *Resuan* and *Kâra Amîd*, *Pâsbâs*, to put succours into *Teflis*. But *Simon*, the Georgian, seeing *Resuan* encamped with only 6000 men at the foot of a hill, believing that to be his whole force, charged him boldly with 4000 men: but was presently hemmed in by the *Turks*, who came from the other side of the hill. Here there ensued a terrible battle, in which *Simon* had his horse slain under him, and had like to have been taken, at such time as there appeared in view 10,000 men sent to reinforce *Rusuan*: but he, taking them for *Persians*, was put to such a stand, that it gave the brave Georgian, and his surviving troops, an opportunity to escape.

Simon de-  
feated.  
A. D.  
1583.

AFTER this *Ferbâd* resolved to go and ravage the country of *Manujeher*; but the year being far spent, when they came near to *Arkhelek*, the soldiers tumultuously rose, and, abusing the general, would have him return to *Arzerûm*. At length, he pacified them: but being come to *Glisha*, and proposing to build a fort there, they flew to their arms, and in a trice overturned the tents of all the commanders; telling the general, with threats and ill language, that they were neither masons nor bricklayers. *Ferbâd*, perceiving there was no other remedy, marched to *Ardekhân*; and there disbanding the army, returned to *Arzerûm*, hated by every-body<sup>1</sup>.

NEITHER was *Morâd* himself pleased with his conduct, among other things, for letting *Ali Kâli Khân* escape; whom he took for his guide in the expedition. At the same time, *Krîm*, having conceived a great opinion of *Ozmân Pâsbâ*, then in *Shirwân*, he sent for him, in order to make him general. But *Shaus*, the grand *Wazîr*, being jealous of that *Pâsbâ's*

<sup>1</sup> MINADOI, l. 6. RICAUT in *Morad III.*

A. D.  
1583.

Abilities, wrote to *Mohammed Khán* at *Kássa*, to way-lay him: The *Khán*, fearing *Ozmán* would complain of his not having sent the promised succours, detached 12,000 *Tatars*; who surprised *Ozmán* with only 4000 choice men; on the shores of the *Buxine* sea: but yet were defeated by him with great slaughter. *Morád*, being informed of this affair, sent *Kísh Ali*, his admiral, with a fleet to assist *Ozmán*; who, sailing to *Kássa*, put the *Khán* to death, and set up his brother *Isán* in his room<sup>m</sup>.

*Morád's*  
*frólick.*

This summer, *Morád*, to divert himself with his mutes mounted on heavy horses, rode himself about them on a nimble nag, striking sometimes the horse, sometimes the man, at pleasure: but in the midst of his gasefy, being taken with a fit of his old distemper, the falling-sickness, he fell off his horse, and was taken up for dead. The *Janizaries* believing him to be so, according to custom, raised a tumult; which ended, as usual, in straggling some of them. *Morád* recovering, to quash the rumour, rode from his palace to *Santa Sophia* (Q). The same year an accident happened, which had like to have caused a war between the *Turks* and *Venetians*. The widow of *Rámadán Páshá*, late governor of *Tripoli*, being bound thither with three galleys, and driven by a storm into the *Adriatic*; *Pietro Emo*, a *Venetian* senator, who then commanded in the gulf, took them, and committed horrid barbarities. He slew 250 of the men, and *Rámadán's* son in his mother's lap: then caused the women to be ravished, their breasts to be cut off, and afterwards thrown into the sea, not sparing even the Christians. Among the rest, there was a beautiful virgin, whom *Emo's* brother first deflowered; and then, notwithstanding all her intreaties, drowned. This news so enraged the *Turks* at *Constantinople*, that they had much ado to refrain killing the *Venetian Bailé*, or resident, there. However, on *Morád's* demanding satisfaction; the senate begged pardon, and not only put *Emo* to death, but also restored the galleys with the goods<sup>n</sup>.

The Durzi  
invaded.

ABOUT this time, both *Syria* and *Egypt* were embroiled in troubles. *Hassan*, the eunuch, *Páshá* of *Kayro*, having by his exactions greatly oppressed the people, they petition to remove him. *Morád*, on this, sends thither *Abrahám Páshá*, whom he had before designed to gratify with that employment, as he designed him for his son-in-law. But the new

<sup>m</sup> MINADOI, &c. ubi supr.

<sup>n</sup> LEUNCL.

(Q) *Leunclavius*, who saw him, observed that he looked very wan.

governor,

A. D.  
1583.

governor, more greedy of wealth than the old, taking more unjust methods to amass treasure, was in a short time recalled to accomplish the intended marriage with the *Soltân's* daughter. He was ordered to return through the country of the *Drusi* (R), to settle matters among them. They were at this time governed by five *Amîrs*, or commanders; three of them, *Ebn Frek*, *Ali Ebn Karfus*, and *Mebammed Ebn Mansûr*, having been always friends, came and submitted themselves to *Ibrâhîm*; who, in July, 1585, arrived at *Damaskus*, with 20,000 horse. *Shartfo'ddîn*, the fourth *Amîr*, who was poor, thought fit likewise to tender himself, with presents, to the *Pâshâ*, by whom he was imprisoned.

BUT *Ebn Mân*, called by the Turks *Mân Ogli*, the fifth, *Ibrâhîm's* excused himself by letter for not waiting on him, on account *crusely*, of his enemies. Hereupon *Ibrâhîm* ravaged his country, burning twenty-four towns, and then encamped on *Mount Libanus*. However, the *Drusi* defeated 1500 of his rear, under *Weis Pâshâ*, killing 500, and taking their camp. *Ibrâhîm* finding the artifices and presents he made use of, ineffectual to insnare *Mân Ogli*, who was warned by his father's fate not to trust to fair words, he ravaged the remainder of that *Amîr's* country, and burned *Andraa*, the place of his residence, seated on the hill, with nineteen other towns. After this, he inticed the *Makadem*, or agent, of *Man Ogli* at *Andraa*, with 350 foldiers under his command, to come to him, by a promise to make him a *Sanjâk*. But as soon as *Ibrâhîm* had him in his power, he ordered *Ebn Frek* to put the men to the sword, and the covetous *Makadem* to be slay'd alive; which cruel punishment he bore with great bravery, reviling the *Pâshâ* for his perfidy.

NOT content with these barbarities, *Ibrâhîm* ordered 100 and rapt of *Shartfo'ddîn's* followers to be slain; and, with 4000 men *sionjesi* from his galleys at *Sidon*, ravaged all the coasts as far as *Cæsarea of Palestine*, whither *Mân Ogli's* territories extended: destroying a multitude of people of all ages and sexes, together with towns and castles; and carrying away 3000 persons into

(R) Rather *Durzi*, a people not descended from the *Druids*, the *Trusti*, or from the *Franks*, in the time of the *Crusade*, as hath been idly asserted by the Christian historians; but are the native inhabitants, who take their name from one *Durzi*, the author of their religion,

under *Hakim*, 3d *Fatemite Khalifay* of *Egypt*, in 1020, whom he taught to be God incarnated. Their sacred books, in four volumes 4to, are in the king of *France's* library, and were translated by M. *Petit de la Croix*, interpreter to *Leuis XIV.*

slavery.

A. D.  
1585.

slavery. When he had done this, he appointed *Ebn Kurfus Pâsbâ* of the *Drusians* country, after getting what he could out of him and others; carried-off *Ebn Mansur* prisoner, contrary to his faith; and then sailed for *Constantinople*, with so vast a treasure, that, according to *Minadoi*, he presented the *Soltân* with a million of gold, over and above the revenue of *Egypt*, amounting to 600,000 dukats, and other rich presents both to him and the court-ladies; which last, as *Leunclavius* writes, were valued at 20,000 *Soltanins* °.

Affairs of  
Persia.

Hej. 993.

A. D.  
1585.

To return to the affairs of *Persia*. *Ozmân Pâsbâ* being arrived at *Constantinople*, *Morâd* made him prime *Wazîr*, in the room of *Shaus*, and likewise general of his army against the *Persians*. The new general, to be the earlier in the field, winters his forces in *Kastamoni*, and in spring, 993, recovers *Tâbris*: to secure which more effectually, he builds a castle on a neighbouring hill, which commanded the city; and with such dispatch, that, on the 30th day, the walls were in a condition to withstand assaults. Mean while some of the *Janizaries* being slain in a fray with certain inhabitants, who had affronted them, *Ozmân Pâsbâ* ordered all, except the women and children, to be put to the sword, and their goods distributed among the soldiers. After this, peopling the city with new colonies, he places *Jâffer Pâsbâ* (S) over it, with the title of *Wazîr* °.

The Turks  
defeated.

WITH this account of the *Turkish* authors, the Christian writers for the general agree: but add many particulars, and are more circumstantial. *Ozmân Pâsbâ*, who set-out from *Arzerâm* in *August*, being come to the plain of *Kalderan* (or *Khalderan*) famous for the battle between *Selim* and *Ismael*, he reviewed his army, consisting of 180,000 men, and then marched towards *Tauris*. The van-guard being arrived near the city to discover the enemy, at the *Bridge of Salt Water*, where they halted to refresh, they were suddenly set-upon by *Amîr Hamzeh* at the head of 10,000 men; with such fury, that he quickly broke them, and slew 7000, beside the prisoners, horses, and standards; which he carried to his blind father *Shâh Mohammed*, who lay twelve miles off with 50,000 men. As soon as *Ozmân* was informed of this defeat, he detached 14,000 troops to pursue the prince; who, facing about, engaged them for two hours till night parted them, slaying 6000 men.

° MINADOI, l. 7.

P CANT. p. 232.

(S) *Minadoi* says, he was *Pâsbâ* of *Tripoli*; and that 12,000 men were left in garrison.

NEXT morning, the *Turks* encamped within two miles of *Tauris*, where *Ali Kâli Khân* commanded : but having a garrison of no more than 4000 *Persians*, after he had made two notable sallies, he retired to the king's camp. The citizens, although thus left to shift for themselves, yet gallantly defended their gates, and killed multitudes of the enemy, who attempted to force them : yet at length, being obliged to give way to numbers, the *Turks* broke-in and made great slaughter ; which the general, on notice, put a stop to. Then pitching on a garden, on the south side of the city, for its delightfulness, called *Sekes Jenet*, or the *eighth paradise*, he set his men to build a fort ; which in thirty-six days was finished. Mean time *Ozmân* fell sick ; and eight *Janizaries*, *Cruel* with some *Spahis*, having been found strangled in a bath, he *slaughtered* gave the city up to the soldiers, who, for several days, committed the greatest rapines and barbarities. *Amir Hamzeh* was so incensed at this, that he ordered his army to march, and sent 500 horse before to provoke the *Turks* : who, thinking the whole *Persian* force was coming on them, to the number of 40,000, under the command of *Sikala Pâsbâ*, and *Mohammed*, *Pâsbâ* of *Kâra Amîd*, advanced to fight them ; and were drawn forward, by skirmishing, about eight miles, to the place where *Hâmzeh*, with 20,000 forces, met them. Here was fought one of the fiercest battles that ever happened. The *Pâsbâ* of *Kâra Amîd* was soon put to flight, while *Sikala* still bore-up against the enemy : but at last he was forced to follow his colleague, after 8000 of his men had been slain.

THE *Persian* prince, flushed with this success, marched to *The Turks* attack the whole *Turkish* army ; and, coming-up with them, *routed*. fell on with incredible fury. Then entering into the thickest of the enemy, hewing down all before him, he singled-out the *Pâsbâ* of *Kâra Amîd*, who commanded instead of the sick general ; and, striking-off his head, gave it to be carried at the end of a lance : the *Turks* were so confounded at this sight, that they were quickly routed. They lost on this occasion 20,000 men, with the *Pâsbâs* of *Trapezond*, the *Sanjâk* of *Prusa*, and five more, besides *Morâd*, *Pâsbâ* of *Kâra mania*, who was taken prisoner<sup>1</sup>.

OZMAN *Pâsbâ*, having nothing more to do in these *Ozmân* countries, sets forward on his return, with the greater part *attached* of the forces : but at *Sofiyân* (T), he is met by *Hâmzeh*

<sup>1</sup> MINADOÏ, l. 8. RICAUT.

(T) At *Sankasan*, seven miles in a letter from a *Turkish* officer from *Tauris*, so says *Minadoi*, inserted by that author.

A. D. 1585. *Mirza*, the bravest general the *Persians* then had; who with a great army attacked him. Both sides fought obstinately from sun-rise till midnight. *Hāmzeh Mirza* ran up and down the army; one while he charged in front, another while rallied his disordered troops in the rear, and both by words and actions performed the duty of a good general. On the contrary, *Othmān Pashā*, being sick, rode on a mule, encouraging his men by his voice. At length the *Persians* were obliged to give ground; and the night after, *Othmān*, exhausted with the labour of the foregoing day, breathed his last; and so crowned with martyrdom a life which he had rendered illustrious by his exploits<sup>1</sup>.

*Hamzeh Mirza's bravery.* WITH regard to this battle, *Minadoi* informs us, that the *Turks*, being about to encamp at *Sankasan*, perceived in the rear a confused noise, by which they judged the enemy to be approaching: but, while several troops drew that way to oppose them, the prince of *Persia*, with 28,000 men, without any signal of battle, attacked them on the other side. He first seized 18,000 camels and mules loaden with provisions, besides the plunder of the town; then fell-on with a bravery and fury which astonished the *Turks*. They would have penetrated to the very tent of the sick general himself, if the cannon had not been brought to bear upon them; which yet, in that mixture of both armies, destroyed more *Turks* than *Persians*; who lost but few men in this gallant action, while their enemies had 20,000 slain. Among the rest, *Ozmān* died here; not by the sword, but of an ague and the flux<sup>2</sup>.

*The Turks pursued:* UPON his death, the army chose *Sinān Pashā* (U) for general, and pursue their march. But *Hamzeh Mirza* follows them close; and though unable, by reason of his late loss, to attack the *Othmāns* in the field, yet he harasses them with continual skirmishes, lies in ambush at narrow passes, and does them more damage than if he had defeated them. Having thus weakened their army, and assembled more forces, he at length attacks them at *Salmās* (X), and furiously assaults their camp. But whilst he is bravely leading-on his men, he

<sup>1</sup> CANT. p. 232, & seqq.

<sup>2</sup> MINADOI, l. 8.

(U) *Minadoi* says, they chose *Sikala* (or *Sigala*) *Pāshā*.

(X) Prince *Cantemir* says, this city was unknown both to him and the maps; but believes it was dependant on *Sofyān*. What map our author used we know

not; but *Salmās* is to be found in most of the maps on this side of *Europe*, being situate on the lake of *Marāgab*, or of the *Shāh*, about 85 miles to the south-west of *Sofyān*.

falls among the foremost, and by his death frees the *Othmâns* from great danger: for the *Persians*, struck with the loss of their general, immediately retire, and give the *Musulmâns* an open passage to *Wân*.

A. D.  
1585.

THE *Turkish* historian seems to have anticipated the death of prince *Hamzeh*, as appears not only from *Minadoi*'s history of these wars, but also from a letter inserted by that author, written by the *Sanjak* of *Hamâh*, in *Syria*, to *Ali, Pasbâ* of *Hâlep*; who, in his account of the retreat to *Vân*, mentions nothing of the prince's death; and as the *Turks* are mistaken in the time, so it is likely they are in the manner of his death, which is differently related by the Christians. According to *Minadoi*, prince *Hamzeh*, being informed of *Ozmân*'s death, followed the *Turks* in their retreat, then commanded by *Sikhâla Pasbâ*, and bravely attacked them again, though not with such success as before. His design was to have decoyed them into a deep marsh by feigning to retire: but this being discovered by the rebels, *Masud*, and *Daud Khân*, the *Pasbâ*, caused a great wing to be formed, in order to charge the enemy. The prince, perceiving by this that his intentions were traversed, resolved to retire in earnest, as he did; but not without the loss of 3000 men. After this, the *Turks* met with no interruption in their march, by *Salmâs*, to *Wân*; where, after a general review, in which 85,000 men were found wanting, they were disbanded: only succours were first sent to *Teflis* under the conduct of *Daud Khân*; who for that service was made *Pasbâ* of *Marâsh*, as *Masud* was of *Hâlep*.

retire to  
Wân.

THE *Othmân* forces being thus obliged, through weakness, to quit their conquests, the *Persians*, next year, besiege *Tibrîs*; but as *Ferhâd Pasbâ* was sent with numerous forces to its relief, he compels the enemy to raise the siege, and builds a new castle between that city and *Revân*; about which places, as strong bulwarks, he keeps his army four whole years. In summer, he fights the *Persians*, and, that he might be nearer their borders, passes the winter at *Arzerûm*.

Hej. 994.  
A. D.  
1586.

LET us hear from *Minadoi* a more particular account of this expedition. The *Persians*, unable to bear the thoughts of the fortress built at *Tauris*, the king engaged 10,000 *Turkmâns* in his service: but they, to revenge the death of their commander *Amîr Khân*, desired *Tahmâsh*, the *Shâh*'s youngest son, for their leader; with design to embroil the state by setting him up for king. Their request being granted, they undertook the siege of the castle; but when they had carried their trenches to the very ditch, so that all things

The *Turks*  
mâns re-  
volt.

\* CANT. p. 233.

\* MINADOI, l. 8.

\* CANT p. 233.

A. D.  
1586.

were ready for the assault, they suddenly marched away in the night for *Kasbîn*, giving young *Tahmâsh* the title of king, and reviling his father as well as brother. Prince *Hâmزه*, boiling with indignation at this atrocious affront, with 12,000 men, and the king's usual guards, followed the rebels; and having overtaken them, a day's march from *Kasbîn*, quickly routed them: for the greater part of them, disliking the conspiracy, would not fight. So that prince *Tahmâsh*, with *Mohammed Khân*, their general, and *Soltân Khalîfab*, being taken, the two latter were beheaded on the spot.

Salmâs  
taken.

*JAFFER Pâshâ*, governor of *Tauris*, fearing prince *Hâmزه* would soon return to renew the siege, sent for aid to *Sigâla Pâshâ*; who presently set forward with his troops: but understanding in the way by some *Persians*, that their king was on his march with an army towards *Sankazân*, he, through fear, retreated to *Wân*. For all this *Jaffer* had the good fortune to be supplied by the succeeding general, before the *Persians*, engaged in their domestic broils, could come to attack him: for it was July 1586 before prince *Hâmزه* could bring an army to besiege *Tauris*; nor did he stay long there: but, understanding that *Zeniel*, *Pâshâ* of *Salmâs*, who had deserted the *Persian* interest, lay encamped before that city, he marched thither suddenly with twelve thousand men, and, routing him, took *Salmâs*; which was miserably sacked. He likewise defeated the *Pâshâ* of *Reivân* near that city, and then retired to his father's camp, where the rest of the army, to the number of forty thousand men, were assembled.

Hâmزه  
Mirzah

MEAN time *Ferbâd Pâshâ*, the *Turkish* general, having passed *Wân*, the prince detached *Ali Kûli Khân*, with his eight thousand soldiers, from *Heri* (or *Herât*), and part of the *Turkmâns*, under *Imâm Kûli Khân*, to infest the enemy at all the advantageous passages in their way to *Tauris*; but the latter being wholly influenced by the former, and he a traitor, they were so far from executing their orders, that the *Turks* relieved that city without any impediment. Disappointment having broken the prince's measures, and, being now informed of *Ali Kûli Khân*'s conspiracy with other lords to betray him into the hands of the *Turks*, he was obliged to abandon his enterprizes against the foreign enemy, in order to secure himself against the domestic traitors. These, at length, he chased out of the parts about *Tauris*, and then marched in haste to *Ganje*, with design to intercept the succours which the *Turks* intended for *Teflis*. As he had always found *Imâm Kûli Khân* faithful to him, he here communicated him his resolution: but while this gallant prince

treacher-  
ously slain.



prince wasted the proper time for putting the same in execution, he was murdered in his sleep, by one of his eunuchs: but on what occasion, or by whom set-on, could not with any certainty be known. A. D. 1587.

BUT, to leave the affairs of *Asia* for a while, let us see what the *Turks* have been doing in *Europe*. Notwithstanding the league between the emperor *Rodolphus* II. and *Morâd*, many sharp rencounters happened between the *Turks* and Christians on the frontiers, particularly in *December* 1586, when the former, making an inroad into *Kroatia*, were defeated, and the *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia* with his brother slain. The *Hungarians* also, in *February* following, provoked by the frequent ravages of the *Othmâns*, surprised the castle of *Koppán*, near the lake of *Balaton*, and got a considerable booty. The *Turks*, waiting an opportunity to revenge the injury, in *August*, destroyed seventeen villages about *Limbach*, and carried off all the country people, with their effects: but *George* count *Serini*, governor of *Kanisa*, being informed of this, he speedily assembled some troops, and, being joined by the counts *Nadaſti*, *Basbiani*, and others, seized the passes between the *Drave* and *Mora*, thro' which the *Turks* were to march, and made a horrible slaughter of them. Among them fell the *Sanjâk* of *Five Churches*; and he of *Mohatz*, sticking fast in a marsh as he fled, was shot through the head. The *Sanjâk* of *Koppán* was some time after taken also, with thirteen hundred foldiers, and fifteen hundred horses; besides two thousand men slain, and all the prisoners with the spoil recovered. Affairs of Hungary. A. D. 1587.

THIS service was performed with no more than fifteen hundred foot and five hundred horse, of whom there were only eleven slain, but most of the rest wounded. When *Morâd* heard of these things, he ordered *Ali Pâshâ* of *Buda* to be strangled for violating the league, and *Sinân Pâshâ* to take his post. Yet this *Pâshâ*, in *September*, broke into the Christian territories, and burned *Saxo*. But *Claudius Russell*, general in those quarters, defeated and slew two thousand five hundred of the *Turks*, besides two hundred drowned in the river *Schayo*. The Christians soon after, in their turn, took some forts from the enemy in *Upper Hungary*: but *Sinân* was at length displaced for what he did, and *Ferhâd*, the general in the *Persian* expedition put into his post\*: to whom now it is time to return. The Turks worsted.

THIS *Pâshâ*, having acted on the frontiers of *Persia*, as before has been related, at length penetrates into *Ghyurjestân* over-ran.

\* MINADOI, lib. 9.

\* RICAUT in Amurat III.

A. D. 1589. (or *Georgia*) and subduing the castles of that province, builds two towns *Luri*, and *Ghiunje* (Y). After this, joining battle with *Kâradâghi Mehemed Khân*, general of the *Persians*, he puts him to flight, and so effectually disperses his army, that the forces of the *Kezilbâsh* (or *Red Heads*) dared not from that time appear in the field (Z).

Peace concluded.

THE *Shâh*, discouraged by so many defeats, and the loss of the provinces of *Revân*, *Ghiunje*, and *Hârâbâg* (†), began to think in earnest of suing for peace. But as *Morâd* did not seem very forward to grant it, he promised to relinquish claim to all the countries subdued by the *Othmâns*, and send his brother *Hayderjân* to the *Porte*, as a pledge that no *Persian* army should ever enter the *Othmân* dominions, or make any private or open attempt against that empire. On these conditions, sworn to on both sides, a peace is at last concluded (A), and an end put to a long and bloody war.

Hej. 995.

A. D. 1587.

The Janizaries mutiny:

Hej. 997.

A. D. 1589.

BUT the troops who had reduced the foreign enemies of the empire soon became its intestine foes. For the *Janizaries*, being stirred up by the enemies of the *Defterdâr*, or high treasurer, whom they accused with debasing the coin, and paying them with it (B), flock together and threaten to kill him in his palace. That officer, informed of the danger, flies to the imperial throne, and begs *Morâd's* protection. The rebels, hearing this, surround the palace, and insolently demand the treasurer. On the emperor's refusal to deliver

(Y) This must be the same with *Ganjev*, a fine city near the river *Kur*, and of great antiquity, as well as *Luri*, or *Lori*; so that the *Turks* rather repaired than built them. — The Christian writers say, that the inhabitants deserted *Ganjev* on the approach of the *Turks*, but afterwards returned, and agreed to pay 5000 ducats yearly tribute. *Ricaut*.

(Z) The Christian historians mention nothing of this: but say, that when *Ferhâd* would have advanced farther into the enemy's country, and that part of his army was cut-off by the way, the soldiers mutinied, and wounding forced him to return. *Ricaut*.

(†) Or *Kârâbâgh*,

(A) This peace, according to the Christian historians, was made for ten years, in the year 1588, so memorable for the defeat of the mighty *Armada of Spain* by the *English* fleet. On which occasion *Morâd*, by letter, congratulated *Elizabeth*, that glorious queen, in very obliging terms.

(B) It is said also, that they were offended with a new sort of tax; so that next night a fire happening, they refused to quench it, and even hindered the people from doing it; whereby seven mosques, five great *Khâns*, or inns, 15,000 houses, beside warehouses and shops, were consumed. *Ricaut*.

him,

him, they grow more insolent; and, guarding the avenues, threaten death to the *Soltân* and all his court. A. D. 1589.

In this distress, *Morâd*, thinking it proper to proceed to extremities, lest the imperial majesty should fall into contempt, first arms all his chamberlains and *Baltâji* (C); then orders the gates to be opened and the *Janizaries* to be attacked, as infidels and disobedient. His commands are vigorously executed: for his domestics rushing like lions on the disorderly mutineers, killed one hundred and seventeen at the first onset, before they could come together, and dispersed the rest (D). Of these *Morâd* intended to make examples: but, by the intercession of *Sinân Pâshâ*, the prime *Wazîr*, he pardons all but the ringleaders; who, by his command, were thrown into the sea. *quelled, and pardoned.*

THE same year the *Polish Kossaks*, according to custom, *Kossâk* made an inroad into the dominions of the *Turks* and *Tatars*, *invafius* surprised *Koflan*, and did much mischief. The *Tatars*, by way of reprisal, breaking into *Podolia* with forty thousand men, committed great ravages; which had like to have embroiled the *Poles* with the *Turks*: but matters were accommodated, by the mediation of *Elizabeth* queen of *England*; and the league renewed. As we meet with nothing in the *Turkish* historians for the next four years, altho' many considerable actions happened in *Europe*, we shall supply that chasm out of the Christian writers.

*MORÂD*, being now at peace with all the world, his *Pâshâs* endeavoured to excite him to a new war: but were much divided in their opinions, with regard to the nation against whom they were to employ their arms. Some were for breaking the peace with the *Persians*; in order to confirm their late conquests by making more. Others were for subduing *Morokko*, in order to extend their footing in *Africa*, as well as commerce. A third sort were for invading *Malta*, to revenge their daily injuries, and former disgraces received from the corsairs of that island. Many were for attacking the *Spaniards*, whose power was a bar to the *Othmâns* attain- *War declared* A. D. 1590.

\* CANT. p. 233, & seqq.

† RICAUT, ubi supr.

(C) The *Bakidji*, for this service, are called to this day in the imperial palace, *Khaskuller*, pure and faithful servants. Cant.

(D) The Christian writers mention nothing of this. On the contrary, they say, that

when *Morâd* saw all men were against the tax, he sacrificed the *Beglerbeg* of *Greece*, and *Passi*, the Jew, who were the contrivers of it, to the rage of the people. Ricaut.

A. D. 1591. ing universal monarchy : and, as they were then embroiled in the *Low Countries*, this counsel had like to have prevailed.

Some again were for turning their forces against the *Venetians* and *Italy* ; while others proposed carrying the war into *Poland*.

against the emperor. BUT at length it was resolved to fall upon the emperor of *Germany* ; to which *Morád* was most of all inclined, by

A. D. 1591. the persuasion of *Ozmân*, the grand *Wazir*, and *Hassan Páshá* of *Bosnia*. These, under pretence, that the *Ushokki* (E) and other of the archduke's subjects, infested the *Turkish* territories, as well by sea as land, got leave to make incursions into *Kroatia*, and seize the trading ships of *Venice*. Hereupon both the emperor and the republic complain by their ambassadors at the *Porte*, and demand redress. But altho' *Morád* made profession of keeping the eight years truce with *Rodolph II.* yet he ordered the *Páshá* of *Bosnia* to enter *Kroatia* with an army of fifty thousand men ; who, laying siege to *Wibitz*, the capital of that country, took it, upon articles.

Successes in Kroatia, WHILE the emperor was soliciting the princes and states of *Germany*, the *Turkish* army daily increased in *Kroatia* ; where they hemmed-in six thousand foot and five hundred horse, most of whom were slain. The island of *Turopolis*, in the *Kulp*, was destroyed also with fire and sword by *Hassan Páshá* ; who, being encamped between that river and the *Save*, passed over to it in the dead of the night. After this, seven thousand troops, sent by the emperor, to oppose the incursions of the enemy, having been misinformed by the scouts sent to discover their strength, were by the *Turks* suddenly surrounded in their camp, where they lay negligently secure, and were almost all slain, after a most gallant resistance which they made, altho' they were deserted by their officers. These afterwards paid for their cowardice with the loss of their heads : but the soldiers sold their lives very dear, having slain the *Turks* twelve thousand men in that desperate action. The night following the *Othmân* forces surprized the castle of *St. George*, and slew all, except one hundred and fifty persons, without respect to age or sex. They likewise took a great many prisoners about *Sisseg*, besides three hundred waggons, with provisions, for the relief of the garrisons.

and in Hungary. WHILE these things were doing in *Kroatia*, they, in *September*, suddenly attacked the castle of *Tokay*, and the *Lesser*

RICAUT, in *Amurat III.*

(E) A sort of banditti, who had formed a kind of state towards the *Venetian* frontiers.

Komora,

*Komora*, or *Shut*, in Hungary : but, failing in those attempts, the *Páshá* of *Ziget* also pitched his tents between that city and *Rodesto*. The *Turkish* army, now reported to be about one hundred and sixty thousand strong, committed great ravages, and carried off a multitude of people. This news made the Christians hasten their preparations ; while the *Turks*, being informed that they had thrown a strong bridge over the *Drave*, withdrew into their own territories ; and the rather, as the plague, which raged at *Constantinople*, had now reached their army.

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1593.

BUT in the beginning of the next year the enemy renewed their incursions. The garrison of *Petrina*, a fort newly built by the *Turks*, contrary to the peace, on the *Kulp*, entering into the isle of *Turopolis*, burnt the town and castle of *Bech-Kocobinam* ; and, having made a great slaughter, carried away four hundred prisoners. The same garrison took also the town of *Martenize*, and another castle near the *Kulp*. The castles of *St. Hedwig* and *Jina* fell likewise into the hands of the enemy : but they failed in Hungary, where three thousand of them thought to have surprised *Nuhusel*.

Farther

advan-

tages.

A. D.

1593.

THE emperor *Rodolph*, being convinced of *Morád's* resolution for war, as well by these hostilities as the strict confinement of his ambassador at *Constantinople*, wrote both to the *Soltán* and *Sinán Páshá*, the prime *Wazír*, upon the occasion ; and was answered by the latter nothing to the purpose. Mean time, summer approaching, the *Páshá* of *Bosnia* resolved to be revenged on the governor or abbot of *Siseg*, who had affronted him in the following manner. The *Páshá* having the year before sent a *Chausb*, or messenger, to require him to surrender the castle, the abbot, after he had civilly entertained him, coming to understand that his steward had plotted to betray the castle, threw both him and the messenger out at a window into the *Save*. The *Páshá* sending to know why the *Chausb* did not come back, was answered, that he had been dismissed some days before ; adding, that if the *Páshá* would, to save his credit, send some men of quality to receive the monastery, he was ready to yield it up.

The Páshá

of Bosnia

THREE days after, certain troops of horse with the noblest men arrived : but as soon as the latter and five hundred others were admitted, the port-culices were let down, and the *Turks* cut to pieces. Their companions having fled with this ill news to the *Páshá*, he wrote to acquaint the abbot, that he would raze his monastery, and pull his skin over his ears. In order to perform his promise, after he had taken *Trenschin*, he with an army of thirty thousand men, in June, set down before *Siseg* ; and, after beating down the new tower,

out-wit-

ted,

A. D. 1593. tower, continued to batter the town for ten days, without intermission. On this advice the bishop of *Zagrabia*, with *Eygenberg*, the imperial general, joined by count *Aversberg*, governor of *Carastad*, marched to *Gradisca*, with four thousand troops, there to wait for count *Serini*: but receiving notice from the besieged of their great distress, they were prevailed on by count *Aversberg* to proceed to their relief. When they were arrived within a mile of the enemy's camp, and the *Turks* had brought all their forces over the *Kulps*, the *Kroats* and *Hussars*, who were posted in the van, began the charge: but, being over-powered by numbers, they, after a long conflict, began to retreat; when *Aversberg* coming on, restored the battle, and put the *Pásbá* to flight. Then getting to the new bridge before the *Turks*, he cut-off their passage; so that they were all, to the number of eighteen thousand, either slain, or drowned in the *Kulps*, or *Oder*; among whom was the general. Hereupon those who remained at the siege, setting fire to their powder and provision, fled; leaving their tents, artillery, and much spoil behind them<sup>4</sup>.

*Sifeg*  
*taken.*

FOR all this success, the Christians failed to take *Petrina*: nor could the emperor procure a peace from *Morád*; who at length denounced war against him, and gave the command of his army (consisting of forty thousand men, of whom five thousand six hundred were *Janizaries*) to *Sinán Pásbá*. While this general marched towards *Buda*, in *Hungary*, the *Begler Beg* of *Greece*, with a greater force, enters *Kroatia*, and lays siege to *Sifeg*; which was exceedingly well defended till *September*, when it was taken by storm, and all the garrison put to the sword.

*Weisbrun*  
*reduced.*

MEAN time *Sinán Pásbá*, being come before *Weisbrun*, invested that city: but the garrison, perceiving that it could not long be defended against so great a power, placed barrels of powder in mines under the walls, with trains to them, and so, in the night, endeavoured to escape; but, being discovered, most of them were slain. However, the *Turks* greedily entering the city, many of them were blown up by the mines, and the place much despoiled by the explosions. After this, the castle of *Palotta* was surrendered to the *Pásbá*, on condition, that the garrison might depart with bag and baggage: but they were all slain, contrary to his oath, excepting the commander and two more. The consequence of this success was, that all the adjacent country near the lake of *Balaton* was easily subdued,

<sup>4</sup> RICAUT, in Amurat III.

THE Christians having at last drawn together eighteen thousand men, count *Mardetz*, governor of *Raah*, about the end of *October*, laid siege to *Alba Regalis*; and, after some sharp assaults, raised it again, the beginning of *November*. But being informed by a spy, that twenty thousand men, under the *Pasha* of *Buda*, were at hand, he advanced towards them; and, notwithstanding the disadvantage of the ground, bravely mounted the hill where the enemy were posted, fought and routed them, killing about eight thousand, and taking all their cannon, waggons, and provision, with many standards. After this he burned the suburbs of *Alba Regalis*, and returned to *Raah*.

The Turks  
slau-  
gh-  
tered.

Soon after count *Tessenbach*, with twenty-four thousand *Filek* men, laid siege to *Sabatza*, in *Upper Hungary*; which he took the 19th of *November*, and put all the garrison to the sword. From thence he marched to attack *Filek*; which the *Pasha* of *Temeswar* came to relieve, with an army of eighteen thousand men. Hereupon the general, taking with him seven thousand choice soldiers, suddenly fell-upon the *Turks* in their tents, routed them, and slew six thousand; then, taking all their cannon and baggage, returned to the camp before *Filek*: where, being joined by six thousand men under count *Palsy*, they renewed the siege with such vigour, that they took and burnt the city on the 24th of the same month. In two days more they forced the castle, anagire the obstinate resistance of the enemy, and put all to the sword, excepting eight hundred; who, having retired to the most inward part thereof, capitulated for their lives.

UPON these successes the *Turks* abandoned the castles of *Dijsen* and *Somoska*, with the towns of *Setschine*, *Blavenstein*, and *Sattek*; while the severity of the season hindered the general from prosecuting his advantages. However, the enemy still continued to forsake other territories and places; as *Ainatke*, *Soloth*, *Wesche*, &c. The *Senjick* of *Palotta* also was defeated by *Peter the Hussar*; and five thousand *Turks* more from *Petrina* were routed by count *Grafwin*, and most of them drowned or slain.

Castles a-  
bandoned.

HOSTILITIES began early next year, notwithstanding the severity of the season: but two thousand *Turks*, having made an inroad in the middle of *January* into the country about *Filek*, were set-upon by count *Tessenbach*, and fifteen hundred slain or taken prisoners. The archduke *Mathias*, Novom whom the emperor had appointed general of his forces, being informed by a *Turkish* soldier, that *Novigrade* had only rendered,

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eight hundred men in garrison, he used such diligence, that by the eighth of *March* he came before it with his whole army; after the castle, which was strongly fortified both by art and nature, had been battered with much fury: but not being attended with success, the battery was renewed; and, the principal gunner, a renegade *German*, happening to be slain, the *Turks* were so discouraged, that they agreed to surrender, on condition of departing with their cloaths and simeters only. This loss was resented so much, that the *Sanjak* who delivered-up the place was hanged on a tree near the gate of *Buda*, by order of the *Pasbâ* of that city.

Other suc-  
cesses.

ABOUT the same time count *Serini* possessed himself of the castles of *Bresenza*, *Sigeth*, and *Babosche*, which were abandoned by the *Turks*, and left a passage open to *Sigeth*. In *Upper Hungary* count *Taffenbach*, the archduke's lieutenant-general, with an army of twenty thousand men, in *April*, laid siege to *Hatwan*, a strong town, six miles from *Buda*; whose *Pasbâ* marched with thirteen thousand choice men, to pass the *Sagijwa* at *Jasprin*, where there is a bridge and ford, in order to fall on the rear of the besiegers. But the count, perceiving his design, crossed the river with much difficulty, and, coming up with the *Pasbâ*, first disordered his rear with his cannon, and then fell furiously on their whole body. The *Turks* for a long time sustained the charge with wonderful resolution: but, being at length routed, fled, and were pursued almost as far as *Buda*. In this action they lost two thousand five hundred men; for no quarter was given to prisoners; also thirteen field-pieces and twenty-four colours. They at the same time deserted *Jasprin*, and the fort of *Zabola*. After which the count renewed the siege of *Hatwan*.

Gran in-  
vested.

MEAN time the archduke, with an army of forty-four thousand men, on the sixth of *May*, sat down before *Gran*, for some time the metropolis of *Hungary*; and with wild-fire burned *St. Adelbert's* tower, the church, and great part of the town. Next day the besiegers, having made a breach in the castle wall, made a fierce assault; but could not carry it. However, the *Rascians* in the old town offered to the general to deliver him that city, provided he would assault the new town, in order to draw the *Turks* thither; which was accordingly performed. After this the battery was carried on fiercely, especially against the castle, and the assault renewed; but with greater courage than success. However, the besiegers took a hill, which somewhat commanded the castle, and had been fortified by the *Turks*, putting all they found to the sword, and turning the cannon upon the castle. Some companies also in the night attacked the lower town,

and



and with much ado got over the wall : but, meeting with a strong countermure, were so dismayed and put to it to get back over the ditch, where many stuck fast, that they lost in this attempt one thousand men.

THE 4th of June five hundred *Turks* made a shift to get into the town, which made the besieged more obstinate than before ; so that in five assaults the Christians lost five thousand men. Yet the 14th. the archduke ordered the town to be assaulted in three different places ; but after six hours fierce conflict, the besiegers retired. At the same time count *Palsi* erected a fort, which barred the besieged from receiving succours by the river, and took another in an island on the farther side. From these places the castle and lower town being severely battered, the *Turks* made two desperate sallies upon the new fort, seconded by the admiral of their galleys on the river ; but without success. At length, advice arriving of *Sinán Pásbâ*, with a great army, to relieve the place, the general raised the siege, towards the end of October ; after he had fired the old town and razed *St. Nicholas* fort. Mean time the siege of *Hatwân* was carried on with great vigour, and count *Teffenbach* slew five thousand men brought by the *Pásbâ* of *Buda* to relieve it : yet the *Turks* proved so obstinate in defence of the place, and the count was so weakened by his losses, that he also thought fit to give-over his enterprise.

WHILE the two places above-mentioned were besieging, *Rascians* the *Rascians*, a poor oppressed people, who dwelt on both sides of the *Danube*, being weary of the *Turkish* thralldom, first took thirteen of their vessels upon that river ; and then drawing together a body of fifteen thousand men between *Buda* and *Belgrade*, twice defeated the *Pásbâ* of *Temeswaer* with a body of fourteen thousand *Turks*. After this they took *Baczkerék*, four miles from *Belgrade*, and the castle of *Ottadt* : then laying siege to that of *Beche*, on the *Theyssa*, the old *Pásbâ* of *Temeswaer* marched to relieve it with eleven thousand men : but the *Rascians* encountering them, slew near ten thousand, and took eighteen pieces of cannon. The consequence of this victory was the taking *Wersetza* and *Lutza*. Then, sending to the archduke for aid and gunners, they offered to put themselves and their country under the emperor's protection<sup>f</sup>.

AFFAIRS were in this troubled state in *Hungary*, when *Sinán Pásbâ* approached with an army of one hundred thousand and fifty thousand men ; forty thousand of them *Tatars*,

<sup>f</sup> *RICAUT*, ubi supr.

who,

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who, with much ado, had made their escape through *Podolia* and *Upper Hungary* from the *Kossaks*, after they had lost thirty thousand of their first number. The *Pásbá*, having passed the *Gran*, came, on the 21st of *July*, to *Dotis* (or *Totis*), which was surrendered in three days. He likewise took the castle of *St. Martin*, not far off, and then marched to *Raab*, or *Javarin*, a city about fifty miles from *Vienna*, and reckoned the chief bulwark of it; whose governor was the valiant count *Hardach*, and the garrison five thousand strong.

besieges  
Raub;

*SINAN* began to batter this place on the 2d of *August*, and ran his trenches within musket-shot of the walls; while four thousand *Tatars* and six thousand *Turks*, crossing the river, took a fort from the Christians, and turned the cannon thereof upon the archduke's camp, which lay a little beyond: but they were forced back again through the river, and most of those who escaped the sword were drowned. They were defeated on a second and third passage, with great slaughter. Eight thousand *Tatars* likewise were slain by the *Hussars*, in two attempts to take an island in the river; and lost two thousand more, in assisting the *Turks* to attack the Christian camp. At the same time their army was diminished also by the flux and want of provisions: yet *Sinan* the general could not be advised to raise the siege; while the *Imperialists* were so successful as to take *Castrowitz*, *Petrina*, *Sifeg*, and *Gara*, whereby the whole country of *Kroatia* was secured.

defeats  
the Im-  
perialists.

AT the end of *August* twenty thousand Christians, passing over out of the island and joining with the besieged, fell on the *Turkish* camp, and penetrated so far as to nail some of their cannon; yet were beaten off, with considerable loss on both sides: but the besieged, sallying a second time, slew two thousand of the enemy, with the loss only of four hundred on their own side, and took seventeen colours. No day passed without some action, when, on the ninth of *September*, ten thousand *Turks*, having landed in the isle of *Schut* (or *Scut*) suddenly fell upon the too-secure Christians, and slew two thousand of them; while the archduke *Mathias* narrowly escaped with the rest, leaving all their artillery, money, and baggage, behind them: so that, reckoning the waggons, boats, and galleys, that were also lost, the damage was computed at five hundred thousand ducats.

The city  
yielded.

THE *Pásbá*, encouraged with this success, on the 23d, gave a general assault upon the city, which was continued from morning to night, and renewed the two following days with all the desperate resolution imaginable. In these actions twelve thousand *Turks* were slain: but, a few days after, the

ditch

(*Si-hân*), *Si-hân*  
 off *retreats*.  
 of *Si-*  
 field forty  
 prince, now  
*Pāshā*;  
 boats, with  
*Tergovista*, in *Tergo-*  
 at his approach, *vista*  
 behind, they *stormed*.  
 forming the place,  
 of four thou-  
*Pāshā*, the gover-  
 coming thither,  
 army: were cut to

found it *Bukhoreft*  
 to re- *abandoned*.  
 numbers.  
 of about  
 the *Turks* and  
 there perished  
 prince returned  
 was sent to at-  
 tary was ordered to

A. D. 1594-  
and of  
Wala-  
khia.

As he all this while seemed still to retain his obedience to *Morâd*, the *Turks*, who sought to be revenged on him, sent a *Kâzilasker*, with a proper force, to *Bukharest*, with a design to surprise him. That officer, who knew the *Vayvod* lay in his palace near the monastery, without the city, upon the *Dembowiz*, went thither, with one thousand men, under pretence of paying him a visit: but the prince, suspecting the matter, repaired to his camp of *Hungarian* mercenaries. The *Kazilasker*, disappointed of his prey, sent to know, why he entertained so many *Hungarians* in time of peace; and promised, in case he disbanded them, to lend him a tun of gold to pay them off. This *Sigismund* seemed thankfully to accept of, yet commanded the *Hungarians* to be ready, while drawing together some other troops in a valley, he suddenly surrounded the *Turks* in their lodgings, which were fired; and, notwithstanding the bold resistance they made, they were all either burnt or slain, not excepting the *Kâzilasker*, who offered vast ransoms for himself and some others.

Sigis-  
mond's  
successes.

THE *Vayvod*, encouraged with this beginning, not long after surprised and sacked *Phlokh*, a very large open town beyond the *Danube*, slaying all the inhabitants. Not long after, crossing that river, then frozen, to surprise *Hersewa*, a walled city, but one stage from *Brailowa*, he by the way defeated a great body of *Turks* on the ice, and then took that rich city; which he rifled and burnt: but the castle was too strong to be reduced. Six days after he crossed the *Danube* again; and having in a great battle routed the *Turkish* garrisons, took *Silistria*, a great city of *Bulgaria*, which he plundered; and, slaying most of the inhabitants, burnt it to the ground<sup>s</sup>.

Hungary  
invaded.

THE *Turkish* historians made use of by prince *Cantemir*, sum up the four years transactions in *Hungary* in a few lines: or rather connecting the mutiny of the *Janizaries*, before related, with the transactions of the last year. Only tell us that, to remove all occasions of such-like disturbances for the future, *Morâd* sent the *Wazîr Sinân Pâshâ*, in the year 1002, with a great army into *Hungary*, where some towns were taken: that at the approach of winter he ordered the troops to be quartered in *Rum îli*, and next spring *Yanîk* (F) to be invested; which was taken, after a siege of eighteen days.

Hejrah  
1002.  
A. D.  
1594-

<sup>s</sup> RICAUT. ubi supr.

(F) So the *Turks* name *Yawarin*, or *Yarinum*; called by the *Germans*, *Raab*. Cant.

MORAD

*MORAD* died on *Friday* the 6th day of *Jemaziolawcl* (G), after he had lived fifty years, and reigned twenty with eight months. He had twenty sons, who were all strangled by the eldest, his successor.

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1594.

Morâd

dies.

His character.

PRINCE *Cantemir* observes, that all the *Turkish* historians whom he had seen, strangely pass over in silence the character and manners of this emperor, contrary to their constant custom<sup>b</sup>. But this silence cannot be owing to any thing very odious in the manners of *Morâd*, since the Christian authors speak much in his commendation. According to them, he was of a manly stature, and corpulent, but of a pale complexion, wearing his beard long and thin. He had not the fierce aspect of the *Othmân* monarchs, and was of a peaceful disposition; a lover of justice, and very zealous in his religion. He reformed the riot and excess of his father's reign; by his own temperance; and the severe punishment of notorious drunkards; though some say he would drink plentifully himself of wormwood wine. He was rather too penurious, and gave more way to the counsels of his mother, wife, and sister, than of his great *Pâsbâs*; which many imputed to simplicity<sup>i</sup>.

## C H A P. XIV.

*The Reign of Mohammed III.*

THE first thing *Mohammed* did on his arrival at *Constantinople*, was to secure himself in the throne by the slaughter of his nineteen brethren. The Christian historians say, that he invited them all to a feast, where, for their entertainment, they were strangled: that he was reported also to have caused ten of his father's wives and concubines, by whom any issue was to be feared, to be drowned in the sea: that a mutiny, raised hereupon by the *Janizaries*, being appeased, there was a tent set-up before *Sancta Sophia*, in which was placed the body of *Morâd*, with those of his murdered sons beside him: that after this there was another tumult of the *Janizaries*; which might have cost the new proclaimed em-

13. Soltân  
Mohammed III.<sup>b</sup> CANT. p. 235.<sup>i</sup> RICAUT. in Amurat III.

(G) According to the Christian writers, on the 18th of *January* 1596, after he had lived 51 or 52 years, as others say, and reigned 19. They add, that his death was attended with so sudden and terrible a storm at *Constantinople*, that many thought the world was at an end.

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1594.

Confederacy  
against  
him.

peror and all his court their lives, had not the prime *Wazir* by his prudence and gravity appeased them.

MEAN time the emperor *Rodolph II.* having entered into a confederacy with the princes of *Transilvania*, *Walakhia*, and *Moldavia*, as has been before related, made divers successful incursions into the *Turkish* dominions. The *Imperialists* recovered *Weitze*; defeated four thousand *Turks*, near *Raab*, or *Javarin*: the *Walakhians* seized upon all the treasures of *Sindan Pásbá*; in conjunction with the *Transilvanians*, took from them *Pondefia*, *Nikopolis*, *Killa*, and *Rebnikki*; routed twelve thousand *Tatars*, and afterwards slew eight thousand of them, as they were on their march to join *Bogdán*, who was sent from the *Porte* to dispossess the old *Waywod*. As for *Aaron*, *Waywod* of *Moldavia*, he defeated the *Tatars* in three battles; slew twelve thousand of them, and drove the rest out of his country. Soon after this he took *Bender*, *Schinitz*, *Tigna*, *Mekhnis*, and other places, with the country of *Bo-braga*, from the *Turks*; and slew eight thousand of them under *Janikula*, the son of *Bogdán*.

Calamities  
in  
Turkey.

THE *Porte* used all their artifices to break this confederacy among the Christian princes, at the same time that they made great preparations for war. At this juncture most places in *Hungary* possessed by the *Turks* laboured under a grievous famine, insomuch that the *Tatar* women who followed the camp were forced to eat their own children. This famine was attended by a terrible plague, of which daily great numbers died: so that of eighty-five thousand *Tatars*, who the year before came into *Hungary*, scarce eight thousand were left alive. As an addition to these calamities, the *Turks* continually received new damages from the confederates. *Mikhael*, *Vayvod* of *Walakhia*, entering their frontiers, surprised *Schimele*, with its castle; the port of *Orosiga*, where were the *Turkish* magazines full of provisions, *Kilek*, *Galempe*, with the strong castle of *St. George*, and then besieged *Laganok*.

The em-  
peror's  
forces.

WHILE the emperor endeavoured to gain the *Poles* on his side, two *Turkish* ambassadors, sent to cross his designs, were slain in *Walakhia*, without the privity of the *Vayvod*. *Rodolph* at length, with the assistance of several other princes, brought into the field an army of seventy thousand five hundred men, fifteen thousand five hundred whereof were cavalry, under the command of the archduke *Matthias*, and many other brave generals. At the same time a great body of *Turks*, commanded by the *Pásbá* of *Buda*, was overthrown near *Temesswaer*. *Ferhad Pásbá*, entering *Walakhia* with another body,

was

was routed (H), by the lord *Nadasti*, and eight thousand slain. In the interim *Sigismond*, prince of *Transilvania*, having, by intercepted letters and otherwise, just grounds to suspect that the *Vayvod* of *Moldavia* not only held intelligence with the *Poles*, and cardinal *Bathori*, his rival, but also went about clandestinely to make a peace with *Mohammed*; caused him to be seized, with his wife and son, whom he sent prisoners to *Prague*, placing in his room *Stephen Rozwan*.

A. D.

1594

DURING these troubles, three *Chausb* arrived in *Transilvania*, as ambassadors to *Sigismond*; exhorting him to return under the protection of the *Porte*, and give the *Turkish* forces a passage through his country into *Hungary*. On these conditions the *Soltân* promised to forgive all past injuries, and that the *Vayvod* should enjoy the three principalities of *Transilvania*, *Walakhia*, and *Moldavia*, as his own inheritance, free from tribute: but his future behaviour shewed that the offers were not accepted. The *Turks* were for the general so discontented with this war, that it is said *Wafwode Giezi*, one of the old *Janizaries*, had the boldness to tell the *Soltân*, that his ministers had imposed on him, and made him dishonourably violate the peace: that the conquest of Christendom was so far from following the taking of *Raah* (which *Sinân Pâshâ* had bought, he said, with money, not reduced by force), that *Transilvania*, *Walakhia*, and *Moldavia*, the granaries of the *Othmân* empire, were shut-up; so that no provisions could come as usual either from the east or west by the *Danube*, while his mighty army would perish in *Hungary* for want of bread<sup>k</sup>.

BUT to return to the war. The first of *July* count *Manfeld*, by making a feint to besiege *Dotis*, came suddenly and encamped with his army under the walls of *Gran*, before the garrison knew any thing of his march. Hereupon the *Turks* burnt the suburbs, and *St. Thomas* fort under the hill, which the count repaired; besieging the city so straitly, that the *Pâshâ* of *Buda* failed in three attempts to throw in supplies. On the other hand, the *Germans* were repulsed several times at the breaches. However, the count, having built a fort on *St. Thomas's* hill, greatly annoyed the upper town from thence; while count *Palfi* took *Gekaza*, on the *Danube*, opposite to *Gran*, after a stout resistance. The prince of *Transilvania* had for some time prevented the *Pâshâ* of *Temeswaer*

Gran invested.

<sup>k</sup> RICAUT, in Mahomet III.

(H) An ensign taken on this occasion, set with precious stones, was valued at 30,000 dollars.

A. D. from going to its relief, by making a shew of besieging that city: but, on the 2d of *August*, came the *Pâshâ* of *Buda*, with 20,000 men; and encamped within four miles of the Christians.

*The Turks defeated.* THE *Turks*, encouraged by some small advantages in skirmishing, resolved to force their way into the city, while the Christians, drawing-up in order of battle, gave them leave to advance to their very trenches. Mean time *Pasfi*, with his *Hungarian* horse, and *Swertzenburg*, with his men, fetching a compass, so inclosed the *Turks* behind, that they could not retreat without danger. Hereupon a fierce battle began, in which, though it lasted but half an hour, several thousand *Turks* were slain; and the rest flying, were almost all cut-off by *Pasfi* and *Swertzenburg*: so that they lost fourteen thousand men in this action, and twenty-seven colours, with great riches, besides great stores in their camp. The *Pâshâ* himself had much ado to escape to *Buda*.

*Gran sur-rendered.* AFTER this, the batteries being renewed, the lower town was, on the 13th of *August*, taken by assault, and all put to the sword, except *Ali Beg*, the governor, and some others. This lord, while the *Hungarians* fell to plunder, got into the upper town and castle, against which the besiegers turned their batteries; and the archduke coming to the siege, on the death of count *Mansfield* at *Komorra*, several assaults were given; but not with success. However, the old governor being slain, and the *Pâshâ* of *Buda* defeated a second time by a detachment of eight thousand men, the *Pâshâ* of *Anatolia* capitulated for the garrison to march out with their swords, and as much goods as they could carry on their backs.

*Other successes.* IN *September* following, *Vicegrade* was taken by eighteen thousand forces. Neither was the prince of *Transilvania* idle all this while: for the prince of *Alba Julia* (or *Weisenburg*) being to be married to *Maria Christina*, daughter of the late archduke *Charles*, the *Turks* drew thirty thousand men together, with a design to be forbidden guests at this wedding. *Sigismund*, who was aware of this, having made due provision for their reception, fell-upon and slew most of them: Then, taking *Fagiat*, he put all to the sword. About the same time the *Transilvanians* routed ten thousand *Turks*, who were marching to relieve that place; and so pursued the victory, that the *Pâshâ* with five hundred men only had much ado to escape. *Lippa* also fell into their hands: while the *Turks* and *Tatars* were baffled in their design upon *Batofka*, and defeated in battle.

*Sinân*  
*Pâshâ de-*

SOLTAN *Mohammed*, vexed at these successes of his enemies, put *Ferhâd Pâshâ* to death, and sent old *Sinân* to reduce



duce the three revolted countries; who, passing the *Danube* with a puissant army, was immediately attacked. The *Transilvanians* were obliged thrice to retire: but, being reinforced, maintained the battle from morning till night; when the *Turks* retreated, after the loss of many thousands, besides the spoil<sup>1</sup>; *Sinân* himself escaping with great difficulty. About the same time the *Pâsbâ* of *Bosnia*, with twenty thousand men, invading *Kroatia*, was overthrown, and most of them slain by the *Imperialists*; who, pursuing the chase, took fifteen villages and the castle of *Varçivar*. After this, their forces increasing, they returned; and, on the 15th of *September*, besieged *Petrina*, or *Petrowina*: but met with such loss and opposition in the assault, that they resolved to return to *Sifeg*. In the interim a horseman, flying from the enemy to the camp, informed the Christians, that *Rustan Beg*, the governor, was dead of his wound, and the garrison so discouraged, that, in case they returned, the *Turks* would on sight of them abandon the town: which accordingly proved true<sup>1</sup>.

LUCKILY about this time the *Zakulians* (or antient *Sikuli*), *Sinân* who dwell to the north-east of *Transilvania*, throwing off the *Turkish* yoke, put themselves under the protection of *Sigismund*; obliging themselves to bring into the field forty thousand men in their own pay. The young prince, now eighty thousand strong, advanced to oppose *Sinân Pâsbâ*; who, having passed the *Danube* over a bridge of boats, with seventy thousand choice foldiers, marched to *Tergovista*, in *Tergo-Walakhia*. The *Turks* were so discouraged at his approach, visting that, leaving their tents, ordnance, and baggage behind, they fled to *Bukhorest* (F). *Sigismund* hereupon, storming the place, took it, with the castle, and put the garrison of four thousand men to the sword, excepting *Hassan Pâsbâ*, the governor. After this four thousand *Turks* more coming thither, in expectation of finding *Sinân* with his army, were cut to pieces.

FROM hence the prince marching to *Bukhorest*, found it abandoned by the enemy; who, endeavouring in haste to pass the *Danube*, were slain and drowned in vast numbers. Then laying siege to *Zorga*, he took it, with the loss of about two hundred and fifty Christians; whereas of the *Turks* and *Tatars*, between the 18th and last of *October*, there perished above twenty-six thousand: after which the prince returned to *Alba Julia*. At the same time that *Sinân* was sent to attack *Transilvania*, the *Khân* of *Krim Tartary* was ordered to

<sup>1</sup> RICAUT, ubi supr.

(F) Capital of *Walakhia*.

A. D. 1594. *Moldavia reduced.* invade *Moldavia*, and make one *Sudriak Vayvod* : but, being come to the frontiers with 70,000 troops, his passage was opposed by *Zamoſki*, the great chancellor of *Poland* ; who, after the *Khân*, by agreement with him, was returned home, out of envy to *Sigismund*'s good fortune, entering *Moldavia*, quickly possessed himself of the whole country, expelled the *Vayvod Stephen*, and placed one *Jeremy*, under the protection of *Poland*, in his room. However he at the same time sent a messenger to *Sinân Paſbâ*, then at *Tergoviſta*, promising that *Moldavia* ſhould ſtill remain tributary to the *Soltân*, and the arrears be paid by the new *Vayvod* ; who immediately opening three ways for the *Tatars* into *Transilvania*, *Sigismund* ſent the late *Vayvod Stephen*, with ſome forces, to drive out the *Poles* : but he was overthrown by them in a bloody battle ; and, being taken priſoner, was afterwards ſaid to have been put to death.

*Affairs of Aſia.* BESIDES the events already related, many other actions of a leſſer nature happened this year between the *Turks* and confederates, almoſt every-where to the diſadvantage of the former. To augment their uneaſineſs in *Aſia*, the *Georgians* took-up arms againſt them ; and, the old king of *Persia* being dead, they were not a little apprehenſive of the reſentment of his ſon and ſucceſſor, on account of paſt injuries.

*The Zakulians revolt :* IN the beginning of the year 1596, while the prince of *Transilvania* was at *Prague*, in *Bohemia*, to confer with the emperor about the management of the war ; the *Zakulians*, or *Siculi*, whoſe privileges had been infringed in an aſſembly of the ſtates, which met in *December*, took up arms in defence of their rights : but, ſeveral of the ring-leaders being taken and put to death, the reſt were obliged to ſubmit. About the ſame time, 10,000 *Raſcians*, revolting from the *Turks*, put themſelves into the ſervice of *Sigismund*.

*war proclaimed :* MEAN while, the plague and famine beginning to ceaſe at *Conſtantinople*, *Mohammed* ordered war to be proclaimed there for three days ſucceſſively againſt the emperor and prince of *Transilvania* ; declaring, that he would march in perſon with his army into *Hungary*. But before he got thither, many actions paſſed between the *Turks* and *Imperialiſts*. *Lipſa* was beſieged by 40,000 *Turks* and *Tatars* : but 6000 *Hungarians* from *Lugos*, ſent-out to plunder, having ſet fire to the ſuburbs of *Temefwâor*, in the abſence of the *Paſbâ*, who commanded at the ſiege ; the ſmoke, being ſeen in the camp before *Lipſa*, ſo terrified the *Turks*, that they preſently raiſed the ſiege, leaving all their bag and baggage behind them. However, they had the luck to recover *Kliſſa*, in *Dalmatia*, through the negligence of the *Chriſtians* ; who but a little before had

taken

taken it from them. On the other hand, the *Heydluks* took *Plenia*, a little town not far from *Nyssa*; and count *Palfi* the castle of *Sambok*, between *Buda* and *Alba Regalis*. A. D. 1595.

By this time, the prince of *Transilvania*, having raised a *Temef-* good army, laid siege to *Temefwaer*: but on the approach of waer be- 40,000 *Turks* and *Tatars* to its relief, he rose and met them *sieged*; with his forces; whence ensued a terrible battle, for a long time doubtful: but at length the *Othmâns* were routed, and 5000 of them slain against 1500 Christians. Yet, coming to relieve the place a second time with greater force, the siege was raised.

At length the imperial army, 60,000 strong, being come *Hatwan* to *Komorra*, on the 24th of *July* advanced towards *Vakhia*, taken. which the *Turks* abandoned; and on the arrival of *Maximilian* of *Austria*, the captain-general, in the camp, laid siege to *Hatwan*, in *Upper Hungary* (G), the middle of *August*. They were much incommoded by the vigorous sallies of the garrison: but at length, having attacked the town at five several breaches, they, after three hours sharp conflict, entered by force, and slew all they met for four hours together, amounting to 4000 *Turks*, while the Christians lost only 300. The *Walloons* were so barbarous as to rip children out of their mother's womb, and slay people of both sexes alive, to make thongs of their skins <sup>m</sup>.

THE *Turkish* historians before us omit all the foregoing *Soltân* transactions of *Mohammed's* reign, passing at once from the *Moham-* slaughter of his nineteen brothers to the siege of *Egra*, or med *Agria*; which presents itself next to our view. They tell us, that as soon as the *Soltân* had established his empire by that fratricide, he turned his thoughts to finish the war in *Hungary* began by his father; with a view to give himself up to repose, of which he was very fond. Accordingly, next year, he marches with a great army into *Hungary*, and besieges *Egra*, in vain attempted by his predecessors; and so harasses the garrison with frequent assaults, that, despairing of relief, they at length surrender the town; from whence he got the name of *Egra*. Hej. 1003 A. D. 1595.

THE Christian writers more particularly inform us, that *besieges* *Mohammed* arrived early in *September* at *Buda*, with an army *Agra*, of about 200,000 men, and 300 field-pieces. The garrison of *Hatwan*, lately taken, were so terrified at the number of

<sup>m</sup> RECAUT. *ibid*.

(G) A strong castle to the right of the road from *Buda* to *Agria*.

A. D. 1596. the enemy, that they deserted the place : nay, they were not without apprehensions of *Vienna* being in danger, and therefore employed all hands in fortifying it. But *Agria* (called also *Erlau*), being the city which *Mohammed* had his eye upon, after detaching 40,000 men to *Temefwaer*, he sat down before it on the 21st of the same month ; and, presently raising five mounts, battered it with great fury. The besieged finding, after six days assault, that they could keep the town no longer, set it on fire, and retired with their effects into the castle. This had a strong bulwark adjoining to it ; which the *Turks* assaulted twelve times in one day, and took, though with incredible loss.

and takes  
it :

THE *Soltân*, being informed that the *Imperial* army approached, used double diligence to fill up the ditch of the old castle ; which having at length, with no small difficulty, effected, the *Turks*, on the 10th of *October*, made four desperate assaults upon it ; but were still repulsed : however, making a fifth attack, they entered and put all to the sword. There now remained only the new castle ; which the *Turks* began to undermine in several places. Hereupon the soldiers mutinied against their governors, and deserted many of them to the enemy : so that this important place was given-up, on condition that the garrison, about 2000 men, might depart with their baggage, and swords by their sides. However they were in their march set-upon by the *Turks*, and cut to pieces. Some of them were slay'd alive, and others dismembered, their executioners reproaching them, and saying, *that no faith ought to be kept with miscreants, who had so cruelly dealt with the people of Hatwan*. However it was reported, that the *Soltân* ordered some of the chief authors to be put to death, and the prisoners set at liberty by proclamation <sup>n</sup>.

his camp  
forced.

LET us now return to the *Turkish* historians. The *Soltân*, unable to make any farther progress for the approach of winter, returns with his army : but on the way an army of *Christians* suddenly appears, and so furiously attack the camp of the *Othmâns*, that, not able to stand the shock, they are forced to give ground. The *Germans* penetrate as far as the tents where the royal treasures are kept, and break open the coffers : but here, surpris'd at the immense riches, they betray victory for money. For the *Soltân*, perceiving them intent on the spoil, attacks them first with only his courtiers, and slays upon the very treasures those who had imagined the *Othmâns* intirely routed. The rest of the army, admonish'd by the

2 RICAUT in Mahomet III.

emperor's

emperor's example, rally again, and so bravely charge the enemy, that not a man of those who had entered the camp escaped the sword °.

A. D.

1597.

THIS is the *Turkish* account, but that of the Christians robs the *Soltân* of all his glory : for they tell us, that the *Imperialists*, having routed great part of his army near *Kareſta*, and taken 190 pieces of cannon, *Mohammed* was so terrified, that he fled with *Ibrâhim Pâſbâ* to *Agria*. The enemy, not being vigorously pursued, rallied again, and came on with 50,000 men : but they were charged so furiously by the *Imperialists*, that most of them were slain, and the rest put to flight. The like success the Christians had elsewhere ; but pursuing the enemy into their very camp, and beginning to plunder, contrary to orders, met with a strong squadron surrounding the tent which contained the *Soltân's* treasure. Here meeting with great opposition, and *Sigâla Pâſbâ* coming-on with his fresh troops, they were seized with such a panic, that they fled full speed different ways, though none pursued them, nor could be rallied by all the art of their commanders. Thus one of the greatest victories, that ever the Christians obtained, was snatched out of their hands by the covetousness of the *Hungarians*, and cowardice of the *German* horse. In this famous battle, the *Imperialists* lost 20,000 men, and the *Turks* 60,000. They lost 7000 more in their way home by the *Transilvanians* and *Walakhians*, who attacked them at difficult passes.

lost thro' covetousness.

THE *Turkish* historians speak of nothing more in *Mohammed's* reign, but of his peace with the *Imperialists* ; which they seem to make the immediate consequence of his success in *Hungary*, although it did not take effect till seven years after, that is, a little before his death : wherefore we must fill up the chasm wholly from the Christian historians.

WHILE the *Soltân* was engaged in the reduction of *Agria*, *Wala-* the *Pâſbâ* of *Bosnia* besieged *Petrinia* in *Kroatia* : but the lord of *Herberstein*, after defeating first 6000 and then 8000 troops, came and relieved it. Nothing was done in the year 1597 worth notice, only in *August* the *Imperialists* took *Papſa* (H) ; and soon after the castle of *Dotis* was reduced by the *Turks*. The confederacy also was weakened by the defection of *Mikhael*, *Vayvod* of *Walakhia* ; who, to prevent farther ravages made by the enemy, submitted once more to the *Sol-*

° CANT. p. 236.

(H) A strong place to the north-west of *Alba Regalis*, and 4 utra west of *Raab*.

tân ;

A. D. 1598. *tân*; yet, under pretence that he could not trust the *Tatars*, still kept garrisons in his frontier places, and sent no aid against the emperor P.

**Transilvania surrendered.** NEXT year, *Sigismund*, the brave prince of *Transilvania*, finding himself deserted by his neighbour, and fearing the growing power of the *Turks*, made a voluntary resignation of his country to the emperor; in lieu of the dutchies of *Oppel* and *Ratibor*, in *Silesia*, a pension, and some other considerations. The *Tatars* also made peace with *Rodolph*, on payment of 40,000 ducats yearly pension. Mean time two *Italian* prisoners escaped from *Raab*, having discovered the ill state of that city to lord *Swartzenberg* at *Komorra*, he, in conjunction with count *Palfi*, set-out on the 27th of *March*, with a good boody of horse and foot, towards *Raab*; and, approaching silently in the night, found the draw-bridge down, and the port-cullisses up, waiting for some waggons with provisions, which were every minute expected there. Then having in a trice battered-down the gate, and some part of the wall, they boldly entered.

**Raab surprised.** THEY were first opposed by 200 *Turks*, and then by the *Pâshâ* with 2000 more; who fell on with extreme fury, and fought for two hours, till being slain, his men began a little to retire: but then *Jaffer Pâshâ* advancing with 1000 soldiers more, and the inhabitants of the place, forced the *Imperialists* back to the very gate by which they entered. Yet, disdaining to be driven out again, they here most valiantly renewed the fight; and this *Pâshâ* happening also to fall, most of his followers retreated farther into the city. However, 300 of them creeping under one of the bulwarks where there were some barrels of powder, desperately set it on fire, and, together with themselves, blew-up 300 of their foes, who had not lost above 200 before. The slaughter continued all that day till night, and the victors got a very rich booty, besides ninety pieces of cannon, with great store of ammunition and corn.

**Buda attempted.** THE march of the *Othmân* forces being delayed by a dissension which happened between the *Janizaries* and *Spahis*, count *Palfi*, in *October*, took *St. Gerrard's Fort*, and then battered *Buda* with sixteen pieces of cannon; which soon obliged the *Turks* to retire out of the city into the castle. This the besiegers vigorously assaulted, but in vain. They next fell to mining: but, being countermined, gave over, and made a general assault, at the same time springing a mine. But they were repulsed with the loss of 200 men; while the

*Turks*, making a sally, were almost all cut-off. However the count being informed that relief was coming to the place, he thought fit to withdraw from before it. A. D. 1598.

THE *Turkish* army, being now arrived in *Upper Hungary*, *Turks* under the command of *Ibrâhim Pâsbâ*, laid siege to the strong town of *Waradin*, whose garrison made several successful sallies : but were at length reduced from 2000 to 700 men. Hereupon lieutenant-general *Basta* marched with some forces, and advanced briskly towards the besiegers, as if he really intended to fight them ; but while they were busy to put themselves in order of battle, he, by another way, dexterously threw 800 men into the city, and presently retreated to his trenches. The *Turks* were so discouraged with being thus outwitted, and with the foul weather, that they soon after raised the siege ; while the *Imperialists* ravaged their territories in *Lower Hungary* as far as the gates of *Buda*. *besiege Waradin:*

DURING these transactions by land, *Mohammed* sent *Sigâla* their fleet *Pâsbâ*, his admiral, with a great fleet to sea. *Sigâla* being arrived on the coast of *Sicily*, and desirous to see the lady *Lucretia*, his mother, who lived in *Messina*, he requested the viceroy to send her on board, promising to remit her safe back, and to depart without committing any hostilities ; which engagement, after entertaining her a whole day with great honour, he punctually performed. There is nothing else memorable in relation to the *Turks* this year, either by sea or land, only *Mikhael*, the *Vayvod* of *Walakhia*, who was now come-over again to the emperor's side, being resolved to attempt the reduction of *Nissa*, in *Bulgaria*, set men to work to make a bridge over the *Danube* for the passage of his troops. Herein being disturbed by the *Pâsbâs* of *Silistria* and *Badoua*, the *Vayvod* overthrew them. Then passing the river with all his forces, *Nissa* surrendered to him as soon as he invested it. In the beginning of the succeeding year he made several inroads into the *Turkish* territories, and carried-off a vast booty. *Nissa taken.*

MEAN time, the free *Heydûks* of *Walakhia*, passing the *Danube*, defeated the *Pâsbâ* of *Anatolia* with great slaughter : another *Pâsbâ* with 3000 men, sent to reinforce the castle of *Buda*, was likewise overthrown by a party of *Hungarians*. After this the *Pâsbâ* himself, going out of the city to favour a convoy of provision bound thither, was surprised by some *Heydûks*, and taken prisoner after a sharp conflict ; wherein his son and the *Aga* of the *Janizaries* lost their lives. Hereupon the *Pâsbâ* of *Bosnia* marched at the head of 10,000 *Turks*, in order to open the passes by driving from thence the *Heydûks*, who diligently guarded them : but these latter, meeting the enemy in an advantageous post, routed them with great

A. D.

1599.

great slaughter, the *Pâsbâ* himself being slain. However the *Tatars* held on their way to *Buda*, with a design to ravage the country, and draw the *Imperialists* farther from the city; which they in a manner blocked-up: but were quickly defeated by *Swartzenburg's* single regiment, and most of them either slain, or drowned in the *Danube*.

Exploit of  
Palfi.

By this time *Ibrâhîm Pâsbâ*, the *Othmân* general, arrived at *Solnokh* with 50,000 men, whereof 10,000 were *Janizaries*; but, hearing that *Basfa* was advanced to *Kassova*, he retreated again to *Belgrade*, there to wait for a great fleet of ships coming-up the *Danube* with provisions and stores for the army, *Buda*, and other distressed places, under the guard of 5000 *Turks*. *Palfi* being informed of this, sent a body of soldiers to intercept them; which they did, and, sinking the ships, took a booty computed to be worth a million of gold, including 100,000 dollars, which were divided among the soldiers. The Christians, on this success, over-ran the enemy's country every-where; while the *Turks* in *Buda* were so terrified, that they abandoned the city, and retired into the castle. At length, towards the end of summer, *Ibrâhîm Pâsbâ*, with an army of 130,000 men, came to *Buda*, and made some overtures of peace: but insisting on unreasonable terms, the treaty broke-off, and war went-on, though nothing farther of moment passed this year.

Transil-  
vania re-  
covered.

WE must however observe, that *Sigismund*, breaking his late agreement with the emperor, returned about the beginning of the year to *Transilvania*, and insisted on new terms; which were granted: yet at the same time made an agreement with cardinal *Bathori* to resign the possession to him, under the protection of the *Soltân*, to whom he became tributary. *Mikhael*, *Vayvod* of *Walakhia*, alarmed at this change, which foreboded no good to him, with the assistance of the emperor, under whose protection he was, in *October* enters *Transilvania* with 60,000 men, overthrows and slays the cardinal, aided by 30,000 *Turks*, and recovers the country from the hands of the *Othmâns*.

Rebellion  
in Asia.

THIS news, added to the uneasiness given the *Porte* by the rebellion of *Kufahin*, *Pâsbâ* of *Karamania*: who, with 3000 musketeers, and 5000 horse, defeated 10,000 troops under four *Sanjâks*; and, having subdued almost the whole province, at length took *Konia* (or *Ikonium*). Upon this success he gave-out, that e'er long he would besiege *Constantinople* itself, and reform the government; charging the *Soltân* with cowardice, and his ministers with corruption. Hereupon *Me-*

1 RICAUT, ubi supr.

hammerd



*ammed*, son of *Sinân*, one of the *Wazîr Pâsbâs*, was sent against him with all the force which could be raised : but not chusing to hazard a battle with so resolute a man, he endeavoured to corrupt the enemy's infantry ; and so far succeeded, that *Kusâhin* fled with the horse, and those belonging to *Si-meon* the *Georgian*, who had joined him, into *Arabia*. *Mohammed* followed him as far as *Hâleph*, where he wintered. Mean time, *Kusâhin*, having gathered a considerable force; returned next year, and prepared to give the *Pâsbâ* battle: but the latter resolved to try first what could be done by artifice, published a general pardon for all who would submit. This had the desired effect on the rebels, who, now enriched with booty, for the most part returned home to enjoy in safety what they had gotten with danger : so that at length their leader was taken and put to death at *Constantinople* with exquisite torments.

A. D.  
1600.at length  
suppressed.A. D.  
1600.

To return to the war in *Hungary*. While the emperor was making preparations, 1200 *French* and *Wal-loons*, who were in garrison at *Pappâ*, mutinied for want of pay ; and even agreed to deliver the place to the *Turks*, provided they would disburse the money : but they were at last forced to abandon it, although the brave count *Swartzenburg* was unfortunately slain in the siege. As yet, neither the *Turks* nor Christians had any thing of an army in the field, however many little incursions and skirmishes happened between them. Among the rest the free *Heydûks* surprised *Giula*, and set it on fire : in which confusion the *Turks*, flying into the castle, thrust one another for haste over the bridge into the ditch ; where so many were drowned, that a man might have gone dry over their bodies.

At length *Ibrâhîm Pâsbâ*, in the end of *August* setting-out from *Belgrade* with an army of 200,000 strong, marched towards *Kanissia* ; and, having taken the strong fortress of *Babotska* (I) in the way, laid siege to that strong town, in order to prevent the troublesome incursions of its garrison, and open a free passage into *Austria*. The place standing in an isle encompassed with a marsh, the *Turks* began to fill-up the latter with faggots and earth, which they effected at length in spite of the cannon : but, endeavouring to get into the island, received such a repulse from the garrison, as constrained them to retire with loss. Next day, as they prepared to renew their attempt, the *Imperial* army, consisting of 40,000 men, under

French  
and Wal-  
loons and  
tiny.

besieged,

(I) On the river *Rigma*, about twenty-eight south-east of *Kanissia*, or *Kanissia*.  
four miles from the *Danube*, and

A. D.  
1600.

the command of duke *Mercury*, appeared in their rear ; which they cannonaded. Hereupon, *Ibrâhîm* drawing up his forces, a bloody fight ensued : but while victory seemed to incline to the *Imperialists*, though so few in comparison of the enemy, the night came on, and broke off the action.

*and taken:* NEXT day the *Turks* would have renewed the battle, but the Christians, now at variance among themselves, kept their trenches ; and being afterwards distressed by the loss of provisions, which, in coming to their camp, fell into the hands of the *Tatars*, they marched-off in the night : yet not so silently, but that the *Turks*, perceiving it, cut-off 3000 of them, and took some cannon, with most of their baggage. Hereupon the *Turks* returned with more vigour to the siege, and the garrison, finding themselves out of all hope of relief, obliged *Paralifer* and some other officers, tho' against their wills, to capitulate. Accordingly the town was, on the 22d of *October*, delivered-up ; and the garrison safely conducted over the *Murr*.

the country  
ravaged.

AFTER this, this *Turks* ravaged the adjacent country ; on which occasion the inhabitants having fled, *Ibrâhîm* invited them to return, with a promise that they should pay no tribute for three years. He wrote also to count *Serini*, who was a great sufferer on this occasion, to recover his losses by the *Soltân's* protection : but receiving no answer, he returned to *Belgrade*. *Mohammed* was so well pleased with this good service, that he sent the general a robe of cloth of gold, and a truncheon set with precious stones : though he did not long enjoy that honour ; for he died in the beginning of the next year. However the *Soltân's* joy was allayed by news from *Asia* : for after *Kusahin's* death, one they called *Skrivano*, an intimate of his, took the cause upon him, and in a short time became very formidable. Against him *Mohammed Pâsbâ*, marching with all his power, received a notable overthrow. Neither was the *Soltân* less mortified with his ill success in *Persia* ; where his ambassador, having required one of the king's sons in hostage for the peace, was severely bastonaded for that insolent demand, and hardly escaped being put to death.

Affairs of  
Asia.

Alba Re-  
galis  
taken

A. D.  
1601.

THE emperor having at length, in 1601, gotten a considerable army in *Hungary*, under the command of duke *Mercury*, the campaign was begun with the siege of *Alba Regalis* ; and the duke, being informed by a deserter, that the broad lake on the other side of that city was fordable, whatever the *Turks* and others thought to the contrary, he sent *Rossworm* with 1000 soldiers, who, with each a faggot on his back, got over the lake, though with incredible difficulty

from

from the mud, flags, and the height of the water. Of this the duke being apprised by a signal, with great noise attacked the other side; and while the *Turks* flocked thither to defend the place, *Rossworm*, scaling the walls, got into the suburbs: from whence without resistance the *Turks* fled into the city, with the *Imperialists* at their heels, making a great slaughter. At the same time the duke took the suburbs which lay next to him; and next day the city itself by storm. Having cleared the streets of the enemy, they retired to their houses, many of which they had undermined, and blew themselves up, with such Christians as were near them; so that the church, palace, and most of the houses, were ruined. The *Pâsbâ* after this surrendered: and the *Walloons* got most of the booty, to the great vexation of the *Germans*.

A. D.  
1601.by the  
Germans.

MEAN time, *Hassan*, the new *Turkish* general, held on his march towards *Alba Regalis*, seemingly with a design to find it unprovided, and surprize it. But being met by the duke with 20,000 men, he was defeated, though much superior in number, with the loss of 6000; among whom were the *Pâsbâ* of *Buda*, six *Sanjâks*, and several other officers of note. The victory had been more complete, had not a great body of *Tatars* appeared in the rear of the *Imperialists*, and given the *Turks* an opportunity to restore their disordered battle.

AT the same time that duke *Mercury* sat down before *Alba Regalis*, the arch-duke *Ferdinand*, with an army 30,000 strong, laid siege to *Kaniffia*. Notwithstanding the marsh, which surrounded the place, they carried their trenches close to the ditch, and then summoned the garrison; who, though pressed with want, with contempt refused to surrender, especially the renegade *Walloons*. Hereupon they prepared for the assault: but the bridge proving too short to pass the ditch, they were obliged to defer it. In the interim, the *Italians*, murmuring for want of pay, marched-off: but, on the 4th of *November*, *Rossworm* coming from duke *Mercury*, with a reinforcement of 8000 men, they renewed their attempts, and must have carried the place at last, had not the north wind at the end of that month blown such a quantity of snow into the camp, that the whole army seemed buried in it, and no fewer than 1500 men were frozen to death, besides 300 horses; whereupon it was thought fit to raise the siege.

LET us now see how matters stand with the *Turks* in *Asia*. The *Asian* *Skrivano*, having by his actions last year grown into great credit with the people, appeared again in the field against

RICAUT, ubi suprà.

A. D. 1602. *Mohammed Pâsbâ*; who attacked him with an army of 150,000 men: but was overthrown with great slaughter. After this victory, the rebel ravaged the country to the gates of *Hâlep*, causing himself to be proclaimed the true defender of the *Mohammedan* faith, and liberty of those countries, associated with him. At length, *Mohammed* being furnished with a greater army than he had before, the *Skrivano*, presuming upon his former successes, met him, and was at the first obliged to give way: but, having dexterously restored his disordered battle, he returned a second time to the charge, and put the *Pâsbâ's* troops into confusion, with a great slaughter. However, not thinking it best to venture too far, he retired to the mountains, content with what he had done for that time.

gains a  
victory.

Janizaries  
murdered.

THE plague raged severely this year at *Constantinople*, and in other parts of the *Othmân* empire; at what time the *Janizaries* having been affronted by some of the *Soltân's* favourites, caused their *Aga* to go to the palace and demand their heads. *Mohammed*, offended at this insolence, ordered the *Spahis* to cut him in pieces; which execution the *Janizaries* revenged on them. This broil would have proceeded much farther, had not *Sigâla Pâsbâ* appeased their fury with a great sum of money.

Alba Re-  
galis be-  
sieged,

BESIDES the rencounters in *Walakkia* between the *Vayvods Radol* and *Jeremy*, with which last the *Turks* sided, and were worsted, they also received several small losses in *Hungary*: but at length, on the 10th of *August*, *Hassan Pâsbâ*, with an army of 150,000 men, came and besieged *Alba Regalis*. As the arch-duke *Mathias* had notice of his coming from *Ali Pâsbâ*, who was taken by the *Heydûks*, the governor *Ysolan* got thither in time. The *Turks* having battered the walls with incredible fury, and filled the marsh with the deep ditches, they attacked and took the counterescarp, though with great loss of men. The *Imperialists*, returning soon after, drove them out again, with the slaughter of most who were in it: but the noise piercing to the *Turkish* camp, they poured down in such multitudes, that the besieged, fatigued with the slaughter of them, abandoned the place.

A. D.  
1602.

and re-  
covered.

MEAN time the governor sent to the arch-duke for speedy relief: but before it could arrive, the *Pâsbâ*, on the 29th of the same month, gave a terrible assault; with which the besieged were so weakened, and the governor himself being dangerously wounded, that they capitulated, to be conveyed with the baggage and arms half-way to *Raab*. But the garrison falling to pilfer the citizens goods, that they might carry-

carry-off the more with them, 30,000 *Tatars*, followed by the *Turks*, immediately entered at the abandoned breach, and took that business out of their hands. Then when there was no more spoil to be had, they drew their swords upon the inhabitants, nor ceased the slaughter till the *Pâshâ* came in person to stop it. There were slain 3000 soldiers, besides citizens; and the captains, with the brave *Ysolan*, who were saved out of the massacre, led prisoners to *Constantinople*, whither the *Turkish* general, after ravaging the country, marched with his army.

Not long after his departure, the *Imperialists*, to retrieve *Pest* taken. their disgrace, to the number of 30,000, descending the *Danube* towards *Buda*, broke down the bridge crossing the river from that city to *Pest*, by running a ship against it; and while the *Turks* ran in crowds out of the water city to defend it, count *Schultz*, by land, with a petard blew-up one of the gates of *Lower Buda*: then, entering and slaying all before him, fell on the backs of the *Turks* at the bridge, who were all slain or drowned. By a like device they took *Pest* also; and, having garrisoned it, returned to besiege the castle and upper city of *Buda*, whither all the *Turks* had fled. The *Imperialists* went on briskly, both with battering and mining: but the news coming to *Hassan Pâshâ's* ears, he hastily returned from towards *Belgrade*, with what forces he had then with him, and sat down before *Pest*; yet was not long there before he was obliged, for want of provision, to march back again. Presently after, count *Nadaſti*, with 5000 men, went down the *Danube*, and without much difficulty took the towns of *Adom* and *Feldwar*.

MEAN time the besiegers, having intelligence that the *Turks* *Buda be-* had assembled an army of 30,000 men to relieve the place, *sieged.* drew together into the water-town. Upon this the *Turkish* garrison took possession of their trenches and tents; but, after holding them for two hours, were beaten back into the city. Mean time, a strong tower next the *Danube* being battered down, the besiegers prepared to enter the breach a little before night; when suddenly there arose such a storm of wind and rain, that they could not use their arms. This, with the sallies made by the *Turks* after the storm, and the two succeeding days, gave them an opportunity to repair their breaches: and advice arriving at the same time, that the *Tatars* had passed *Temefwaer*, in order to relieve *Buda*, the *Imperialists* thought fit to raise the siege. They likewise abandoned *Adom*, and left a garrison of 10,000 men in *Pest*.

WHILE these things were doing in *Hungary*, the *Skrivano*, *Affairs of* growing stronger and stronger, over-ran a great part of the *Asia.*

A. D. 1603. *Othmān dominions in Asia.* However happening to die this year, a younger brother of his, no less warlike, took the command, and prosecuted the war with much vigour. Against him the *Soltān* sent *Hassan Pāsā*, with a great army : but, coming to a battle, he was, after a bloody fight, slain, with most of his forces. Hereupon, the rebel raggings the country, seized the tribute of it, and exacted 300,000 ducats from the city of *Anguri*, or *Ancyra*, and the adjacent territories ; by which methods he raised a great fund for support of his war, while the *Tatars* in *Europe* ravaged the frontiers of the emperor's dominions.

War in Hungary, A. D. 1603. THE year 1603 was ushered in by so intense a frost, that the *Danube*, especially eastward, seemed to be wholly converted into ice : yet the *Turks*, having drawn 18,000 men out of the garrisons, prepared to make incursions. But *Colonitz*, the emperor's governor in those parts of *Hungary*, assembled a good body of men in the suburbs of *Quermāny*, and made such preparations every-where else for their reception, that they seemed to be very shy of him. About this time the garrisons of *Gran* and *Komorra* took 200 waggons with provisions going to *Alba Regalis* ; and, though inferior in number, cut all the convoy of 6000 *Turks* to pieces. The garrison of *Buda*, understanding what had happened, and that the provision, designed for their relief was lost ; animated with hunger and revenge, came on the victors with such fury, that they put them to flight, and recovered the waggons. But see the vicissitude of human affairs : for the *Turks* had not been long masters of their store, before 2000 of the garrison of *Pest*, having way-laid them near a forest, unexpectedly fell on them, and made them quit their possession, after a smart conflict. Several other adventures happened between the garrisons of *Pest* and *Buda*, who, though the frost continued, frequently cannonaded each other ; on which occasion the powder in the latter place happening to take fire, blew-up part of the city-wall.

and Walakhia. Now while *Radul*, the *Vayvod* of *Walakhia*, spoiled the town of *Silistria* belonging to the *Turks* ; *Colonitz*, who had lain in ambush three days for the convoy bound to *Kanisia*, at length discovering about 600 men going from that garrison to meet it, inclosed them so suddenly with his soldiers, that scarce four of them escaped the sword. But three of their horse, for the rest fled, bravely ventured to pass by the *Imperialists* to give the convoy warning of the enemy's approach. Hereupon they returned to *Babotz*, which *Colonitz* resolved to attack ; but although the assault was carried on with great bravery, yet for want of petards, scaling-ladders, and other necessary

necessary instruments, he was obliged to give over his design, and made a safe retreat to *Komorra*, notwithstanding the attempts of the enemy to intercept him.

A. D.  
1603.

WHEN *Hassan Pâsbâ*, the prime *Wazîr*, arrived at *Constantinople*, after the taking of *Alba Regalis*, he was magnificently received by *Mohammed*, and revered by the people: but while he expected to be farther honoured with the marriage of the *Soltân's* sister, the *Janizaries* and *Spahis*, with the other guards, to the number of 25,000, suddenly appeared in arms before the *Diwân*, and demanded audience. As soon as their ringleaders were admitted, they required that *Hassan* should be delivered-up to them. The *Pâsbâ*, hereupon strangely dismayed, passed through the raging multitude, in order to go to the *seray*, protesting his innocence as he went along: but they, stopping him, with many reproaches asked him how it came to pass, that, while he was in *Hungary*, the rebels in *Asia* were neglected, so that now they were come within three days march of *Constantinople*? *Hassan* answered, trembling, that, for his part, he had done his duty in both places; and that the rebellion in *Asia* was owing to the ill government of the *Soltân's* mother and the *Kâpi Aga*.

THE mutineers, being somewhat satisfied with this defence, suffered him to go to the palace, in order to obtain leave for them to speak to the *Soltân*, and prevail on him to send them the heads of the two parties whom he had thrown the blame upon; threatening otherwise to make him feel their resentment. *Mohammed*, at the *Wazîr's* persuasion, accompanied by the *Mufti*, some other ecclesiastics, and several *Pâsbâs*, shewed himself to the soldiery; whose chief, stepping forward, desired to know, *why he did not rescue the empire from the danger it was in? and whether he would take care of the government, or leave every man to cut out for himself?* *Mohammed*, though full of indignation, having answered mildly, that he had before resolved to reform matters, and remove all cause of discontent, they demanded the heads of the queen-mother and *Kâpi Aga*; whom *Hassan*, on farther interrogatories, again accused. At last, *Mohammed* being necessitated to give way, the *Kâpi Aga*, and other officers, were delivered-up to them; whom they beheaded on the spot. As for the *Soltâna*, they were content she should be confined; which, for form's sake, was promised, though not performed.

WHILE these things passed at *Constantinople*, the rebels in *Asian Asia* made great progress in their affairs. Their forces being

A. D.  
1603.

submit on  
terms :

conspiracy  
discovered.

Affairs of  
Hungary.

grown numerous, they laid siege to *Anguri*; from which the citizens, in the absence of the governor, delivered themselves for 200,000 ducats. Soon after, a new governor and other officers arriving from court, they, farther to fleece the inhabitants, would have imputed this composition with the rebels, as a crime worthy of death. Hereupon they, suddenly taking-up arms, fell on the soldiery; and, after a great slaughter of them, drove the rest out of the city. This broil encouraged the rebels, who being now 40,000 strong, under the command of a brother of the *Khân* of the *Tatars*, laid siege to *Burza* (K), a great and rich city, as well as a magazine for military stores; which they took. Upon this success the governor of *Baghdâd* joins their party, and the *Shâh* of *Persia* (L) takes *Korbery*, a frontier town: so that *Mohammed*, under all these disasters, was forced to sue for peace to his rebellious subjects; which at length he obtained, by granting them all their demands, and making *Zel Ali*, one of their leaders, *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia*.

BUT in avoiding one danger, the *Soltân* ran into another: for the soldiery, concerned at this dishonourable peace, and preferment of several rebels (joined to his mismanagement of affairs, and cruelties which they charged him with), conspired to depose him. With this view, they engaged in their party the *Soltâna*, mother of the young prince, whom they proposed to set-up in his father's room: but a letter sent to her by an eunuch, relative to that affair, having been intercepted by the *Soltân*, he thereupon put to death the young prince, his mother, and fifty of the conspirators; together with the astrologer who had prognosticated a fortunate issue to their enterprize.

MEAN time, the *Tatars*, being refused passage by the *Poles* into *Hungary*, forced their way thither through *Walakhia*; and though they were frequently worsted, yet did great mischiefs in that and the neighbouring provinces. The *Imperialists*, now under the brave *Colonitz*, took the castle of *Loqua* from the *Turks*; who also, deserting that of *Boulouvener*, were surpris'd and overthrown. In *Transilvania*, they were forced to give-up the castle of *Solomose* to *Bassa*, the emperor's lieutenant in that country; where the war went-on with various fortune, till *Zakel Moses* being defeated and slain in battle against the *Walakhians*, put an end to that dispute, and soon

(K) This should seem to be *Bursa*, or *Prusa*, there being no other city in *Anatolia*, which hath any resemblance of that name.

(L) We know of no such place on the frontiers of *Turky* or *Persia*.

after



after the troubles, in which that country had been involved, were brought to a period. A. D. 1603.

THE *Imperial* forces under the lord *Ruffworm* being now arrived at *Pest*, the *Turkish* army, one hundred thousand strong, came-up and encamped in sight of them on the other side of the *Danube*. About the same time a *Turkish* captain, flying from *Alba Regalis* to *Raab*, informed the governor, that he could put them in a way how to plunder the suburbs of that place, if not to take the town itself. Hereupon, the garrisons of *Raab* and *Gran* join together, marched under the guidance of the deserting officer, and surpris'd the said suburbs: where they slew all who made any resistance; and, having rifled the place, set it on fire. But, somewhat to allay this good fortune, the *Heydûks* in garrison at the castle of *Adom*, hearing that a great army of *Turks* were marching that way, set it on fire, and quite abandoned it. *Alba Regalis fired.*

THE *Soltân* finding that, for all the concessions which he had made to the rebels in *Asia*, they could not be reduced to due bounds of obedience, and that the wars in which he was engaged greatly interrupted his pleasures, resolv'd to make peace with the emperor upon any reasonable terms: and, as the *French* ambassador was then treating about the liberty of count *Ysolan*, taken the last year at *Alba Regalis*, *Mohammed* granted the same, and gave the count instructions to treat with the emperor about a peace, on condition, that if he did not succeed he should return to his captivity; for which the ambassador became his surety. At the same time *Ahmed Pâshâ* wrote to *Colonitz*, the *Imperial* general, to the like purpose; which letter being transmitted to the emperor, *Colonitz* was appointed, with others, to treat with the enemy: but the latter demanding the restitution of *Transilvania*, *Gran*, and *Pest*, in lieu of *Agria* and *Kanisia*, the treaty broke-off. *Peace in agitation.*

HEREUPON the *Imperialists* resolving to prevent the relief of *Buda*, sorely distressed for want of provision, the general, on the 22d of *August*, attacked *Morâd Pâshâ*, encamped near *Mobatz* with eight thousand, whereof two thousand were *Janizaries*; and, after several brisk charges with his horse, forced them to retreat to their main army. However, the vanquishers falling presently to plunder, the *Turks* returned, and attacked them with such vigour, that they must certainly have been defeated, had not the *Heydûks* left their boats on the river and come to their assistance; by which means the enemy was repuls'd a second time, and seven hundred slain; besides the loss of three cannon, *Morâd's* red standard, and *Sasbar Beg*, who was taken.

\* RICAUT. ubi supr.

A. D. 1603. AT length the Imperial army, under the Lord *Rufworm*, rendezvoused early in *September*; and, lest the *Pasbâ* should encamp between *Vicegrade* and *Buda*, in which case he might victual that city at pleasure, he raised a strong fort half way, and another in the isle of *Vicegrade*: then, having built a bridge of boats over the river from his camp to the isle, passed over to *Vaks*, or *Vakkia*. Not long after the *Pasbâ*, with ten thousand men, having attacked the first fort in vain, threw a bridge over the *Danube*, in order to annoy the *Imperialists*, and began to cross it. Mean time they were decoyed on by some loose forerunners to an ambuscade of 6000 foot: these seeing in what disorder they pursued, when about 10,000 of them had gotten over, the *Walloons*, posted covertly along the river, played on their flanks with four culverins, while the rest charged them on every side; and, having killed 2000, put the others to flight: but not being able to recover the bridge, 5000 more were drowned or slain, and the rest taken prisoners, with their field-pieces, colours, horses, and arms.

Other ill  
successes.

NEITHER did matters succeed better elsewhere with the *Turks*; for their fleets were about this time wrecked at sea: and altho' *Zel Ali*, one of the *Asiatick* rebels, had submitted, as before-mentioned, yet the chief rebel was still in arms, and the *Pasbâ* who had been sent against him, on being displaced by the *Soltân*, went over to his party. On the other side, the king of *Persia*, taking advantage of the troubles in which the *Othmân* empire was involved, laid siege to *Tauris*, and quickly recovered it.

Avoid a  
battle.

BUT to return to the affairs of *Hungary*. The *Imperialists*, fearing lest the *Turks* should besiege *Pest*, as they had given out, and finding they were gone to encamp near *Buda*, in the isle of *Vicegrade*, went and pitched their tents before *St. Andrew*, in sight of the enemy. These a few days after detached 5000 men, with design to draw the *Germans* into an ambuscade of 10,000; but, missing of their aim, were forced to retire, with some loss. About the same time general *Celionitz*, thinking to surprise the *Turkish* army, landed on the 2d of *October*, with 600 *Heydüks*, in the isle of *Vicegrade*; but being discovered too soon, was forced to retire, after two hours engagement, with the loss of 400 men. Count *Trantmestorf* had better success in *Stiria*; for the *Turks* having made a bridge of boats at *Lamasçin*, to give them passage into that country, and secured it with two forts, the count attacked them with such bravery, that at last he took them, and destroyed the bridge. *Lugaze* also, a place of great importance

portance to the *Turks*, was at the same time delivered to *Basta* by the *Transilvanians*.

A. D.  
1603.

ALL this while the *Imperialists* could not draw the *Turks* to a battle : but after the latter had supplied *Buda* with provision, they silently marched off by night, and retired out of *Hungary*. Upon their departure, the *Imperialists* besieged *Hatwân*, which was so well fortified as to endure a long siege. They made their approaches by taking the water-mill ; in which action *Grafold*, general of the *Italians*, was slain : after this, having cut-off their water and made large breaches, the garrison capitulated for their lives, and the 29th of *November* were conveyed to *Zolnok*. Before the year was out, the *Imperialists* had several rencounters with the *Turks* and *Tatars*, generally to the disadvantage of the two latter ; and *Beged Pâsbâ*, thinking to surprise *Basta* as he lay with his troops dispersed about *Lipfa* (M), was attacked by that old experienced general in a place of disadvantage, and overthrown, with the loss of 1100 *Turks*, slain out of 5000 ; who, being also driven into a marsh, most of them perished there. Twenty captains and other prisoners were taken, besides a rich booty. But about the same time, *Bethlem Gabor* (N), an able commander, becoming head of the revolted *Transilvanians*, created *Basta* and the *Imperialists* no small trouble in that country, as will be seen in the next reign.

Hatwân  
castle  
taken.

IN the interim *Zel Ali*, before-mentioned, after he had served this campaign in *Hungary* (with 12,000 of the late rebels brought over from *Asia*), retired to *Bosnia*, the government of which had been promised him, and encamped near *Bâghnaluk* (O). But *Jâffer Pâsbâ*, who resided there as governor, taking this as an incroachment on his right, drew all the force he could out of the garrisons, with an intent to fall upon him. The crafty *Zel Ali*, knowing his own weakness, caused several great fires to be lighted-up in his tents, and suddenly retreated. Mean time the *Pâsbâ* with his troops hastening to the place, and finding the camp deserted, they fell to pillage it : but while the soldiers were loading themselves with the plunder, *Zel Ali*, returning with 3000 chosen horse, surprised the unsuspecting pillagers, and cut 6000 of them in pieces, the *Pâsbâ* himself with difficulty escaping. After this the victor quickly obliged all the chief places in the

(M) A strong town on the river *Marosk*, to the north of *Temeswar*.

(N) By some called *Bethlin Habor*.

(O) The chief city of *Bosnia*, and residence of the *Begler Beg* of that country. It is situate in the borders towards *Kroatia*, on the river *Pliwa*.

A. D.  
1603

possesses,  
Bosnia.

province to submit to his obedience; and, having amassed a great deal of wealth, he entered *Bâghnaluk* in triumph, crowned with laurel, amidst the soldiers singing his praises. At the same time he gave out, that he was resolved to join with the emperor of *Germany*, in case any of the *Pâsbâs* should go-about to cross his designs. *Mohammed*, being informed of all this, would, under pretence of honouring *Zel Ali*, have drawn him to court: but the crafty rebel, thanking the *Soltân*, declined the invitation; saying, he desired no other reward than the government of the province, which his majesty had promised him, and which he was now in possession of.

Mohammed's  
death.

A. D.  
1604.

THE *Turks* having often during this year, especially towards the end of it, made a motion of peace, in the beginning of the next, commissioners were appointed on both sides, to treat of it; and those of the emperor went from *Pest* to *Buda* on that account, at the request of the *Pâsbâ* thereof, and agreed on a truce for twelve days; which was notified immediately to the *Turkish* governors on the frontiers. But while all mens minds were filled with the expectation of peace, *Soltân Mohammed* died, amidst all his pleasures. As soon as the news was brought to the *Pâsbâ* of *Buda*, he sent notice thereof to the *Imperial* officers at *Pest*; and that he was commanded by the new *Soltân*, *Ahmed*, to continue the negociation<sup>u</sup>.

Hejrah  
1012.  
A. D.  
1603.  
His character.

THE *Turkish* historians employed by prince *Cantemir* omit all the transactions above related from the Christian writers, which succeeded the taking of *Agria*. After this victory, they only tell you, that he marched to *Constantinople* in triumph; and, content with what he had acquired, made peace with the Christians, that he might enjoy, what he was naturally inclined to, ease and pleasure: that accordingly he lived in profound peace till the year 1012 (P), in which he died, after he had reigned nine years and two months: but that how long he lived was not mentioned (Q) in history, farther than that he died in the vigour of his age, without performing one memorable action more than what has been related<sup>x</sup>. And on this occasion it may be observed, that as this is the only action mentioned in his reign by the *Turkish* historians in question, one would be apt to think that their

<sup>u</sup> RICAUT, ubi sup.

<sup>x</sup> CANT. Othm. Hist. p. 236.

(P) This year of the *Hejrah* ended the eighteenth of *May*, in the year of *Christ* 1604; in the

beginning of which the Christian historians say he died.

(Q) The Christian writers say he lived forty-four years.

design was not to write a history of *Turkish* affairs, but only to give an account of such transactions as the *Soltâns* were themselves personally concerned in.

A. D.  
1603.

THE Christian historians give this character of him. They say, he was a prince of no great spirit, and yet exceeding proud; whence it happened that he was neither much beloved nor feared: that he neglected the affairs of government, which he gave-up to the management of women; and was wholly addicted to pleasure and voluptuousness, the signs of which appeared in a foul, swollen, and unwieldy body: that his debaucheries shortened his days; and that he died unlamented by his subjects. He had four sons, and three daughters, married to three of his *Pâshâs*. His eldest son *Mohammed* was strangled, as before-mentioned (R). The second died young, and the fourth, called *Mosâfâ*, a youth, was strictly kept-up in the palace.

Governed  
by women.

## CHAP. XV.

### *The Reign of Ahmed I.*

AHMED ascended the throne on the 9th of *Rajeb* in the year 1012, when he was yet scarce fifteen years old (A): and this was the first time that the reins of the *Turkish* government were given to a prince under the years of maturity (B). But he demonstrates in the first years of his reign, that the scepter was not unworthily put into the hands of a youth. The *Asiatic* soldiery, whom the *Persian* wars had always kept employed, became so insolent under his father's indolent reign, that they presumed to spoil not only travellers but whole provinces. The generals sent to suppress those rebels, being either allured with the hope of prey themselves, or negligent of their duty, were so far from putting a stop to their progress, that, the number of plunderers increasing, all *Anatolia* was miserably ravaged.

14 Soltân  
Ahmed I.

RICAUT in Mohamet III.

(R) It is added by our author, that afterwards, finding the prince to have been innocent of the charge, he caused his body to be buried in his own sepulchre, and the *Pâshâ* to be hanged who had given him wrong information.

(A) The Christian historians say he was then about that age.

(B) Or, as the *Turks* say, before he was possessed of a *San-jâk*, or standard: which ensign of power is never delivered by them to any man till he is of mature age. *Cant.*

A. D.

1604.

Asian re-  
bels de-  
feated.

AMONG the rebels there were chiefly two, *Kalender Ogli* (C) and *Tavil* (D), who attacked the *Othmân* troops and did most mischief. *Ahmed* judged, that if they were once quelled, the rest would be easily suppressed, and peace restored to the east. To this end therefore he sends the prime *Wazîr Kôja Morâd Pâsbâ*, with his guards, to winter at *Hâlep*, with orders in the spring to lead them, in conjunction with such of the *Asiatics* as remained faithful, against the ravagers. These commands were executed by the *Wazîr* with such success, that, after several bloody engagements, *Kallender Ogli* was vanquished near *Marâsb*, in the mountains of *Kiokyiesen*, and driven alone, all his common soldiers being slain, into *Persian Irâk*. Then, turning his arms against *Tavil*, who advanced to assist his companions, he defeats him likewise, and forces him to fly into the same country.

War  
against  
Persia,

Hejrah

1013.

A. D.

1604.

A. D.

1605.

A. D.

1606.

unsuccess-  
ful.

Hejrah

1026.

A. D.

1617.

THE *Shâh* having refused to deliver up the two rebels, *Ahmed*, to be revenged for that contempt offered to his government, sends the *Wazîr Morâd* with a numerous army towards the *Persian* borders: but, arriving too late at *Tibris* to effect any thing this year, he resolves next spring to invade the enemy's country; yet dies when he was on the point of marching. His office is conferred on *Nasub Pâsbâ* (E), who, after a year's stay there to as little purpose, leads back his army, weakened by sickness and fatigue, to *Constantinople*: where, on his arrival, he was beheaded for sloth and negligence. *Mehemed Pâsbâ*, being made *Wazîr* in his room, departs, in 1015, with a very numerous army, and lays close siege to *Revân*, which he furiously assaults for forty days; but repulsed by the bravery of the garrison, is forced at last to raise the siege: for which ill success, he is, at his return to *Arzerûm*, strangled by the *Kâpji Pâsbâ*, and his post conferred on *Halî Pâsbâ*, a brave and prudent general: but, whilst he prepared to humble the pride of *Persia*, the *Soltân* is seized with a sudden fever; which, though slight at first, increased every day, and at length carried him off<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> CANT. p. 238, & seqq.

(C) He must not be confounded with one of the same name, who, under *Mohammed I.* reduced the *Othmân* empire to the last extremity. *Cant. Kalender Ogli* seems to be a nickname, given him on account of his resembling the first *Kalender* in bravery as well as rebellion.

(D) *Tavil*, or *Tawil*, in *Ara-*

*bic*, signifies *tall*; and is a surname, to express that quality in him. So *Hassan Beg*, or *Uxân Hassan*, is by the *Arabs* called *Hassan al Tawil*, or *Hassan the Tall*, on account of his stature.

(E) *Benjamin* the son of *Jacob*, and brother of *Joseph*, is in the *Korân* called *Nasub*; from whence this name came in use.

<sup>a</sup> THIS

THIS is in effect all which the *Turkish* authors consulted by prince *Cantemir* have given us relating to the reign of *Ahmed I.* The transactions of which being wholly confined to his war against the *Persians*, a person who had not read the Christian historians would be apt to imagine, that he was at peace all the time with the rest of his neighbours, and never had any contest with the *Imperialists*. Leaving our readers to suggest the reason of this conduct, we have laid before them the whole at once of what they deliver concerning the *Turkish* affairs during this prince's reign, before we introduced any thing from the Christian writers, whom now we shall have recourse to.

*AHMED* having, to prevent the insolence of the soldiery, given the *Spahis*, by way of largess, ten crowns a man, and every *Janizary* thirty, with advance in pay to the first of five aspers a day, and of one to the latter, was crowned with great solemnity. The first act of his authority was, to remove his grand-mother, a proud ambitious woman, from the prime administration of the government, which she managed at her pleasure in the late *Soltân's* reign. He likewise set the *Persian* ambassador at liberty; and continued the negotiations of peace in *Hungary*. On this occasion the *Imperial* commissioners made a splendid entertainment for the *Turks* at *Pest*; whither 600 of the better sort went. Mean time those of *Buda* had formed a design to surprise that city during the feast: but, finding the garrison as much on their guard as at other times, the *Turks* returned without success.

THIS treachery being complained of next day, the *Pâshâ* of *Buda* disavowed the thing with many protestations. However, the emperor's commissioners would not accept of his invitation to a feast the day following, but returned to *Gran*; yet left *Giesberg* at *Pest*, to treat with the *Turks*, in case he found them disposed to it. Instead of that, a messenger came soon after from the *Soltân*, to order the *Pâshâ* to break-off the treaty. In effect, they had so little disposition to peace, that so soon as they had supplied *Agria*, *Alba Regalis*, and *Buda*, with necessaries, they laughed at the *Imperialists* for their credulity, and renewed their incursions with more cruelty than ever: yet not with impunity from the *Hussars*, who endeavoured to repay them in their own coin.

MEAN time *Jâffer Pâshâ*, who had been driven-out of *Bosnia* by *Zel Ali*, as before-mentioned, being supported by the *Soltân's* authority, suddenly entered that country with a great army, and at length expelled his competitor for that province; but died soon after his victory. As for *Zel Ali*, the ministry at the *Porte*, loth to lose the benefit of so great a sol-

Removes  
the Sol-  
tâna.The treaty  
broken off.

Attempt on

A. D.  
1604.

a soldier, and yet not willing to trust him with a government of such consequence as that of *Bosnia*, removed thither *Bregdet Pâsbâ* from *Temeswaer*, and made the other governor of this last place. *Zel Ali*, taking advantage of the broils and rancor which divided the Christians more than the *Turks*, laid a design to surprise *Lippha* by night; but after attempting, not only to scale the walls, but even to force the gates, he was obliged to give over his enterprize.

Kanisia  
blown up.

ABOUT the same time some *Turkish* prisoners in *Kassova*, during the absence of the governor, and great part of the garrison, slew their keepers, with a design to have burnt the town and escaped: but were at length suppressed; while *Kanisia* suffered the misfortune which *Kassova* had escaped: for a soldier in the citadel having carelessly thrown fire into the powder, the whole place was in a manner blown-up<sup>b</sup>.

False offers  
of peace.

WHILST the tumults in *Transilvania* and troubles in *Hungary* increased, the *Pâsbâ* of *Buda*, understanding that the *Imperial* forces began to draw together, wrote to the governor of *Gran*, to invite him to a new treaty: but the insincerity of his motion appeared no less from the reserved strain of his letter, than the conduct of the *Turks*; who at the same time, with the united forces of several garrisons, surprised the castle of *Somnin* by night, and burnt it.

Affairs of  
Asia.

BUT let us leave the affairs of *Europe* awhile, to see how those of *Asia* stood. Altho' the rebellion there was weakened for a time, yet it broke out again with more force than ever. To suppress which, *Sigâla Pâsbâ*, an officer of great experience, was sent with an army: but he was no sooner arrived than met by the enemy, and, after a bloody battle, defeated; with much ado escaping himself. However, he quickly recruited his diminished troops, and marched against the victors, in order to retrieve his disgrace: but the rebels, finding him much superior in force, retreated, and applied for aid to the king of *Persia*. The *Shâh* immediately sent them troops, under his own son; with which they marched to attack the *Pâsbâ* a

The Turks  
over-  
thrown:

second time. At first fortune seemed to incline to the arms of the *Soltân*, till the prince of *Persia* with his brave cavalry falling upon them in the rear, while some of the rebel troops attacked them in the flank, they were at length totally routed, and thirty thousand of them slain, to only ten thousand on the other side. The *Shâh*, pursuing his good fortune, reduced the country of *Shîrwân*, won the city of *Arufta* (F),

<sup>b</sup> RICAUT in Achmet I.

(F) We know of no such place in those quarters.



near the confluence of the *Tigris* with the *Euphrates*, and all the adjacent territories, excepting two or three towns, which had been taken from them ever since the time of *Soltân Soley-mân*. A. D. 1604.

*AHMED* having narrowly escaped death, from the small-pox, appointed *Hassan Pâshâ*, a man of great valour and abilities, to be his general in *Hungary*: but news arriving soon after, that the king of *Persia* had taken the field with an army of 100,000 men, and that *Bagages Pâshâ*, one of the *Asian* rebels, had confederated with him, the *Soltân* recalled *Hassan* with his forces from before *Waradin* to *Constantinople*: yet, after holding a council, sent him back again, and appointed *Sigâla* once more his general in *Asia*. The emperor, being aware of the *Turkish* preparations, sent the archduke *Maximillian* his ambassador to *Rome*, to solicit aid of the pope, who granted him 150,000 crowns for that year, with hopes of an augmentation for the future.

MEAN time the *Tatars* being by the *Poles* denied a passage into *Hungary*, they fell to ravage *Walakhia*. Hereupon the *Vayvod Rodolf* retired to *Kronstad*; and, after taking a new oath, was, with his country, received by *Basta* under his protection. All this while the *Turks* seemed so desirous of peace, that at length *Cesar Gallen* was sent to treat about it: but, as they insisted, that the former tribute should be paid by the emperor; and that all the places which he had taken should be restored, together with *Transilvania* and *Walakhia*; the conferences came to nothing. Soon after *Jagenzenter*, governor of *Pest*, terrified with the report, that the grand *Wazîr Hassan* was coming with a great army to conquer *Hungary*, and intended to begin with the siege of *Pest*; he with the garrison, on the 5th of *September*, basely deserted the town, after he had first undermined the principal buildings, and laid trains of powder to blow them up. Accordingly, next day, they blew-up while the governor retired to *Gran*; where he was imprisoned, in order to be tried for his cowardice.

THE grand *Wazîr*, being by this time arrived in *Hungary*, *Gran* laid siege to *Gran* on the 18th of the same month, encamping before *St. Thomas's* mount: but *Basta*, having raised a strong fort near the town on that side, so annoyed them from thence, as made them remove further off, while he lay with his army between the isle of *Gran* and the old town of the *Rascians*, to keep the enemy from entering into either place. On the 24th, the *Turks* assaulted fort *St. Thomas*; but count *Schultz*, governor of *Gran*, having ordered 500 horse and 2000 foot to sally out upon them, they forced the enemy to quit

A. D.  
1604.

quit the mount on which they were encamped : however, pursuing them too far, they fell into an ambush, where, after a bloody fight, they were obliged to retreat. In this action the *Turks* lost 700 men, and the besieged 100; among whom was the valiant count *Casimir of Hohenloth*.

Bethlem  
Ghabor  
routed.

As the noise of this siege drew many to the relief of the place, count *Tambier*, governor of *Lippa*, being about to march thither with some troops; *Bethlem Ghabor*, chief of the *Transilvanian* revolvers, with *Bakheres Pâsbâ* and 4000 *Turks*, entered into that province, with a design to make himself master of it, under the protection of the *Turks*. The count understanding this, fell upon him so hastily that he quickly put him to flight, and killed 1000 men. The two chiefs were glad to save themselves by swimming; and succours sent to them from *Temeswaer* were also cut to pieces by the count<sup>c</sup>.

The siege  
raised.

MEAN time, the besiegers having been repulsed in two assaults made on fort *St. Thomas*, although 5500 *Heydûks* had deserted out of 6000, they fell to mining; but their design was frustrated by counter-mines. On this they had recourse to their old artifice of a parley for peace: but the *Germans* not agreeing to their terms, the *Janizaries* were for giving over the siege. However, *Hassan* being resolved to attack the fort once more before he left it, assaulted it six times on the 10th of *October*; wherein failing, he withdrew his army, many of whom *Bassa* cut-off in their retreat. Yet he had not forces enough to put a stop to the ravages they made afterwards: but what that general could not do, was effected by *Collonitz*.

Troubles  
in Tran-  
silvania.

WHILE *Hungary* became a little easy by the departure of the *Wazîr*, *Transilvania* grew distracted with intestine troubles. The Lord *Istivan*, surnamed *Botskbay* (G), who, under the *Soltân's* protection, stiled himself prince of that country, committed great disorders there. The lord *Beligiesâ*, his lieutenant there, was sent with an army to subdue him. *Botskbay* having seduced the *Heads* under his command, desert him in time of battle, the rest of his followers were almost all slain; and such as were taken prisoner, were put to pieces, contrary to faith.

(G) Or  
which  
signif  
call

and money by the *Turks*, he took *Kassova* (H), and there established the reformed religion, of which he called himself the defender. The ensigns and prisoners taken on these occasions were borrowed by the grand *Wazir*, to colour at *Constantinople* the ill success of his campaign.

HOWEVER that be, *Potskay* was grown by this time to such a head, that *Basta* was forced himself to march against him, and defeated his troops, killing 1500 of his men. For all that, *Kassovia* would not submit to him, and receive an Imperial garrison, although *Esperies* did (Y). But such were the confusions and discontents of these countries, that *Basta's* own soldiers were ready to have mutiny'd, if they had not been prevented by his prudence and generosity. The *Heydûks* had a great hand in these troubles: for they seized on divers castles, and among the rest the mine-towns; doing a great deal of mischief to the *Imperialists*, whom now they reckoned the worst of foes.

THESE distractions which afflicted *Hungary* and *Transylvania* had their rise from the persecuting spirit of the *Romish* clergy. These in an assembly this year at *Presburg*, without the consent or knowledge of the nobility, published a decree, condemning those of the reformed religion in *Hungary* either to be burned, or to suffer perpetual banishment. Against this decree the states of that kingdom made their protest; and declared, that they would defend themselves by arms, in case they should be molested on account of their religion. Notwithstanding all this, *Beligiosa*, *Basta's* lieutenant, seized on not only the churches, but lands and effects of the reformed at *Kassovia*. He forbade them also the use of the bible, or to have sermons in their own houses; and would not suffer them to bury their dead in the city near monasteries. Not content with this, because *Botskay* refused to lend him a large sum of money, he ordered his soldiers to plunder two of his castles. That lord, enraged at these injuries, by proclamation, promised four crowns a month, as pay, to every *Heydûk* who would enter into his service. Hereupon those people resorted daily to him, and among the rest 6000 who served under *Beligiosa* himself: but as soon as he took upon him the protection of the reformed religion, they flocked to him in crowds, and the people every-where appeared ready to join him.

NEITHER were the *Turks* free from intestine commotions, the rebels being still on foot in *Anatolia*; while, in *Syria*, the

(H) About 33 leagues from (Y) About 7 leagues north-  
*Agria*, to the north-east, in by-east of *Kassovia*.  
*Upper Hungary*.

A. D. 1605. *Pâshâs* of *Damaskus* and *Hâlep* were in arms against each other: but the latter, having been defeated and besieged by an army of 30,000 men, was obliged to submit to such conditions as the other imposed. To add to these misfortunes, *Sigâla Pâshâ*, with all his great power, was defeated by the king of *Persia*; who, improving his victory, went and took *Bâghdâd*. Altho' these crosses gave the *Turkish* ministers great uneasiness, yet *Soltân Ahmed* continued his pleasures, as if he did not mind how matters went.

*BASTA*, finding himself by force unable to put an end to the troubles in *Hungary* and *Transilvania*, exhorted the chiefs of the malecontents, and even *Botzkay* himself, by letters, to lay down their arms. Hereupon that lord, by way of answer, insisted, that *Transilvania* should be yielded to him: that an *Hungarian* should be made lieutenant-general in *Hungary*; and none but *Hungarians* have command of the garrisons in that country: that the *French* and *Walloon* soldiers should be sent home; and every man have the free exercise of his religion. But these proposals not being agreeable to *Basta*, nothing was concluded. Mean time the *Heydûks*, joined by a body of *Tatars*, surprised *Gokaza*, over-against *Gran*; where they slew the *German* garrison; and, after rifling the town, set it on fire: but were quickly driven out again by the governor of that city. The *Imperialists* likewise took the strong fortrefs of *Palantwar* from the *Turks*.

ABOUT the same time, the latter having a design to besiege *Vackia*, not far from *Vicegrade*, the *Heydûks* in garrison, finding themselves much stronger than the *Germans*, slew most of them, while the rest fled to *Gran*, and put the *Turks* in possession of that important place. The *Othmâns*, with their new confederates, flushed with this success, attempted to take *Gran*, but were repulsed. The emperor was not a little troubled to see his enemies increase, and his own troops diminished thro' civil dissension: yet, instead of pacifying the malcontents by redressing their grievances, he applied to other princes for aid, in order to reduce them by force. But while he received nothing from them but promises, the enemy, under the prime *Wazir Hassan*, taking the advantage of time, marched to besiege *Vicegrade*, situate on the *Danube*, between *Buda* and *Gran*. As soon as they appeared before it, the *Heydûks* opened the gates of the town, and then informed them how to attack the castle; which, after a brave defence, was yielded upon articles.

*Heydûks* *BASTA*, in the mean time lying at *Esperies*, published a general pardon to the revoltors; but with little effect: and

not long after his own soldiers began to mutiny for want of pay. The *Heydûks*, in the beginning of *February*, besieged the castle of *Sakmar*, which was quickly surrendered to them. Then advancing towards *Tokay*, attempted to surprise the castle: but the governor being apprised of their design, caused the ice on the river to be broken forty paces over, and then covered it with snow near the place, so that the *Heydûks* marching on to scale the walls, were suddenly swallowed up. On the 2d of *March* they came before *New Hausel*, and having persuaded the citizens to revolt, *Burbelius* with his *Kosaks* retired into the castle; from whence afterward sallying, he drove them out of the town again. But about this time *Filek*, the key of that part of upper *Hungary*, was given up to the *Heydûks*, who had for some time besieged it, by the garrison, for want of water. After this four thousand of them attempting to surprise *Wiglate* castle, were repulsed with great loss: but marching from thence, they broke into *Turson's* country, and forced the states to submit to *Botskay*.

To remedy these evils, the emperor sent two commissioners to treat with that lord; but he refused to receive them; and sent circular letters to assemble the nobility and states of *Hungary* at *Gerents*, there to deliberate what was to be done, when their country was so oppressed with *Germans* and strangers. In the interim, the army under *Basta* mutinied again, for want of pay, severely threatened their general, and most miserably ravaged the country between *Esperies* and *Presburg*. About the same time *Constantinople* was afflicted not only with a tumult of the *Fanizaries*, but also with a dreadful fire; wherein many people perished, with five hundred shops and warehouses, full of rich commodities were consumed. This misfortune was preceded by a letter from *Sigâla Pâshâ*, giving the *Soltân* an account of his ill success; and that without speedy reinforcements the *Persians* would carry all before them.

To return to the affairs of *Hungary*. The *Heydûks* not only renewed the siege of *New Hausel*, but also took it; and afterwards made incursions into *Moravia*, where they committed intolerable ravages: but they were at length driven out by count *Lichtenstein*, governor of that country, yet carrying great spoils along with them. About this time *Basta*, who lay at *Presburg*, understanding that six thousand *Turks* and *Tatars*, out of fourteen thousand, arrived at *S. George's*, had crossed the *Danube*, about a mile below the city, went in the night with three hundred choice horse; and falling on the *Turks* and *Heydûks*, who remained behind in the camp, slew five hundred of them, before the rest could recover their arms, and returned with some booty of horses. Mean time the garrison of *Komorra*, from an ambuscade, routed and slew *Begedes*

A. D. 1606. *Pâshâ*, the great fomentor of the *H* took seventeen waggon-loads of mon value, which he was conveying to under the son of the *Khân* of *Khrîm*.

*Botzkay's* To make amends for this loss, the *T*  
*successes.* junction with the forces of the male twenty-eight villages, about the lake of *Newstadt*; put people of all ages impaled many, and led multitudes of malecontents surprised and plundered towns, the terror of which made them flee to them. In *June* the inhabitants of *Serini*, *Nadasti* and *Budiani*, who against the *Turks*, seeing all they had committed themselves, as well as many of ever the *Heyduks* were repulsed before besieged, with the loss of many men.

New  
Hausel  
retaken.

THE *Turks*, to induce *Botzkay* to go sent him three waggon-loads of mon hundred *Heyduks* and some *Turks*: but the former joined four hundred *Germans* by the governor, with whom they being all the *Turks*, carried the booty ever the malecontents still encreasing, or *Dotis*, yielded to them. Mean time of *Botzkay* in those parts; with an army of *Germans* and *Turks*, besieged *New Hausel* should fall into the hands of the latter from attacking it, with design to take *Hungarians* only, with whom he fought on the 25th of *July*; yet was repulsed after taking it. After this the *Pâshâ* of *Gran* thousand men and some *Turks* sent out, tho' reduced to other necessities, necessary for *Germans* and *Turks*.

*Turks* be-  
sieg'd  
Gran.

to  
for

in a short time, to make him king of *Hungary*. The *Turks* having gained this point, and resolved to carry on the war in that country, with all their vigour. their wars in *Asia* would admit of; their general *Sedar Pâshâ*, with an army of fifty thousand men, including *Hungarians*, on the 20th of *August*, laid siege to *Gran*. To deprive the city of relief by the *Danube*, they made a great bridge of boats over it, and placed a strong guard at each end. After they had with vast loss and charge made *St. Thomas's* castle assailable, they mounted the hill in great numbers, and in spite of the cannon of the besieged, came to blows with them in the very breaches. The attack lasted five hours, during which they were with incredible courage three times repulsed: but by numbers prevailing at last, after they had slain nine hundred of the garrison, with count *Ottingen* their brave commander, they entered the place, and quickly dispatched the few who remained. This done, they raised a battery of thirty great cannon against the lower town, and having made a large breach in the wall, after four desperate assaults, entered the city. They then attempted the higher town, but being beaten off, fell to mining with such success, that the fortifications being blown up, the besieged lay open to their shot. Hereupon the garrison in a tumult would have the governor *Dampier* to surrender the place; but on his refusing, they imprisoned him, and did the work themselves, on condition of being allowed to march out with their baggage, colours furled, and match lighted: for which piece of baseness, the captains, and principal authors of the mutiny, were executed at *Komorra*, whither they were civilly conducted by the enemy.

THE Soltân's joy for taking this important place, was much allayed by the ill success of his arms in *Asia*. *Sigâla Pâshâ* having advanced towards *Persia*, the *Shâh*, who had then a great army on foot, hastened to meet him before the *Pâshâ* of *Karamania* joined him with the forces he was ordered to raise for that purpose; accordingly, coming on him before he was ready to engage, quickly overthrew his army, and took all his cannon. The king pursuing his victory, followed *Sigâla*, who with three hundred men hardly escaped to *Adena* (K), and besieged him there. Hereupon, the *Pâshâ* of *Trapezond* was ordered to march to his assistance; which *Sigâla* hearing of, he secretly got over the wall with ten soldiers, and joining the succours, advanced to relieve the city. But the *Shâh* to prevent them, leaving part of his army to carry on the siege, with

\* RICAUT. *ibid*.

(K) A city near *Tarsus*, in the southern coast of *Anatolia*, towards *Syria*.

A. D. 1606. the rest marched to attack the *Pâshâs*, whom he unexpectedly surprised before they could draw up in order; and made so great a slaughter of the *Turks*, that very few escaped, besides *Sigâla*, and two or three more, who got over the river in a boat. The consequence of this victory, was the surrender of the town; and *Abmed*, to make himself amends for the loss, seized on *Sigâla's* houses and treasure at *Constantinople*. After this, he ordered new forces to march against the *Persians*: But the *Janizaries* refusing to go, and mutinying for their pay, the high treasurer, whom they complained of, was put to death, to appease their clamour.

*Pâshâ of Hâlep*, NOR did matters turn out better in *Syria*; notwithstanding the late agreement between the two contending *Pâshâs* of *Damaskus* and *Hâlep*. The former, in concert with the *Pâshâs* of *Tripoli* and *Gazera*, at the head of sixty thousand men, marched to besiege *Hâlep*: but the *Pâshâ* of this last city, meeting them with only thirty thousand, attacked them with such bravery, that he entirely routed them; and then took *Tripoli*, after he had a second time overthrown the *Pâshâ*, who had assembled an army to relieve it. This done, he raised tribute on the *Turks*, in order to make himself master of all *Syria*, whose capital he had in his power; and to enrich the country, granted a free trade to the merchants of *Persia* and the *Indies*. Mean while, news being brought that the *Beglerbeg* of *Anatolia's* lieutenant was coming against him with a great army, he seized all the difficult passes; and laying an ambuscade in the straits of the mountains, when the enemy had passed them with two thousand musketeers, and three thousand horse, charged them himself in front, while those in ambush fell on their rear; and, after a sharp fight, totally defeated them. To encrease his good fortune, a rich ship, with the tribute of *Egypt* on board, was cast upon the coast, and fell to his share. These successes being communicated to the king of *Persia*, he extolled the *Pâshâ's* valour, and sent him rich presents, while the flames of this rebellion spread into *Karamania* and other parts of *Anatolia*; which made the *Soltân Abmed* dispatch orders to the prime *Wazîr* in *Hungary*, to make peace with the emperor upon reasonable terms. To this the imperialists were not averse, altho' the king of *Persia* had sent ambassadors to *Vienna*, to engage the court to the contrary; and *Rodolph's* commissioners having on the 6th of *December* received letters from the *Pâshâ* of *Buda*, inviting them to a negotiation, they went thither next day. But the *Turks* declaring they would do nothing without the *Hungarians*, matters for the present stopped here; altho' the same month, all things were agreed at *Vienna*, with *Illiskascius*, *Botskay's* agent, excepting what concerned the toleration of religion, which was not settled till next year.

grouns formidable.

DURING



DURING this suspense of peace, the troubles continued in Hungary, as well as in Asia, where the *Persians* prospered, against whom the prime *Wazîr* was ordered to go in person. Mean time the *Turks* attempted to surprise Raab, as the revolted *Hungarians* distressed *Esperies* and reduced *Tokay*: yet there was no good understanding at this time between the confederates, on account of the incursions of the *Tatars* in upper Hungary; which made the *Heydûks* resolve to join their forces together, and oppose both them and the *Turks*. Hereupon the latter went and obliged *Lippa*, a town of the *Heydûks*, who forsaking the town, fortified the castle with armed men, and then placed others up and down in cellars and vaults; they likewise laid store of gunpowder in the streets. The *Turks* finding the gates open, entered without resistance, and hastened to reduce the castle: but the powder in the mean time taking fire, blew up a great many of them; while the concealed *Heydûks*, issuing from their hiding places, fell on, and made a great slaughter among them.

A. D.  
1606.Affairs of  
Hungary.

At length the difficulty about religion being removed, notwithstanding the great opposition made by the *Romish* clergy, and more particularly the bishop of *Vienna*, peace was concluded in September with the *Hungarians*; whereby, among other articles, it was agreed, that every man throughout Hungary should have the free use of his religion, and believe what he would: that the *Hungarians* might chuse a governor, which title the archduke was no more to use, but that of viceroy: that *Botskay*, for himself, and his heirs male, should for ever hold *Transilvania* dependent on Hungary: and that he should no more style himself prince, but lord of part of the kingdom of Hungary.

Peace  
with Bot-  
skay,

THIS peace was a prelude to that concluded between the emperor and the *Turks*, on the 19th of November following, near *Komorra*, for twenty years, to commence in 1607. By the articles, the *Tatars* were to be included, and the king of *Spain* might accede to the treaty: *Vakhia* was to be restored to the emperor, and *Gran* remain to the *Soltân*. The year concludes with the death of the great *Botskay*; who, having been ill all the time both treaties were going forward, died at *Kasovia* on the 30th of December, very much lamented. He was a man of great spirit; wise, politic, a warm lover of his country, but an extreme enemy to the *Germans*, and their government in Hungary.

and the  
Turks.

THERE occurs very little remarkable for the next three years, concerning the *Turks*, who now resolved to turn their whole force against the *Persians*. But the *Soltân* thinking it necessary first to procure peace at home, sent to the *Pâshâ* of *Hâlep*, promising him pardon and favour, provided he submitted himself. The answer not being agreeable to *Ahmed's* desire,

Rebellion  
in Asia,  
A. D.  
1607.

A. D. 1607. desire, the prime *Wazîr* was sent over, with an army of one hundred and thirty thousand men, against the *Asian* rebels; who being suppressed by his discrete management, more than by his arms, he marched towards *Hâlep*. The *Pâshâ*, with a body of forty thousand only, but most of them musketeers, engaged the *Wazîr* in an advantageous post, within two miles of that city, and in three notable battles withstood his whole power: but understanding, as he prepared for the fourth engagement, that a great reinforcement from the *Pâshâs* of *Damaskus* and *Tripoli*, his enemies, had joined the imperial troops, he fled with his effects towards *Persia*, followed by his army. Hereupon the *Wazîr* took *Hâlep* by force, and put the garrison to the sword. | The *Pâshâ* having gotten together new forces, was returned with design to fight the *Wazîr*: but finding many of his old friends had forsaken him, he wrote to that minister, desiring him to obtain his pardon from the *Soltân*, which was accordingly effected <sup>f</sup>.

Suppressed.

Persians  
success.

A H M E D, tho' now quite at liberty to unite his forces against the *Persians*, yet chusing peace rather than war, employed the *Khân* of *Tartary* to bring it about: but as he demanded *Tauris*, with all the provinces lately recovered by the *Persians*, the treaty did not take effect. However, nothing of moment was acted on either side against the other, till the year 1610, when the *Persians* entered into the provinces of *Arabian Irâk*, with a design to recover *Bâghdâd*, taken from them in a former reign. To prevent this misfortune, *Abmed* sent a mighty army under *Nasuh Pâshâ* (L), who had no better success than *Sigâla*, for he was routed, and lost twenty thousand. To repair this loss, new troops are dispatched under the command of the famous *Pâshâ* of *Hâlep*, lately in rebellion. But, whatever the reason was, he never marched against the enemy; being, by the *Soltân's* order, slain by a *Kâpiji* (M), soon after his arrival at *Constantinople*.

A. D.  
1610.

Affairs of  
Transil-  
vania,

MEAN time *Gabriel Bathori*, prince of *Transylvania*, having put himself under the protection of the *Turks*, against the archduke *Mathias*, now king of *Hungary*, who pretended a title by reason of *Sigismund's* cession formerly to the emperor, as king of *Hungary*; that prince took *Hermanstadt*, and having entered *Walakhia* drove out the *Vayvod Raduile*: then putting another in his place, he returns to *Transylvania* to op-

<sup>f</sup> RICAUT, *ibid*.

(L) In our author *Nasut Bassa*.

(M) By this circumstance, he should be the same who is called *Mehemed Pâshâ* by the *Turkish* historians. For he succeeded

*Nasuh Pâshâ*; tho' neither the time nor place of his death in them, agrees with those of the Christian account.

pose

pose *Fortgatfi*, the lieutenant of king *Mathias*. *Radville*, who retired to *Constantine*, *Vayvod* of *Moldavia*, having insinuated to that prince, that *Bathori* had a design to seize his country also, they joined their forces, and defeated him near *Kronstadt*, while *Fortgatfi* seized *Transylvania*: but *Bathori*, some time after, having received a reinforcement of *Turks* and *Tatars*, forced the lieutenant of *Mathias* to retire into *Walakhia*.

A. D.  
1610.

THUS the storm ceasing in *Transylvania*, a more violent one fell upon *Moldavia*. For the *Soltân* understanding that *Constantine* had assisted the *Walakhians* against *Bathori*, his tributary, sent a new prince (the supposed son of *Thomas*, alias *Aaron*, once *Vayvod* there) with fifteen thousand men, besides orders to the *Turks* and *Tatars* in that province, to assist him in his pretensions. But as if two competitors for it were not enough, there started up a third, the son of *Janiculo*, who once commanded in *Moldavia*; and after many turns of fortune, arriving in *England*, was recommended by king *James I.* to Sir *Thomas Glover*, his ambassador at the *Porte*, in order to solicit his restitution; which he did, but without success.

WHILE these things were doing by land, the gallies of *Malta* and *Tuskany* greatly incommoded the *Turks* at sea; the latter intercepted forty gallies and two galleasses, laden with the tribute of *Egypt*, sunk five, and drove the rest into *Famagusta*, but got no booty. However in their way home, they took a rich ship, valued at a million and half of crowns. About the same time the gallies of *Malta* and *Naples*, missing of the said treasure, ravaged the isle of *Longo* in the *Archipelago*; while the *Turks* slay'd a *Greek* patriarch alive, under pretence of his intending to make some *Albanian* Christians revolt. This summer *Constantinople*, and the adjacent countries, were afflicted with infinite clouds of locusts; which were followed by showers of extraordinary great hail, and a deluge of rain.

DURING the distractions in the west, the *Persian* king, having extended his dominion to the *Black Sea*, was content to have made a peace with the *Porte*, and sent two different embassies for that purpose. But, altho' the proposals were rejected, yet the *Turks* attempted nothing against *Persia* in the years 1609 and 1610. However next year *Ahmed* sent an army thither, of more than one hundred and fifty thousand men, under the command of *Morâd Serder*, the grand *Wazîr*: but he dying in *July*, before he had entered the enemies borders, *Nassuf Pâshâ*, who had been formerly in rebellion, was appointed to succeed him (N). The new general about the

A. D.  
1611.

(N) 'Tis said this was by *Morâd's* own advice, in his letters while sick to the *Soltân*, altho' *Nassuf* (or rather *Nasub*) was supposed

A. D.  
1611.  
Peace con-  
cluded.

midst of *August*, committing great spoil on the frontiers, was met by the *Shâh*, who had drawn his forces together : but, finding himself overmatched, he made offers of peace again, which were accepted of, on condition that he paid a yearly tribute of two hundred camel-loads of silk, for some countries which he had conquered : that the *Shâh's* son should be called *Pâshâ* of *Tauris* ; and that the judge of that city should be sent from *Constantinople*. Nothing farther remarkable happened this year, except that the ships of *Mâlta*, failing in their design on *Nowarino*; landed eight hundred men near *Korinth*, in the *Morea* ; who getting to that city an hour before day, surprised and plundered it, coming off with great booty, and no loss from the enemy, who had drawn together ten thousand men to attack them.

Janizaries  
mutiny.

A. D.  
1612.

NEITHER did any matters of great moment fall out the next year. The terms of peace having been agreed on between the *Shâh* and *Abmed*, *Nassuf Pâshâ* returned to *Constantinople* without any delay, bringing with him an ambassador to conclude it. The *Wazîr* was received with great honour at court, and the *Persian* ambassador highly caressed. Soon after the *Soltân* going to reside at *Adrianople*, the soldiery began to mutiny, spurning at their bread and rice ; and being expostulated with on the occasion, they answered, that no *Soltân* before carried out his men in the depth of winter. This gave great disgust to the *Wazîr Nassuf*, who was now so much in favour with *Abmed*, that none was allowed to see him in private but himself ; and finding, at a great fire which soon after happened in *Constantinople*, that the *Janizaries* were more careful to break open houses, than quench the flames, he severely punished them for it ; sent sixteen thousand of them away into *Asia*, and would suffer no more of their order to be made.

Treaty  
with Hol-  
land.

WHILE the *Persian* ambassador was at *Constantinople*, one arrived from *Mathias*, now become emperor of *Germany*, on the death of his brother *Rodolph*, requiring the province of *Transylvania* to be given up to him, according to the agreement with *Botskay* in case he died without male issue ; but did not succeed in his demand.

THIS year also, for the first time, an ambassador came from the states of *Holland*, and concluded a treaty, whereby the *Soltân* promised to set at liberty all the *Dutch* slaves within

\* GRIMSTONE in Achmet apud. Ricaut.

supposed to have poisoned him. But *Morâd* did it with a view, that by such means the *Soltân* should draw him home, and then dispose of him at pleasure, as afterwards it appears he did.

his

his dominions ; that the *Dutch* merchants should be free to trade in all his ports ; and, that the states might send an ambassador to reside at *Constantinople*.

A. D.  
1612.

IN the end of *June*, the *Soltân* married his sister and eldest daughter, the first to *Mehemed Pâshâ*, son to the late *Sigâla*, the latter to *Mahmûd*, the *Kapudan Pâshâ*, or high admiral. The ceremony was extremely grand, and the presents of the *Soltân* to the brides exceeding costly : but all this gaiety ended in bitterness, for the day after *Ahmed* beat the *Soltâna*, mother to the new married daughter, most unmercifully ; stabbed her thro' the cheek with his dagger, and trod her under his feet, because she had strangled a female slave of his sister's, whom he was enamoured with. After this, having to avoid the plague removed from *Constantinople*, to one of his country palaces called *Darut Pâshâ* ; while he was viewing a 'fâms, which he had built there, a *Darwish* threw a great stone, with a design to knock him on the head, but falling on his shoulder, it did but slightly hurt him. For this crime the offender was next day beheaded.

Ahmedaf-  
saulted.  
A. D.  
1612.

*MOLDAVIA* and *Transylvania* were still embroiled in troubles ; and tho' the *Turks* could not make an absolute conquest of them, yet they set up princes there, who were in their interest. For *Constantine* being driven out of *Moldavia*, and taken prisoner, *Stephen* the pretended son of prince *Aaron*, was placed in his stead. As for *Bathori*, he was much molested by *Bethlem Gabor* his mortal enemy ; and being at length slain by his own soldiers, *Bethlem* was soon after declared prince of *Transylvania*, by *Serder Pâshâ*.

Affairs of  
Molda-  
via.

TOWARDS the end of this year, the *Turks* drew together a great army, which they sent towards *Transylvania* the next spring : but while they were fortifying the places which they held in those parts, *Cosmo di Medicis*, grand duke of *Tuscany*, bent his thoughts to take the fort of *Agliman* (O), in *Karamania* ; to revenge the loss of a ship in that port, and forty men, whose heads the *Turks* exposed on the walls. To this intent, his fleet of gallies, with some land forces on board, about the end of *April*, landed in the night near *Jeronda* (P), a small town in lesser *Asia* ; but being discovered, embarked again, and put a shore a mile and half from the port of *Agliman*. The fort stands on a little hill, and extends from thence to the sea side. 'Tis of an oval form, with stone walls, four fathom high, and one broad, divided by a wall in two equal parts, one to the east, the other to the west. It was fortified with eight

take  
A. D.  
1613.

(O) It guards the port of *Seleucia* to the north-west of cape *Bogas*, of old *Koricæum*, on the east of *Cilicia*.

(P) Supposed to be the *Jeronda* of the ancients.

towers,

A. D. towers, and had a garrison of three hundred men, provided  
1613: with all necessaries.

**Fort Agli-** **man.** THE *Florentines* commanded by *Montano*, presently marched towards it, and the earl of *Candale* being come within fifteen paces of the wall, was charged in front by the musketeers of the fort; behind by the *Turkish* gallies; and in flank from the mountain. For all this they advanced with their petards to force the gate; and altho' the enemy from their gallies came forth to attack them, yet they at last entered the fort, and took it; after a most sharp fight: then having removed the artillery, provision and ammunition, they set *Agliman* on fire. They carried off likewise two gallies, and eight other vessels from the port<sup>h</sup>.

**Portu-** **gueze** **take** **Aden.** MEAN time the rebels in *Asia Minor* burnt several places; and an *Arab* prince having revolted, ravaged the *Othmân* territories with fifty thousand troops. The *Portugueze* and *Spaniards* also, with their fleets, infesting the *Red Sea*, took and plundered *Aden*, a city of great importance, on the south end of *Arabia*. In the interim, the *Soltân* set out for *Hungary* with an army: but on advice that *Bethlem Ghabor* was become prince of *Transylvania*, he returned, yet dared not enter *Constantinople*, for fear of the plague; and when it had ceased, for fear of renewing the infection, he ordered all the dogs in that city to be carried to *Skutari*, beyond the *Bosphorus*, with an allowance of bread and flesh for their maintenance: but becoming uneasy to the inhabitants, they were transported to a desert isle, sixteen miles from the capital, where they all perished for want of food. The lives of the dogs, tho' held unclean by the *Turks*, were deemed of such importance, that the *Soltân* demanded of the *Mufti*, whether it was lawful to kill them? but that head of their religion answered, that every dog had a soul, and therefore it was not lawful to kill them.

**Fleet re-** **paired.** THE *Soltân* having this and the preceding year sustained a loss of gallies and frigates in the mediterranean, by those of *Naples*, *Málta* and *Florence*, as well as in the *Black Sea*, by the *Kosaks*, he imposed a great tax on all his Christian subjects toward repairing it; on which occasion the *Armenians* were cessed to build nine gallies at their own charge, and the *Greeks* twenty.

**The prime** **Wazir,** **A. D.** **1614.** THE first thing which occurs, of any moment, in the *Turkish* affairs, is the disgrace and death of *Nasuf Páshá*. This person who was the tribute-son of a *Greek* priest, by degrees came to be *Kápi Aga*, then governor of *Hálep*, next that of *Mesopotamia* (or *Dyárbekr*), and lastly grand *Wazir*. *Ahmed*,

<sup>h</sup> GRIMST. ubi supra.

for what reason is not known, growing jealous of his conduct, resolved on his death. *Nasuf* suspecting the *Soltân's* displeasure, endeavoured, by presents to the *Soltâna* and others, to pacify him, while he prepared to secure himself by flying over to *Asia*. In the interim, *Ahmed* going one night, in the time of an eclipse, to visit a new mosk, as soon as the *Wazîr* heard the cry, *the king comes*, he went down to salute his majesty, as he passed by : but instead of the *Soltân*, the *Boştânji Bâshi*, dressed like *Ahmed*, steps up to him, and tells him, it was his master's pleasure that he should resign the seal. The *Wazîr* amazed, asked, *what the Soltân meant to do?* the other replied, *he knew not what the Soltân's pleasure was, but that if he would not deliver the seal, he would return with that answer.*

A. D.  
1614.

HEREUPON *Nasuf* drawing the seal out of his bosom (Q), and delivering it, the *Boştânji Bâshi* then shewed him a warrant for his head, to which the *Wazîr* presently submitted ; and then two *Jamoglâns* strangled him. His head was immediately cut off, and carried to the *Soltân*, while his body was thrown into the street to be trampled on. It was thought his death was procured by *Sigâla*, *Pâshâ* of *Bâghdâd*, whom he had removed ; and denying him access to *Ahmed*, he wrote a letter, accusing *Nasuf* of conspiring with the *Persians* to kill the *Soltân*. This letter he sent by his wife, the *Soltân's* sister ; but not being able to deliver it into his hands, on account of the *Wazîr's* vigilance, she left it in his chamber, where he found and read it. They got in his house eighty bags of gold, containing ten thousand chekîns each. *Mahmûd Pâshâ*, the high admiral, succeeded him in his *Wazîrship*.

ALTHO' the *Soltân* laid aside his expedition into *Transylvania*, yet he wrote letters to the nobility and states in an imperious style, in favour of *Bethlem Ghabor*, who still carried on the war against the *Germans*. These letters were fixed up in form of a mandate, throughout the country, against the emperor's party. At the same time a *Chaus* arrived at *Lintz*, with letters also from the *Soltân*, complaining that several places in *Transylvania* had been taken from *Ghabor*, who was under his protection, and demanded the restitution of them. But while the states of the empire were debating this matter, *Bethlem*, assisted by *Sauder Pâshâ*, laboured to recover the towns which had been lost, and in October besieged *Lippa* ; with which *Genna* and *Arach* were surrendered to him, on condition that they should be annexed to the principality of *Transylvania*, and not be put into the hands of the *Turks*.

(Q) The *Turks* have pockets carrying their money and other things of value.

A. D. 1614. THIS year in *Hungary*, incursions began afresh, between the *Turks* and malecontents, but the losses were on neither side very considerable. All this while *Ahmed* was beautifying the Turkish front of the palace towards the *Propontis*, with a platform or pretender. terrafs, eight hundred paces long, and twelve broad, washed

A. D. 1615. by the sea. Mean time one *Iakaya*, who gave himself out to be the *Soltan's* brother, after experiencing various turns of fortune, and failing, in concert with the prime *Wazir*, to kill *Ahmed*, by the sudden death of the *Dârwish*, who was to have been the assassin, he wandered thro' *Walakhia* and *Moldavia*, into *Poland*. There being in danger of his life from a *Chaufb* who knew him, he escaped to the emperor's court at *Prague*, where he solicited aid against his brother: but meeting with nothing but fair words, he travelled to *Florente*, and from thence to *Naples*, *Milan* and *Rome*. Last of all he went to *France*, where he lived by the liberality of the duke of *Nevers*. Altho' many suspected him for an impostor, yet those who knew him, concluded from his actions and behaviour, that he was sprung from a princely race.

Revolu-  
tion in  
Molda-  
via.

STEPHEN, who had been by the *Turks* created *Vayvod* of *Moldavia*, proving a great tyrant, and endeavouring to root out all the nobility of the country, they invited prince *Alexander*, son of *Jeremy*, from whom they had received so much good usage, to make head against him. *Stephen*, after several defeats, being forced to fly, *Alexander* was proclaimed prince of *Moldavia*. After this, the latter sent an embassy to acquaint the *Porte* with his pretensions, and that he had no design to withdraw *Moldavia* from the *Soltân's* obedience. But as that prince's ambassadors took the way of *Buda*, the *Pâshâ* seized and sent them to *Stephen*, then at *Brahilow*, who put them to death. Then having assembled his scattered forces, and received a recruit from *Mikbna*, prince of *Walakhia*, he marched to try his fortune once more, but was again overthrown by *Alexander*. This prince afterwards gained some farther advantages over him and the *Turks*, who came to his assistance: but finding that his enemies had gathered a force which he was not able to withstand, he thought fit to retire to the strong fortrefs of *Kochim*.

The *Turks*  
routed.

A. D. 1616. THE beginning of *March* following, the prince being reinforced with three thousand five hundred *Kosaks* under the lord *Fischevich*, and fifteen hundred *Poles* under *Potoski*, besides other succours, found his troops encreased to twelve thousand men. Mean time *Skinder Pâshâ*, and *Stephen*, with an army twenty thousand strong, came and incamped between the town and the prince's army. The *Tatars* immediately

† GRIMST. ubi supra.



fell on the *Kosaks* who were in the van, when eight cannon, playing upon them from a masked battery, made them retreat. While the *Kosaks* pursued them, the lord *Tischevich*, with fifteen hundred horse, bravely forced a squadron of *Walakhians* and *Moldavians* to retire, altho' supported by three thousand *Turks*. Then prince *Alexander* advancing with the rest of the army, and prince *Koreski* sallying with the garrison of a thousand men in the *Turks* rear; the *Pâshâ*, who perceived the stratagem of the enemy, retired with *Stephen* and part of the cavalry, in much fear and confusion, leaving the prince to carry all before him, who in this action slew twelve thousand men, besides the wounded and prisoners.

THIS great success was attended with more advantages *Stephen* against *Mikhna Vayvod*, of *Walakhia*, whose *Boyars* offered that seized country to *Alexander*, tho' he thought not fit to accept of it. *Ibrâhim Pâshâ* likewise wrote to assure him, that he should remain in quiet possession of *Moldavia*, since the prime *Wazîr* was in disgrace; and at the same time had orders to seize *Stephen*, and send him to *Constantinople*, where he turned *Mohammedan*, to save his life. For all this, in June, *Skinder Pâshâ*, with an army of twenty thousand *Turks* and *Walakhians*, joined by ten thousand more of *Mikhna's* men, came to *Tergovist* in *Walakhia*, and there proclaimed *Mikhna* prince of *Moldavia*; after which they marched towards that country.

ABOUT the same time, the *Polish* general growing discontented at the success of prince *Alexander*, and his son *Bogdân*, derided wrote to acquaint *Mikhna* and the *Pâshâ*, that if they would make the eldest son of the late prince *Simeon Vayvod* of *Walakhia*, he would so weaken the army of the two princes, that they must either yield or fly. This being agreed on, he drew the *Kosaks* to mutiny; and to the number of about eight thousand of them, marched towards *Poland*: Bicho also, prince *Alexander's* own general, having treacherously deserted him with two thousand horse, it caused great confusion in his army. The prince perceiving that the *Pâshâ* had sent twelve thousand men to pursue the *Poles*, then at *Kotnard*, between *Yassi* and *Kochim*, suddenly advanced with his army towards the latter place. Mean time prince *Koreski*, who staid near *Kotnard* with two thousand five hundred horse, was surprised by a body of *Turks* and *Tatars*; yet retreated, with the slaughter of six thousand of them, to one hundred and fifty which he lost of his own.

THE *Turkish* commander, being reinforced with sixteen thousand men from the *Pâshâ*, challenged prince *Koreski* to fight at single combat; but having been wounded twice in the late action, the lord *Tischevich* undertook the quarrel. The *Turkish* general being about fifty paces from his army, called

for

A. D.  
1616.and taken  
prisoner.

for water to wash (R), then turned to the east (S), and prayed; after which he mounted, and rode slowly towards his adversary. The two combatants having spent their bows and arrows, *Tischevich* firing a petronel, shot the *Turk* thro' the body, and then dispatched him. But this small victory was of little service to them, for the traitor *Bicho* having found a way with two thousand horse to cut off the passage between *Kotnard* and *Bochocan*, the *Poles* were surrounded on all sides; yet refusing to yield, the *Pâshâ* and *Mikhna* ordered the cannon to be play'd upon them. *Tischevich* seeing all lost, with five hundred horse, forced his way thro' three or four squadrons, posted by the wood side, to keep any from escaping. After this the *Turks* approaching to force the prince's camp, they cried out, they yielded. The prince *Alexander* and *Bogdân*, with their mother, were carried to *Constantinople*, where, for fear of perpetual imprisonment they turned *Mohammedans*. Prince *Koreski* also was taken afterwards, and the young prince's his wife carried into *Tartary*; from whence she was ransomed for three thousand chekins.

Peace  
with the  
Germans.

THE peace made in 1606, between the *Turks* and *Germans*, having been infringed by both nations, for want of being explicit enough in certain articles; after much altercation, the ambassadors of both empires agreed to farther articles, to take away all pretence of controversy in explaining the former. By the seventh priests of the church of *Rome* were allowed to build churches, and perform divine service in them; and by the tenth, all merchants from the empire and *Spain*, were to pay three per cent, and, in case of death, the *Soltân* was not to claim their goods.

Demand  
on France.A. D.  
1617.

THE peace being thus confirmed between the two empires, the bordering countries, which had been so long harassed with war, began to breathe a little; and the *Soltân* turning his thoughts to other things, in 1617 sent a *Chausb* to *Paris*, with letters to demand of *Henry IV.* that justice might be done the *Moors* of *Granada*, expelled out of *Spain*; who had been wronged of their goods, as well as in their persons, in their passage to *France*. The *Chausb* was amazed at the long delays given to law-suits in that country; whereas, he said the, *Turks* did justice with dispatch, and terminated the most important causes in eight days time.

(R) They wash their eyes, nose, mouth, ears, and privities: this is called *Abdest*, and is performed before they say their prayers, or go upon any action of importance.

(S) Or more properly to the point where the city of *Mekka* is situate, which from *Moldavia* was towards the south-east. This point, with the action of turning to it, is called *Kibla*.

THIS

THIS year the *Soltân* had two armies on foot, one under *Ali Pâshâ*, against the *Persians*; the other against the *Poles*, on account of their supporting the interest of *Alexander*, prince of *Moldavia*. They had likewise two fleets at sea, the first in the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*, against the *Kosaks* or *Russians*, who daily infested their coasts; the other in the *White Sea*, or *Propontis*, to be ready to convoy the treasure of *Egypt*, and oppose the attempts of the gallies belonging to *Mâlta* and *Florence*. However nothing remarkable happened abroad this year, which at home proved unfortunate by the loss of the *Soltân* himself, who died on the sixteenth of *November*<sup>k</sup>. A. D. 1617.   
 Great Preparations.

*AHMED* lived twenty-nine years, and reigned fourteen. His three sons, *Othmân*, *Murâd*, and *Ibrâhîm*, all ascended the throne.

NOR to mention his other virtues, he excelled all his predecessors in liberality and magnificence; so that he has been charged by some with profuseness. He was very fond of building, and erected in the hyppodrome a *Jâmi* (T), the neighbour and rival of *Sanâa Sophia*. This structure proved so costly, that to finish it, the treasures of the whole empire, collected by his father during his long repose, scarce sufficed. Whilst this work was in hand, the *Soltân* is said to have visited it every week, and paid the workmen himself their wages<sup>l</sup>. His character.

TO this account of the *Turkish* historians, we may add from the Christian, that he was of a good constitution, well complexioned, and somewhat inclined to be fat. He was strong and active; ambitious and proud, but not so cruel as many of his predecessors. He was much given to sensuality, having had three thousand women, the daughters of Christians, in his *Saray*. He took great delight in hawking and hunting, to pursue each of which sports, he maintained forty thousand falconers, and near as many huntsmen, in *Greece* and *Anatolia*. *Ahmed* took a fancy to make horn rings, such as the *Turks* use when they draw their bows; and his father

<sup>k</sup> GRIMST. in Ricaut.

<sup>l</sup> CANT. p. 240.

(T) This building excels the *Korân*, every one of which is said to cost sixty dollars. It is certain, so much money was expended on this structure, that on an exact calculation, every dram of stone or mortar, was found to cost three aspers; *Cant*. What then must the gold, gildings, painting, wood and iron work have cost?

A. D. 1617. *Mohammed* made arrows. For the *Mohammedan* princes are obliged by their religion to practice some handicraft business, which they do in the morning, the first thing after they have said their prayers. But it is only for form sake, since they scarce finish an arrow or a ring in a whole year <sup>m</sup>.

## C H A P. XVI.

*The Reign of Mostafa.*

15 Soltân *AHMED* was succeeded, in the beginning of the year  
Mostafa. 1027, by his younger brother *Mostafa* (U): but as this  
Hej. 1027 prince took no care of the public affairs, but gave himself up  
A. D. entirely to his lusts, he was in the fourth month of his reign, by  
1618. the unanimous consent of the great men, removed from the  
throne to the prison of the seven towers.

THIS is all we meet with, relating to this first reign of *Mostafa*, in the *Turkish* authors before us: nor do the Christian historians say much more, the short space of its duration not affording time for many transactions of moment. They tell us, that growing odious by his tyranny, he was by the grand *Wazîr*, on his return out of *Asia*, forced to return to his cell again. That *Ahmed* being but fifteen years old when he ascended the throne, the great officers of the court thought it not prudent to put him to death, lest his brother should die without children, and the empire be involved in civil wars. But that when *Ahmed* saw he had children, he resolved to get rid of him, had he not been hindered by frightful dreams the night before that: another time going to shoot him, he was seized with a pain in his arm: yet that in his last sickness he called for him, and declared him his successor.

Koreski's  
escape,

THE first thing this prince did, was to set the *Persian* ambassador at liberty; but, contrary to the law of nations, ill used the baron *de Mole* or *Sancy*, the *French* ambassador. The occasion was this: prince *Koreski*, after he was taken prisoner in *Moldavia*, as before related, refusing to turn *Mohammedan*, was sent prisoner to the castle on the *Black Sea*, where he was confined in a little chamber, with one *Rigault*, a *Frenchman*, who was there before him. This chamber was on the top of one of the towers of the castle, and had one window without bars, large enough for a man to get through. As the king of

<sup>m</sup> GRIMST. in RICAUT.

(U) The *Turks* ascribe the whom they represent as exceeding all the rest in vice and greatest things to all their emperors, except this *Mostafa*, lust.

*Poland* was concerned for the prince's liberty, he wrote to the *French* ambassador to solicit his ransom; the imperial ambassador likewise did what he could to procure his release. Mean time *Martin*, the *French* ambassador's secretary, having ransomed a *Polish* lady, with her daughter and maid, for two thousand five hundred crowns, on condition that he was to have the young lady in marriage, sent them home: but the father refusing to perform the agreement, one day in a visit which he made to prince *Koreski*, he told him the affair. The prince bad him be easy, and assured him, that if he could obtain his liberty, he should not long pine for the lady. Hereupon *Martin* sending a *Greek* priest with a rope ladder, which he drew up by means of packthread, the prince and *Frenchman* got out of the tower, and were concealed at *Constantinople*.

A. D.  
1618.

out of  
Prison.

As soon as their escape was known, not only the *French* ambassador's domestics were seized, and severely tortured to discover where they were, but the ambassador himself was confined in the grand *Wazir*'s palace: and altho' the *English* and *Dutch* ambassadors resented this injury, yet he could not obtain his own and servants liberty, without very great presents to the *Musti*, *Chausb bashi* and others.<sup>a</sup> But we must now look into the actions of *Ozmân* or *Othmân*, who by this time is upon the throne.

## C H A P. XVII.

## S E C T. I.

## Reign of Soltân Othmân II.

**M**OST A F A having been deposed, *Soltân Othmân* (or *Osmân*) the second ascended the throne, in the eighth year of his age. It was upon account of his youth, that they had before passed him by, altho' he had more right to the empire than his uncle *Mosstafa*, who was chosen as a contemplative and inoffensive man.<sup>o</sup>

16 Soltân  
Othmân  
II.

As soon as the *French* ambassador was freed from his confinement, he sent to acquaint his master with the treatment he had received. Hereupon the king of *France* sent two gentlemen to *Constantinople*, to demand reparation for the indignity offered to his representative. On this occasion *Uri Chausb* was dispatched ambassador to *Paris*, to confirm the peace; and at his audience he delivered a letter from the young *Soltân*, wherein he made an apology for what had happened, and promised that, for the future, the *French* ambassador should be treated with more respect than that of any other Christian potentate.

Embassy to  
France.

<sup>a</sup> GRIMST. in Ricaut.

<sup>o</sup> CANT. Othm. hist. p. 241.

A. D.  
1618.

URI Chausb, after he had finished his business in *France*, went over in the same quality to *England*, where he had an audience of king *James I.* at *White-hall*, to whom he made a speech, and then presented a letter from the *Soltân*, much to the same purpose with that sent to the king of *France*.

Peace  
with Per-  
sia.

IN the mean time, *Ali Pâsbâ*, the grand *Wazîr*, had entered *Persia* with his army, and destroyed all before him with fire and sword, as far as *Tauris* whither *Karelghay Hân* (or *Khân*), the *Persian* general, retreated: but on the *Wazîr's* approach he left that city; and being pursued by the *Tatars*, many of his troops were cut to pieces. Then the *Turks* proceeded towards *Ardevil*, from whence the king of *Persia* fled towards *Hukthal* (X), and retreating with his army to the top of a high mountain, sent to demand peace (Y): which the *Wazîr*, being in distress for want of victuals, was obliged to grant, and *Soltân Ozmân* afterwards confirmed it.

Strange  
phænomena.

Hej. 1029.

A. D.  
1620.

DURING this expedition of the *Turks* into *Persia* P; in the year 1029, on the 28th of *Rabi'lawel*, there appeared in the heavens at *Constantinople* a crooked sword, five times as long as a spear, and three feet broad (Z). It extended from east to west, and for a whole month shone with great brightness, after sun-set. The astrologers declared it to be a sign of victory, and increase of empire to the *Othmâns* 9.

Ghabor  
made king.

THE war about the same time growing hot in *Bohemia* against the protestants, *Bethlem Ghabor*, prince of *Transilvania*, diverted the arms of the imperialists, by invading *Hungary*: but fearing that the emperor, in case he quite subdued the *Bohemians*, should fall upon him with his whole power, he sent an ambassador to crave aid of *Ozmân*; who promised, with an oath, to assist him, in case of need, to the utmost of his power. *Bethlem* having thus gained the *Soltân's* protection, entered into a league with the *Bohemians* and *Hungarians*, and on the 25th of *August* was proclaimed king of *Hungary* 1.

Prodigious  
frost.

NEXT year there happened, in the month of *Rabi'lawel*, a frost at *Constantinople*, which was so excessively great, that the

P GRIMST. in Ricaut.  
ubi supra.

9 CANT. p. 241.

1 GRIMST.

(X) Or *Kalkal*, a strong place on the river *Ispirudb*, in the road from *Ardevil* to *Kasbîn*.

(Y) This is according to the account sent by the *Wazîr* to *Sir Paul Pindar*, then the *English* ambassador at the *Porte*.

(Z) The Christian writers make it of a vast length, and

extending from near the zenith, where the point was, below the horizon, which hid the hilt. The blade seemed to be stretched from *Persia*, with the edge towards *Constantinople*. It always rose in one place, and followed the motion of the heavens.

inhabitans

inhabitants of that city walked over the *Bosphorus* to *Işkuder* (or *Skutarî*) on foot. This the astrologers interpreted as a bad omen : but *Othmân*, in contempt of their prediction, undertakes in the summer after the hard winter, an expedition against the *Poles* ; recovers *Khotin* (A), which they had taken by assault, and sends the *Khân* of *Kbrim*, with the *Tatarian* and *Turkish* forces, to ravage the inmost part of *Poland*. Mean while he himself so surrounds and presses the enemies troops with his own, that they were at last compelled to sue for peace ; which the *Soltân* having granted on his own terms, he returns about winter laden with spoils and captives \*.

Hej. 1031  
A. D.  
1621.

Ozmân  
invades  
Poland.

As to the occasion of this war, the Christian historians tell us, that the *Poles* had not only given the *Othmâns* offence, by supporting the interest of *Alexander* prince of *Moldavia*, in opposition to the *Vayvod* set up by the *Turks*, as hath been already related ; but they had also given protection to *Gaspáro Gratsani*, an *Austrian*, who had been made *Vayvod* of *Moldavia*, after the death of *Mikhna*, and falling into disgrace at the *Porte*, fled into *Poland*. Soon after this *Jehân beg Gbieray*, *Kân* of *Kbrim*, having made several incursions into the *Polish* territories, the ambassador of *Poland* complained thereof to the *Porte* : but being answered, that the *Tatars* were absolute lords of themselves, and besides had a demand of forty thousand ducats annual tribute on his country, which was not paid to them, those ravagers grew more insolent, and committed much greater depredations than before.

Occasion  
of the  
war.

HEREUPON the *Poles* and *Kosaks*, dwelling about the *Boristhenes* or *Nieper*, in order to make reprisals, fell down that river in boats, and plundered several towns and villages on the *Euxine* or *Black Sea*. The *Soltân* sent forces against them from time to time, which always came off with the worst ; and when he complained of the damage done by them to his subjects, the *Poles* answered in his own language, that the *Poles* were absolute lords of themselves ; but that when the *Tatar* would give over his hostilities, they might be prevailed on to give over theirs. *Ozmân* saw plainly by this, that he was to expect no peace from the *Kosaks*, so long as the *Tatars* continued their ravages ; and therefore, rather than procure it

Mutualin-  
cursions.

\* CANT. p. 242.

(A) Or *Khochim*, commonly written in the maps *Cboczyn*. It is a city of *Moldavia*, on the river *Tyras* (or *Nieſter*) over against *Kaminiek*. The walls were repaired by the *Turks*, after the

battle of *Hierasus*, with the addition of some modern works ; so that it may now be counted the bulwark of the whole empire, against the *Poles* and *Russians*.  
Cant.

A. D. 1621. at that rate, by the advice of his prime *Wazîr Ali*, he resolved on a war against *Poland*.

The Poles  
surrounded.

A. D.  
1621.

Peace con-  
cluded.

The em-  
peror  
threat-  
ened.

ACCORDINGLY, in the end of *April* 1621, he set forward at the head of an army three hundred thousand strong. His first attempt was to attack the fortrefs of *Kochin* in *Moldavia*, given by *Gasparo* to the *Poles*: but failing in this design, he crossed the *Boristhenes*, and, as it were, besieged the chancellor of *Poland*, with forty thousand *Poles* and *Kosaks*, besides eight thousand *Germans*, in their camp, for four-and-thirty days together. At length finding, after all his attempts, that he could do no good against the bravery of the enemy, who resisted him with great slaughter, by the mediation of *Radula*, prince of *Walakhia*, they came to the following agreement; that the emperor's army should retire from the borders of *Poland*: that the *Tatars* should send a *Murza* to reside as an hostage in *Poland*, against future incursions; and that the *Poles* should send another to the *Krim*, as a security against any invasion, either by them or the *Kosaks*; and pay the *Khân* forty thousand *Florins*: that the *Poles* should have a resident at the *Porte*, and be allowed a free trade in the *Othmân* dominions; but that their merchants should be obliged to make a present of one hundred thousand *chekins*. This accommodation was the more seasonable on both sides: for that by the sword, cold, famine, and other casualties, the *Turks* were computed to have lost eighty thousand men (besides one hundred thousand horses), and the *Poles* twenty thousand.

HOWEVER, the *Soltân* being exasperated at the emperor *Ferdinand II.* for sending aid to the *Poles*, did, upon his leaving *Poland*, contrary to the advice of his council, proclaim war against him. Pursuant to this measure, he commanded the *Pâshâ* of *Silistria* to winter in that country, with an army of seventy thousand men, in order to invade the emperor's dominions in the following spring; and presently after *Gallo*, the emperor's ambassador, was stopt at *Buda*, under pretence that he had promised, upon his life, the emperor should not assist the *Poles*. Hereupon the king of *Poland* acquainted the *Chaussh*, who was then at his court, that in case his master should on any such account commence hostilities against *Ferdinand*, he would conclude no peace with him, but should be obliged to take the part of his ally. Upon this, *Ozmân* thought it advisable to desist from his resolution; yet at the same time secret orders were sent to some of the officers, who commanded on the frontiers, to join with *Bethlem Gaber* against the emperor. But that order came too late, *Bethlem* having already made peace with that prince.

\* Sir Tho. Roe's letters, ap. Ricaut.



IT being now given out that the *Amir* of *Sidon* (B) was in rebellion, *Ozmân*, pretending to go against him in person, ordered his palace in *Hâlep* to be fitted up, and his troops to be in readiness to march. This resolution was against the opinion of the *Mufti*, and other officers of state, who thought it not convenient for him to leave his *European* dominions; besides, they said his presence would inhanche the charges of the expedition. On these remonstrances he seemed to change his mind; but next day going to the arsenal, he ordered one hundred gallies to be fitted out, and sent a fleet into the *Black Sea* against the *Kofaks*. The dissatisfaction given his ministry by these precipitate proceedings, was heightened by his marrying the grand-daughter of a *Soltâna*, wife of *Partev Pâshâ*, only for her beauty, without any pomp; contrary to the custom latterly of his predecessors, who refrained taking wives of *Turkish* extraction. The soldiery also began to be disgusted on the same account; and his manner of behaviour increased a contempt of him in the city: for he used daily to go about the streets on foot, sometimes in disguise, with a page or two, peeping into houses and taverns like a petty officer (C).

A. D.  
1622.Rebellion  
in Syria.

WHILE the peace between the *Turks* and *Poles* was in agitation, Sir *Thomas Roe*, ambassador from *James I.* of *England*, arrived at the *Porte* to renew the antient capitulations and privileges, with some amendments. He had it also in charge to offer his master's mediation between the *Soltân* and *Poland*; to desire redress for the piracies committed by the gallies of *Tunis* and *Algiers*; and likewise to demand restitution of a great sum of money taken from *Arthur Garraway*, merchant, in the reign of *Abmed*.

Embassy  
from  
England.

THE prime *Wazir* answered the ambassador, that the *Soltân* had given orders for renewing the capitulations, with requisite additions: but declined the king's mediation, as if inconsistent with the *Soltân's* honour, since the *Poles* seemed not sincerely inclined to peace: however promised, that if the peace did take place, all the prisoners should be released, except prince *Koreskie*. As for the pirates, *Ozmân* protested against them, and was ready to do the *English* any service: but thought the demand of *Garraway's* money injurious to him, since they could obtain no relief from the three preceding *Wazirs*, to whom they had applied.

(B) This was probably the famous *Amir Fakro'dding*, prince of the *Durzi* commonly called *Druses*.

prince seemed to be at a great loss to find excuses for destroying him, since this was the effect of his care.

(C) The enemies of this

A. D.  
1622.Ozmân's  
designs.

THE *Soltân*, discontented ever since his disgrace in *Poland*, meditated revenge upon the soldiery ; finding also that his intention of going in pilgrimage to *Mekka* did not relish, he grew still more uneasy : however, being resolved to undertake it, he seemed now content with any sort of peace, even a dishonourable one, with the *Poles*. He reinforced his frontiers in *Hungary* ; and tho' much troubled at the league between the emperor and *Bethlem Gabor*, yet he dissembled his resentment to a high degree, and secured the *Black Sea* as well as he could with his gallies. Mean time all the great officers both in church and state strenuously opposed his intended journey to *Mekka* ; and the soldiery went so far as to protest they would not follow him, but set up another prince in his room.

The soldiery mutiny :

FOR all this, *Ozmân* hurried on by his ill fortune, on *Wednesday* the 7th of *May*, began to pass over his tents and treasure into *Asia*. Hereupon the *Janizaries* and *Spahis*, concluding that his palaces and the temples were not stripped of what was valuable in them, merely for sake of the pilgrimage ; suddenly met in the *Atmeydan* or *Hippodrome*, and running to the *Saray*, called out for the *Soltân*. On *Ozmân's* appearing, and asking *what they meant by that piece of insolence?* they answered, *that he should neither go to Mekka, nor over to Asia, but stay in the city* ; and at the same time demanded the heads of the prime *Wazir Delavir*, and others, as enemies to the government. The *Soltân*, finding it best to give way a little, promised to lay aside the thoughts of his journey ; and as to their other demand, desired them to refer it to the *divân* to be held next *Saturday*.

kill the  
Wazir,

*OZMAN*, perceiving that they could not be prevailed on to desist, at night fortified the *Saray*, with design to oppose the seditious : but altho' the palace had always three thousand domestics within it, yet not a man of them would arm in their master's behalf. Next morning the mutineers assembled again, and forcing the *Musti* to go along with them to the court, made a new demand of the persons whom they wanted to destroy. In this danger the *Wazir* intreated him to pass over to *Asia* in his own boats : but finding the *Soltân* inflexible, he bravely ventured to go out himself to the mutineers, and asked them, *what it was they sought of him, and wherein he had offended?* This courageous behaviour put them at first to a stand, till some insolent fellows, more audacious than the rest, answered him with their swords (*D*), and cut him in pieces.

WHEN

(D) When Sir *Thomas Roe* mage, to recommend him to desired him, in case he went the *Kayzekam*, he replied, along with the *Soltân* in pilgrim- trouble not yourself, I shall never

tempore

WHEN *Ozmân* was informed of this, he attempted to escape into *Asia*; but finding he had slipped the opportunity, hid himself in a private part of the palace. The mutineers at last entered the *Saray*, and taking *Mostafa* with two negro women out of a vault, where he had been put at the beginning of the tumult, by his nephew's order, they proclaimed him emperor a second time, and carried him to the old palace. *Ozmân* having in the night consulted with *Husseyn*, *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, and another officer, pursuant to their advice, early next morning, went to the college of those soldiers, and by a speech, accompanied with tears, acknowledging his error, had almost brought them to relent in his favour: but the *Aga* unseasonably making use of some harsh and reproachful words, their fury was roused again; so that crying out treason, they cut him and *Husseyn Pâshâ* to pieces, and sent the *Soltân* prisoner to the *Seven Towers*.

A. D.  
1622.

and their  
Aga.

As soon as *Mostafa* was seated on the throne, *Dawud Pâshâ*, *Ozmân* the new prime *Wazir*, and his brother-in-law, went with certain persons to put *Ozmân* to death: being awakened by the executioners entering his chamber, he cried, *what news?* At first they stood amazed; till one of them striking him on the head with a battle-axe, the rest leaped upon him, and with much ado strangled him.

THE *Turkish* historians made use of by prince *Cantemir*, wholly omit the circumstances of this remarkable event: they only tell us in general, that the soldiery, unused to youthful government, and living idly at *Constantinople*, being stirred up by *Mostafa's* party, most barbarously kill the *Soltân*, a young man of great hopes, in the fourth year of his reign, and twelfth of his age; after which they release *Mostafa*, whom they had before deposed, and set him once more upon the throne.

Hej. 1032  
A. D.  
1622.

## S E C T. II.

### *Mostafa restored.*

ALTHO' the soldiery were so eager for *Mostafa's* restoration, yet he did not please them long. He had, while in prison, concealed, not corrected, the vices of his perverse nature; and thereby put the soldiers in hopes, that having tasted the cup of affliction, he would become better, and alter his

*Mostafa's*  
*incapacity.*

u ROE. ubi supra.

x CANT. p. 242.

remove so far from this city, but that I will leave one of my legs behind to serve you. Which promise was verified, in a way he never intended; for within a few days after his murder, one of his legs was hanged up in the *Hippodrome*.

G g 4

course

A. D.  
1622.deposed  
again.

course of life, as well as method of government. But after they had, in this expectation, replaced him on the throne, he, thinking himself out of fortune's power, returns to his old vices, and seeks to destroy his deponers; neglects the administration of affairs, and in a word does nothing worthy of memory. When he had thus tyrannized, rather than reigned, fifteen months, he is again dethroned by the great men, rejecting the dominion of a fool; and being with the greatest ignominy set on the back of an ass, is carried amidst the insults of the mob, to the prison of the *Seven Stars*, where soon after he is strangled by the command of his successor.

Prince  
Koreski  
strangled.Things in  
confusion.

THIS is all the account which the *Turkish* historians in view afford us, relating to the second reign of *Soltân Mostafa*; nor are the matters which the Christian writers have collected of any great moment: however, it may not be amiss to mention them. The conditions agreed on by the late *Wazîr Dala-vir*, and the *Polish* commissioners, were kept so secret, that the new *Wazîr D wd* knew nothing of the matter, nor could find any copy of them: however, a *Polish* ambassador being now arrived to conclude the peace, it went on at the earnest solicitation of Sir *Thomas Roe*. For all this, on the 17th of *June*, the brave prince *Koreskie*, who had formerly made his escape out of the *Turkish* dominions, after two years close confinement, was strangled in prison. Altho' this was done by the *Wazîr's* order, yet, in malice to the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*, he laid the blame on him; and from thence taking occasion to remove him, sent him to the islands to be strangled. The *Janizaries*, incensed at this injustice done their general, rescued him, and demanded the *Wazîr's* head. They likewise broke into and plundered his palace: but tho' on promoting *Mostafa*, a person of a mild nature, to that high post, they became quiet for two or three days; yet afterwards things returned into confusion again; some being for the continuance of *Mostafa* on the throne, whilst others practised for the advancement of *Morâd*, the brother of *Ozmân*. Mean time at *Bâghdâd*, the captain of the *Janizaries* there slew the *Pâshâ* of that city; burnt the *Musti* and all his kindred, and married his daughter to *Arslân Beg*, who laid pretensions to the inheritance of a neighbouring prince.

Peace  
with  
Ioland.

ON the 22d of *August*, there arrived an ambassador from *Bethlem Ghabor*, prince of *Transylvania*; who, among other instructions, had orders to excuse his master for having made peace with the emperor; alleging, that it was done chiefly to gain time, and that he did not intend to keep it long. He likewise suggested, that the emperor designed to invade the *Othmân* dominions; and on that pretence would have had

? *CANT. ubi supra.*

orders

orders ſent to the *Pâſhâs* on the frontiers, to begin hoſtilities againſt the empire and *Poland*, whoſe ambaffador was at the ſame time treating of peace; and at laſt, after many difficulties and delays, he gained his point, notwithſtanding the great oppoſition given by the miniſter of *Ruſſia*. By this peace the *Moldavians* were not to give the *Krim Tatars* a paſſage into *Poland* thro' their country; and in caſe the latter did the *Poles* any injury, ſatisfaction was to be made, and their *Khân* puniſhed. They were likewiſe to aſſiſt the *Poles* in their wars, on paying them the yearly ſtipend. On the other hand, the *Koſâks* were not to invade the *Turkiſh* territories; and in caſe they did, reſtitution was to be made of the ſpoil. In conſequence of this peace, ſome reparation was made the *Poles*, for the ravages committed by the *Tatars*, and their *Khân Je-bân beg Ghieray* depoſed; in whoſe room was placed *Mehemed Ghieray*, his couſin german, before imprifoned at *Rhodes* 2.

THE ſoldiers, perſiſting ſtill in their mutinous diſpoſition, *Violences* demanded for themſelves all profitable employments, which *committed,* durſt not be denied them. They drank wine in the ſtreets, contrary to their law, and extorted money from the Chriſtians to pay for it; killing them with impunity, in caſe they reſuſed. About the ſame time, the *Janizaries* in the gallies which rode at *Smyrna*, commanded by *Halil Pâſhâ*, in deſpite of his authority, ſet upon the houſes of all the Chriſtian conſuls in that port. The *Engliſh* were forced to run naked from their lodgings, and ſwim to the admiral's galley to ſave their lives; while the *Turks* ranſacked the lower part of the houſes, and carried away to the value of two thouſand dollars. The damage which the *French* ſuffered was ſtill greater; and the loſs of the *Venetians* amounted to at leaſt ten thouſand dollars.

THERE were at the ſame time three rebellions on foot in *Aſia*; one at *Bâghdâd*, another at *Arzerûm*, and a third in *Meſopotamia*, which were concealed by the miniſters of ſtate.

MEAN while the grand *Wazîr*, *Forji Mehemet*, envying the authority of his predeceſſor, *David Pâſhâ* (the queen mother's *The late Wazîr* favourite, and ſon-in-law, who had been the inſtrument of *Soltân Ozmân's* murder) ſtirred up the *Spahîs* to demand juſtice upon him for that heinous fact. Hereupon being ſeized and carried into the divân, he was without any trial brought before the ſoldiers, where he was ſtript, and on his knees, with his turbân taken off, ready to receive the fatal ſtroke, when the *Janizaries* ſuddenly came to his reſcue, and carried him away to their odas or chambers: but the *Spahîs* inſiſting on his death with great vehemence, to prevent their coming to blows, he was, notwithſtanding all the money given to ſave *put to death.*

F RICAUT,

himſelf,

A. D. 1672. himself, delivered up to them. This done, he was secretly put in the same coach wherein he had sent *Soltân Ozmân* to his execution; and being dry with sorrow, drank at the same fountain where his late sovereign had stopped to drink. In a word, having been conveyed into the same chamber where he had murdered that prince, he shewed the executioners the corner where he had committed the crime; and desiring to expiate it in the very same place, he was there accordingly strangled.

*Conspiracy at court.* As the great disorders in the empire manifestly proceeded from the weak capacity of *Mostafa*, and, instead of subsiding, spread themselves gradually into the provinces; both ministers and people seemed unanimously to desire the deposition of *Mostafa* a second time. There were indeed three difficulties in the way: for it was not likely, either that *Khossun Pâshâ*, now prime *Wazîr*, would consent to divest himself of that absolute power which he enjoyed under a weak prince, or that the *Janizaries*, who had exalted *Mostafa*, would easily forego their choice; nor was their money in the treasury sufficient to pay the customary donatives on a new inauguration. However, certain things happened at this juncture, which contributed much to remove those difficulties, and hasten a change. The chief of these was the news of the rebellion of *Abâza*, who, with fifteen thousand horse, ravaged the plains about *Kârabissar*, in *Anatolia*, styling himself the avenger of *Soltân Ozmân's* murder, and enemy of the *Janizaries*. Of these he slew all who fell into his hands; which so enraged the rest of that order who were at *Constantinople*, that they proposed to their *Aga* a speedy union with the *Spahis*, for the immediate suppression of the rebels; and the rather, because *Sigâla Pâshâ*, who had been sent into *Asia* for that purpose, had by letters informed the court, that, on his approach towards the enemy, most of his forces had deserted him.

*Mostafa deposed* THIS intelligence furnished the *Musti*, *Wazîr*, and *Aga*, with such an answer for the *Janizaries*, as disposed them to cooperate in the desired change. They told them, that they were ready to comply with their request for suppressing the rebellion in *Asia*: but that the incapacity of their sovereign hindered them to proceed; and that the defect of the principal wheel obstructed all the motions of good government. The *Janizaries* hereupon met in a tumultuous manner at *Soltân Soleyman's* mosk, and there making an *Ayak Diwân*, it was enacted, by consent of the civil and military power, that young *Morâd* should be advanced to the throne, and *Mostafa* deposed; and, because the treasury was low, the soldiers were content to wave their largesses for this time, but without prejudice to their claim on future inaugurations. This decree being made, the

the prime *Wazîr* immediately mounted on horseback, to notify the same to *Mostafa*: but he found him so stupid, that he seemed insensible of the message <sup>a</sup>.

A. D.  
1622.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*The Reign of Morâd IV. Surnamed Ghâzi.*

## S E C T. I.

**T**HIS *Soltân*, whose brave exploits acquired him the surname of *Gâzi*, or the valiant (E), was born in the year 1018, and on the deposition of *Mostafa*, succeeded to the empire the 4th of *Zulkadeh*, 1032 <sup>b</sup>.

17 Soltân  
Morâd  
IV.

Hej. 1032

A. D.

1622.

*Distrac-*  
*tions at*  
*court.*

A. D.

1624.

THE first act of his power was to depose *Husseyn Pâshâ*, grand *Wazîr*, for mal-administration, whom he afterwards strangled; and to advance *Halil Pâshâ*, whom the other had unjustly prosecuted, in his place. He had many difficulties to struggle with, especially the insolence of the *Janizaries*, and want of money to satisfy their demands. To this end, besides a tax laid on all military officers, a shameful loan was required of thirty thousand chekins, from the four Christian ambassadors at the *Porte*.

MANY of the officers, not liking this usurping humour, began secretly to espouse the cause of *Abâza*, *Pâshâ* of *Arzerâm*, and his confederate the *Pâshâ* of *Bâghdâd*: neither was the *Wazîr* himself, or the *Pâshâ* of *Anatolia*, favourers of the *Janizaries*; who, when they pressed him to fight *Abâza*, answered, that they might if they would, but that for his part he would not engage in a quarrel where *Mussutmân* blood must be spilled on both sides.

*Abâza* *favoured.*

THE *Porte* was also distracted at this time, with the *Krim* *Tatars* refusing *Mahmûd Ghieray*, whom the *Soltân* had appointed *Khân*, and declaring for his brother *Mehemet*. On this occasion the *Kâpûdân Pâshâ*, landing eight thousand men, to support the interest of the former; they fell into an ambush of thirty thousand *Tatar* horse, who might have cut them all off; but to shew their regard for them as old allies, they slew but a few, and let the prisoners go at small ransoms. Had they pursued the advantage they had against them, they might have destroyed their whole fleet, and done them still greater damages.

*Khrim*  
*Tatar's*  
*success.*

DURING these troubles, the *Kosâks* in the admiral's absence, *Kosâk's* with one hundred and fifty sail and saiks or boats, entered the *invasions*.

<sup>a</sup> RICAUT.

<sup>b</sup> CANT. p. 243.

(E) *Gâzi*, or *Ghazî*, signifies *who conquers*, to propagate the more properly a conqueror, or one *Mohammedan* religion.

A. D.  
1624.



*Bosphorus*, where they burnt several villages, and pleasure-houses. To oppose them, altho' so near the imperial city, there was not a galley in readiness; they therefore armed some small craft of the same kind with the enemies vessels, and brought forth a great chain, which the *Græk* emperors used at the siege of *Constantinople*, to extend across the *Bosphorus*. Not long after, the *Kosaks* returned with a more considerable force, and threw the city into greater consternation than before. They landed in several places; and having burnt the *Pharus*, with some villages, returned home laden with spoil and glory.

Affairs of  
Germany.

FOR all things were in so bad a state at the *Porte*, yet *Bathem Gabor*, prince of *Transylvania*, retained his attachment to it; and suing for leave to make war on the emperor, was assisted with fifty thousand *Turks*: but for these favours he paid fifty thousand dollars to the prime *Wazîr*, and promised a yearly tribute of forty thousand more. After he had, with those auxiliary troops joined to his own, done considerable damage to the imperial territories, a truce was at last concluded. But the *Turks* divided in parties, having in their return committed great spoil, and carried off a multitude of people captives; the imperialists fell upon and defeated most of them, killing a good number, and releasing many prisoners. Among the rest, *Esterhâsi* boldly attacked a large body of them, slew twelve hundred, freed one thousand Christians, and took several of their principal commanders, with all their baggage, besides a great quantity of gold and silver.

Persians  
take Bâgh-  
dâd.

THE *Turks*, discouraged by these losses from a *German* war, sent ambassadors both to *Vienna* and *Poland* to renew the peace; and the rather, because the power of the rebels increased in the east; while the king of *Persia* entered the *Othmân* dominions, carrying all before him. The more moderate ministers were for pardoning *Abâza*, and granting his demands: but this was stiffly opposed by the *Fanizaries*, who declared enemy he was; so that while they differed about the method of proceeding, the rebel had an opportunity to ravage *Anatolia*, and the *Shâh* to conquer the city, with the province of *Bâghdâd*. After this, dividing his army into four parts, he marched with one into *Mesopotamia*, the second he sent to *Syria*, the third harried the coast of the *Black Sea*, and the fourth set forward towards *Mekka*.

*AL I Pâshâ*, being sent to oppose the *Shâh* in *Mesopotamia*, was there slain, and his army ruined. The *Othmâns* had no better success in *Syria*; which was attended with the revolt of *Damaskus*. The forces sent to the *Black Sea*, besides other damages, took a fort near *Trebizond*; while those detached towards *Arabia* reduced the cities of *Bâsrâh* and *Medinah*.



To remedy these evils, the prime *Wazír* with a great army, set forward to besiege *Bághdád* <sup>c</sup>. But here it will be proper to leave the Christian historians, and return to the *Turkish*, to see first what account they gave us of the war in *Asia*, with which they begin the actions of *Morád's* reign. They tell us, that in the very commencement of it, he shewed how much better it was for the *Othmáns* to obey an active young man, than a sluggard.

A. D.  
1626.

Abáza de-  
feated.

*ABÁZA*, *Páshá* (F) of *Arzerám*, in *Mostafa's* time, had dared to ravage the *Asiatik* provinces, in open defiance of his sovereign; and hoped to proceed with impunity, so long as *Morád*, a youth, held the reins of government. But the *Soltán*, in the second year of his reign, sends the prime *Wazír*, *Cherkiés Mehemed Páshá* (G), with an army against the rebel; who, after a bloody battle near *Kaysarya*, being defeated, flies to *Arzerám* (H). But death at *Tokád* prevented the *Wazír* from prosecuting the war.

Hejrah  
1033.  
A. D.  
1623.

HOWEVER, *Morád*, imagining *Abáza's* rebellion to be entirely quashed, sends *Khafiz* (I) *Ali Páshá*, governor of *Di-yárbeker* (K), with a great army to besiege *Bághdád*; but after five months siege, he is repulsed by the bravery of the besieged with great loss, and forced to return (L). For this reason, when he came to *Hálep*, he was deprived of his dignity, and the imperial signet committed to *Halil Páshá* <sup>d</sup>.

*Bághdád*  
besieged.  
A. D.  
1626.

ABOUT this time *Bethlem Ghabor* makes peace with the emperor of *Germany*; obliging himself, among other things, to procure a restitution of all places on the borders taken by the *Turks* in the last war, and all prisoners to be set at liberty. These articles, which were approved of by *Morád*, were agreed on in *December* 1626; and in *September* next year, a peace

Peace  
with the  
emperor.

<sup>c</sup> RICAUT. in Amurat.

<sup>d</sup> CANT. p 244.

(F) So called from his country *Abáza*; the inhabitants whereof, both in manners and language, much resemble the *Cherkassians* *Cant*. They are called also by some, *Abkás*. Their country lies on the *Euxine Sea*, to the west of *Mingrelia*.

seems to have been in great power about this time.

(I) *Khafiz* is a surname given by way of honour to those who can say the whole *Koran* by heart. *Cant*.

(K) This seems to have been the anonymous *Wazír*, mentioned above by *Ricaut*.

(L) Some say he was forced to burn his tents and provision, burst his guns, and throw them into the *Euphrates*. After which he was pursued with great loss by the enemy. *Ricaut*.

(G) The only prime *Wazír* of *Cherkassian* extraction; altho' several of that nation have enjoyed the highest offices in the *Turkish* court. *Cant*.

(H) According to the account before from *Ricaut*, he

A. D. 1627. was concluded at *Komarrow*, between the emperor and the *Soltân*.

*~* AFTER this, the *Sbâb* of *Persia*, notwithstanding his late successes, thought fit to dispatch an ambassador to the *Porte*, with proposals of peace: but as he could not be prevailed on to part with *Baghdâd*, the grand *Wazîr Halîl* would not hearken to them. Soon after, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, he passed into *Asia*, in order to subdue that capital <sup>e</sup>. But neither does this *Wazîr* answer the *Soltân's* expectations: for being ordered to march against the *Persians*, when he came into the neighbourhood of *Arzerûm*, *Abâza Pâshâ*, who lurked about that place, suspecting that, under the colour of a *Persian* expedition, an army was leading against him, returns to *Arzerûm*, which he had made the feat of arms, and furnished with provisions, as well as warlike stores.

Abâza's  
success.

*H A L I L Pâshâ*, taking this for a flight, leaves the *Persian* expedition (M), in order to crush the rebels, quite dispirited, as he imagined; and marching to that city, closely besieges it (N). But whilst he hoped to acquire fame with little labour, he procures disgrace with infinite trouble. For *Abâza*, who was by all esteemed the best soldier and wisest general of his time, bravely defended the city; and having repulsed the enemy in an assault, unexpectedly attacks, with a small but chosen band, the *Othmân* camp, instantly killed the guards, and struck the whole army with such terror, that a defeat easily followed. Thus numerous forces are vanquished by a handful of men, multitudes are slain, and many taken alive: the *Wazîr* himself, after throwing away his arms, hardly escaping with a few attendants <sup>f</sup>.

Troubles  
in Krim.

THE *Krim Tatars* likewise gave no small trouble to the *Porte* at this time; for they took *Kâffa* from the *Turks*; who could find no better expedient to bring them to their duty, than to

<sup>e</sup> RICAUT. ubi supra.

<sup>f</sup> CANT. 244.

(M) The Christian writers tell us, that he did besiege *Baghdâd*, but was forced to withdraw: yet that his army being reinforced, he entered *Persia* a second time, overthrew the *Turkmâns*, and then the *Georgians*, taking their general *Mervs*. After this, the *Persians* made new proposals of peace, offering to pay a large tribute in lieu of *Baghdâd*; but *Morâd* not

approving thereof, *Halîl* was recalled, and the *Pâshâ* of *Diyâr-beker* made general. *Ricaut*.

(N) The Christian writers do not ascribe this siege to *Halîl Pâshâ*, but to his successor: who, they say, was forced to this siege by the *Janizaries*, *Abâza's* inveterate enemies, whom the besieged hanged about the walls, when they took any of them prisoners.

forgive

Forgive all past offences, on condition they restored that place again. This the *Tatars* readily agreed to, with a proviso, however, on their side, that the *Soltân* should impose no other *Khân* upon them, than him whom they had themselves elected.

A. D.  
1627.

BUT the great concern of the *Porte*, being the rebellion in *Abâza* reduced. *Asia* & *Morâd*, on the news of *Halil Pâshâ's* defeat, displaces him, and appointing *Khosraw Pâshâ* his *Wazîr* and general, sends him with supplies to the army, wintering in *Diyârbekr*, with orders to extinguish the flame, by attacking *Abâza* early in the spring. *Khosraw Pâshâ*, rendered more cautious by the miscarriage of his predecessor, besides assembling all his forces, provides the largest cannon; and with them so shakes the walls of *Arzerûm*, that the frightened inhabitants deliver up their city, with the rebel, the fifth day of the siege (O). Hereupon the *Pâshâ* sends *Abâza* in chains to the *Porte*: but *Morâd*, in consideration of his heroical exploits, and invincible courage, was unwilling to deprive the *Othmân* empire of so great an ornament. On his promise therefore to wipe out his former crimes, by drawing his sword against the *Soltân's* enemies, he is not only received into favour (P), but also made *Beglerbeg* of *Bosnia*; as a proper person to secure the empire on that side, in case any neighbouring power should invade it, whilst his master was employed in the *Persian* war.

A. D.  
1628.

THE civil disturbances being thus appeased, in the year 1039, *Khosraw Pâshâ* is sent with a fresh army against *Bâghdâd* (Q). The *Wazîr*, to remove the obstacles which his predecessors had met with, immediately goes into *Asia*, and makes great preparations the whole winter at *Musol*. In the

Hej. 1039  
A. D.  
1629.

\* RICAUT. ubi supra.

(O) The Christian historians say, that the new *Wazîr*, by the *Soltân's* order, came to an amicable accommodation with *Abâza*, that he should continue *Pâshâ* of *Arzerûm*, his son of *Bozra*, and his lieutenant of *Marash*: after which returning with the *Wazîr* to the *Porte*, he was honourably received. *Ricaud*.

(P) The pardon of this rebel is ascribed to *Morâd* as an unparalleled instance of clemency, by the *Turkish* historians, who study to put the best construction on their emperors actions. But

others say, that he conditioned to depart out of the city with life and honour safe, and therefore could not be put to death. *Cant*. This is consistent with the Christian account.

(Q) About this time the *Soltân* appeared on horseback, with his brother *Ibrâhim* by his side; a very unusual sight, but the queen mother's order. A *Turkish* prince came into the world this year, and the great *Betblem Ghabor* went out of it. *Ricaud*.

A. D.  
1629.

spring, to cut off all relief from *Bâghdâd*, he enters the province of *Irâk Arabi*, governed by *Zeynel Khân*; takes the castles, destroys those he cannot keep, and intirely quelling the rebellion, closely besieges *Bâghdâd*: but altho' he bravely assaulted the city for one-and-forty days, yet finding he could not prevail, he raised the siege, after sustaining considerable loss<sup>b</sup>.

Defeats  
the Per-  
sians.

A. D.  
1630.

THE Christian historians tell us, with regard to this expedition, that the *Wazîr* being lured on by the feigned flight of the *Persians*, was brought at first under very great difficulties; but the experienced general having at length disintangled himself, encamped in the plain of *Hamadân* (R). There laying an ambush for the *Persians*, who he was informed designed to attack his camp, eight thousand of them were slain, tho' with the loss of many *Turks*, which made them averse to that service.

Siege of  
*Bâghdâd*

At this time there were great factions at court, owing chiefly to the debauched and light behaviour of the *Soltân*: the depredations also of the *Kosâks* gave no small uneasiness, of whom complaint was made to the king of *Poland* for redress. In short, every thing looked with so gloomy an aspect, that nothing but the expectation of the good success of their army against the *Persians* could keep up their spirits. The grand *Wazîr* had now passed the *Tigris* with part of his forces, in order to besiege *Bâghdâd*; but the *Pâshâ* of *Hâlep* being sent with six thousand men to view the places, was defeated, with the loss of most of his troops, by two thousand *Persians*, going to reinforce the garrison of that city. However, the *Wazîr* having spent all *September* in making his approaches, and mounting eighteen pieces of cannon in *October*, for twenty-five days continually battered the curtain between two bastions. The breaches being made, and seemingly left undefended, on the 20th of *November*, the *Spahis*, supported by thirty thousand *Janizaries*, were ordered to give the assault: but as the ditch, which was wide and deep, had been covered with planks and green turf laid over them, to deceive the besiegers, on their crowding forward, the gallery fell under them, and swallowed up five or six thousand in an instant. At the same time there appeared fifteen thousand men at the breach, and on the bastions, where likewise there were four cannon unknown to the *Turks*; who were so galled with the continual firing of the artillery and muskets, that the main body of the

raised  
with loss.

<sup>b</sup> CANT. p. 245.

(R) One of the capitals of *Persian Irâk*, the antient *Amatke*, or *Ekbatana*.

*Spahis*

*Spahis* was quickly broken, their commanders killed, and at length the whole army routed. Two days after the *Wazír* raised the siege, and marched towards *Mosul*, pursued by eight thousand *Persian* horse, who cut off three thousand more of his men. However he represented matters so much to his advantage at the *Porte*, that the *Poles* renewed the peace, and the *Hungarians* continued quiet.

A. D.  
1630.

NEXT year the *Wazír* made great preparations to renew the siege: but while the *Soltán* slept secure from enemies, he was in great danger of perishing by a natural evil: for in September, one night he was awakened by a terrible lightning, which entering his chamber, surrounded his bed, leaving several marks on the sheets and quilts. *Morád* in a great fright got out of bed; but while he sought to hide himself, the flame passed under his arm, and burnt part of his shirt: this threw him into a swoon, which ever after much impaired the strength of his brain. However he was so affected with the accident, that he dismissed many of his buffoons, and for some time abstained from wine<sup>1</sup>.

thunder-  
struck.  
A. D.  
1631.

THE *Turkish* historians tell us, that the good success of the late *Persian* expedition was hindered chiefly by a fresh rebellion, which broke out in the borders of *Persia*: for *Ilias Páshá*, whom *Morád* had made *Beglerbeg* of *Arzerúm*, in *Abáza's* room, following the example of his predecessor, throws off his obedience to the *Soltán*: but being taken in the year 1041, by *Kyuchuk Mehemed Páshá* (S), and sent to the *Porte*, his head was stricken off in the public market place<sup>2</sup>.

Rebellion  
in Natio-  
lia.  
Hejrah  
1041.  
A. D.  
1631.

ACCORDING to the Christian writers, there were two rebels up at the same time, one who seized on *Prusa* or *Bursa*; and *Elias Páshá*, who made himself master of *Magnesia*. There being besieged by the *Beglerbeg* of *Anatolia*, he was at length prevailed on to accept of terms; to which trusting, he went to *Constantinople* to receive his reward, and met with a halter.

MEAN time the *Wazír* wanting the necessary supplies, occasioned by his enemies at court, the *Persians* recovered all the fortresses they had lost the preceding year, with *Illay* (T), a considerable city, two days journey from *Bághdád*; where eight thousand *Turks*, left in garrison under three *Beglerbegs*, were cut in pieces, and vast quantities of stores taken. This

<sup>1</sup> RICAUT. ubi supra.

<sup>2</sup> CANT. p. 245, & seq.

(S) A name generally given by the *Turks* to persons of low stature. *Cant. Kincbuk* or *Kucbuk*, and *Kicbuk*, signifies little.

(T) It should be *Hilla* or *Hellin*; it stands on the *Euphrates* on

the north side, near the place where *Babylon* formerly stood; as appears by the ruins found there by *Raewolf*, *Della Valle*, and other travellers.

A. D.  
1631.

made the *Soltân* think of peace, and send the *Persian* lord from his prison, in the seven towers, as his ambassador to solicit it: at the same time he caused hostilities to cease, by calling home his army; and the *Wazîr* at his return was removed.

The Spa-  
his muti-  
ny.

A. D.  
1632.

BUT the new *Wazîr*, one of *Morâd's* brothers-in-law, did not long enjoy either his dignity or life: for having joined with the *Janizari Aga* and *Tefterdar*, or treasurer, in procuring the death of the *Aga*, or general of the *Spahis*; these latter rose tumultuously, and demanding all their heads, knocked the *Wazîr* off his horse, within the walls of the court. On *Morâd's* refusing to deliver them, they threatened to depose him, and set up his brother *Ibrâhim*. At length being obliged to give them up to save himself, they were all strangled and hung upon trees. The *Soltân* greatly incensed at this insult, and suspecting the new *Wazîr*, *Rejef Pâshâ*, to have encouraged the mutineers, he took occasion some time after, at a firework played off in the palace, to carry the *Wazîr* aside into a little room, where he was strangled by persons placed there for the purpose: but as he had for some time before expected this treatment, he took care to dispose of his wealth, for the benefit of his family. After this the *Soltân* by degrees cut off the ringleaders, and diminished the soldiery. He also appeared more in public, to strike them with awe, which had its effect. At the same time, to win them over to his interest, he daily went to see them perform their exercises in shooting, and riding; in which he always bore a part himself.

Morâd's  
resentment

Was be-  
lieged.

THE *Othmân* army being weakened by these civil wars; *Rustem Khân*, the *Persian* general, invades the *Othmân* dominions, and lays close siege to *Wân*. *Morâd*, on the news of this danger, sends to its relief the *Beglerbeg* of *Rûmili*, with his *European* forces; who rout the *Persians*, and deliver the city, now on the point of surrendering.<sup>m</sup>

ABOUT this time a *Turkish* woman slave, being found in a *French* ship, ready to sail from *Constantinople*, the *Turks* imprisoned the *French* ambassador's son, who was then on board; and would have confiscated the vessel, but for the warm remonstrances of the other Christian ministers at the *Porte*. Yet *Morâd* being informed by the *Kâpudân Pâshâ*, that they were set on by *Baldazar*, an *Armenian*, interpreter to the *French* ambassador, he ordered him to be impaled before his face.

A short  
peace.

A. D.  
1633.

IN the interim, an ambassador came from *Persia* with proposals of peace, which was suddenly concluded; but as suddenly broken again, the same year, by the persuasions of the *Great Mogul*, who promised to assist *Morâd* with forces. Some of his ministers would have had him turn his arms against

<sup>l</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

<sup>m</sup> CANT. p. 246.

*Hungary* : but to no purpose, since an agreement was signed not long after with the imperial ambassador for continuing the truce ; and this was the more readily effected, in regard the *Soltân* had entertained some thoughts of making war on *Poland*, and dispossessing the *Amîr Fakro'ddîn* of his territories in *Syria*.

A. D.

1632.

THIS *Amîr* was a prince of the *Durzi*, commonly called *Amîr-Druses*, who inhabit part of mount *Libanus* : but his ancestors *Fakro'd-dîn*, had gotten possession of the cities of *Barût* and *Sayda*, or *Sidon*, on the sea-coast, with great part of the adjacent territories ; so

that they were become very potent under *Ebn Mân*, or *Mân Oglî*, of whom an account has been already given <sup>a</sup>. *Morâd*, resolved to destroy the power of these *Durzi*, sent great forces (U) against *Fakro'ddîn*, under the *Pâshâ* of *Tripoli*, with orders to those of *Damaskus*, *Gâza*, *Hâlep*, and *Kayro*, to join him. Mean time *Fakro'ddîn*, being summoned to surrender *Sayda*, and other places, sent word he was but a subject himself, having resigned his power to his son *Ali*, and that therefore they should apply to him. The old *Amîr* at that time had twenty-five thousand men, divided into two bodies, and commanded by his sons. *Ali* the elder marched with one of them to *Safet*, to prevent the junction of the *Amîrs*, *Faruk* and *Herabit*, as well as the *Pâshâs* of *Gâza* and *Damaskus*. Being a brisk prince, he engaged them so warmly, that he defeated them, and killed eight thousand of their men : but as he lost seven thousand of his own, the next day they returned to the charge, and overthrew him by numbers. All his men were killed, excepting one hundred and forty-six : his horse was mortally wounded ; and being himself weary and faint, he yielded to a soldier, who promised him quarter, but afterwards strangled him. reduced to straight

THIS news so discouraged *Fakro'ddîn*, that giving up *Sayda* Goes to the *Kâpudân Pâshâ*, he returned to *Barût* ; and thence retired, with his *Durzi* and *Maronites*, into the mountains. But now good fortune had forsaken him, his subjects forsook him too, revolting to the *Pâshâ* of *Damaskus*. After this, his houses and country were destroyed : he also lost his two remaining sons ; one being slain in battle, and the other carried for an hostage to *Constantinople*. He had now scarce any thing Constantinople.

<sup>a</sup> See before, p. 383.

(U) The *Kâpudân Pâshâ*, in transporting the army, met with two *English* ships freighted with corn ; which being prohibited goods, rather than fall into his hands, they fought his whole fleet for several hours, slew him with abundance of his men, and then blew themselves up, to the astonishment of the *Turks*, who admired their bravery.

A. D. 1633. left, excepting a few strong-holds in the mountains, where living at good terms with *Reba* king of the *Arabs*, he never ceased ravaging the lands belonging to the *Pâshâ* of *Damaskus*: but being pursued from one place to another, he was at last forced to submit, on condition to be sent free with all his treasure and equipage to the *Porte*. When he was about two stages from thence, he sent eight chests of gold before him, to open his way to the *Soltân*; who, pleased with the present, went in disguise to the *Amir's* tent, and got him to relate the history of his life. *Fakra'ddin*, pretending not to know him, did this with all the advantage he could, in order to gain his favour; which he afterwards obtained to such a degree, as raised the envy of the great officers, who traduced him as an apostate from their faith. This wrought so much on *Morâd*, that one day ascending his throne, he commanded the *Amir* to be brought before him, and placed on a low chair; where he passed a formal sentence of death on him (X), which was accordingly executed in his presence °.

Is strang-  
led.

War with  
Poland.

As to the war with *Poland*, the *Turkish* historians tell us, that the *Persian* expedition being over, *Morâd* assembled his forces at *Adrianople*, and ordered *Mustâza Pâshâ*, in conjunction with *Jambolad Zadeh* (Y), general of the *Rumilian* horse, to infest *Poland*. These generals passed the *Danube* near *Ghirghiow* (Z), a town of *Walakhia*; but while they waited there for the *Soltân's* orders, *Polish* ambassadors arrive, and sue for peace to *Murtâza*, who sends them to the *Porte*, where *Morâd* grants it them, but on his own terms P.

THE Christian writers relate this short war more to the advantage of the *Poles*, and with some variation. According to them, the *Othman* general, whom they name *Abâza*, having ordered fifteen thousand *Tatars* to enter *Poland*, they quickly

° RICAUT, ubi supra. ROGER la terre sainte.  
p. 246.

P CANT.

(X) *Eugene Roger*, the missioner, who has given the life of this *Amir*, in his *La Terre Sainte*, says he was received and treated with respect by *Morâd* for fifteen days, at the end of which they consulted about putting him to death. That the *Soltân* pronounced sentence against him, as a rebel, in the manner related: that he made a speech proper to move clemency; to which *Morâd* only answered, that cats should not pretend to fight with

lions; that he was then strangled by mutes, the 14th of *March* 1635, at the age of 70.

(Y) He seems to have been of *Tatar* extraction; for this name is peculiar to the *Tatars*, as *Polad Mirza*, &c. Cant. *Polâd*, or *Pulâd*, seems to be no other than the *Persian* orthography of *Fûlâd*, which in *Arabik* signifies a pillar.

(Z) An ancient city, between *Silistria* and *Nikopolis*. Cant.

over-ran



over-ran the country about *Kbochim* and *Rinczug*; but being overtaken on the 14th of *July* (A), by the *Polish* general, with only two thousand five hundred horse, who surprised them unmounted, they easily recovered their booty.

A. D.  
1633...

MEAN time, *Abâza Pâshâ*, with sixty thousand men, resolving to attack the small army of *Poles*, consisting chiefly of *Kosaks*, in their camp, the latter lined the hedges and ditches, planted their cannon advantageously, and then drew their troops into battalia. The *Turks* pushing forward, fell into the ambuscade: but having lost five hundred men, *Abâza* stopped, and ordered the *Tatars* to charge the right wing; the *Moldavians* and *Walakians* the left; while he with the *Turks* fought the main body. But the *Poles* stood so bravely to it, and their Christian adversaries made so faint an attack, that *Abâza* was obliged to retreat, although he made the *Soltân* believe he had gained a great victory. This was the more readily credited, because *Ladislaus*, being then at war with the *Russians*, sent an ambassador to the *Porte* to treat of peace. *Morád*, to bring him to his own terms, declared war, talked insultingly, and went to *Adrianople*, affecting to make great military preparations: but finding at length, that the *Russians* were obliged to sue for peace to the *Poles*, he thought fit to dispatch an ambassador, to renew the ancient league with them. This only gave the *Poles* a better opportunity to mortify his pride: for the king and dyet so resented his treatment of their ambassador, as well as the violation of the late articles, that the *Chaussh* was dismissed with some reproaches on those occasions.

*MORAD*, who waited to turn his whole force against the *Persians*, was very uneasy to find so much resolution in the *Poles*; especially as they had now an army of eighty thousand effective men, ready in *Podolia*; and therefore *Mortâza*, one of the *Wazîrs* of the divân, was ordered to lay the blame of all on *Abâza*, and even offer to have him punished, in case the *Poles* would comply to make a peace. This the *Pâshâ* did so effectually, in his letters to the *Polish* general, that *Abâza* (B) being strangled, articles were at last agreed to; whereby the *Vayvods* of *Moldavia* and *Walakhia* should be confirmed by the *Soltân*, with the consent and recommendation of *Poland*: *Cantemir*, and his *Tatars*, should be obliged

(A) They place this action in the year 1634; whereas, by the *Turkish* account, it seems to have been in 1633.

(B) This could not be *Abâza* the famous captain and quondam

rebel; for he was killed afterwards at *Wân*, by the account of the *Turks*. Perhaps *Abâza* here is mistaken for *Mortêza*, or *Murtâza*.

A. D.  
1033.

to quit *Buják*, and the *Kosaks* to forbear hostilities in the *Euxine Sea*. The *Turks* were likewise to renounce all demands of tribute from *Poland*, and to build no new forts on the frontiers.

Terrible  
fire.

BEFORE the *Soltân* went to *Adrianople*, a most terrible fire happened about the middle of *September* at *Constantinople*, which reduced one third of it to ashes. There were burned no fewer than twenty-five thousand houses; two hundred mosks; the *Mufti's* library, and the habitation of the *Janizaries*, consisting of three hundred chambers. *Morâd* was so affected with the sufferings of the poor people, on this occasion, that he distributed considerable sums, in order to support them, and rebuild the city.

Wine li-  
censed.A. D.  
1638.

IN the year 1043, the *Soltân* publishes a new, and till then an unheard-of, edict, by which, not only the sellers of wine are permitted to exercise their trade, but also every body is allowed to drink it (C), contrary to the *Mohammedan* law. On the other hand, the coffee-houses are forbidden to be opened, under severe penalties.

Morâd's  
expedition.

MEAN time, the care of the *Persian* war gave him continual uneasiness; because he perceived it impracticable, either to establish, or, as he intended, to enlarge the empire, whilst *Bâghdâd*, the noblest city of *Asia*, and bulwark of the *Othmân* dominions, was in the hands of the *Persians*. Wherefore, as he found he had gained no advantage to the state by his generals, he resolves to take upon himself the office of commander in chief; and surmount, by his presence, the obstacles which had stopped the progress of so many *Wazîrs*. To this purpose, in the year 1044, he passes into *Asia* with a numerous army, which, full of hopes, he leads towards *Bâghdâd*. In his march he lays siege to *Revân*, lately recovered by the *Persians*; and so fiercely assaults it, that the garrison on the eighth day surrender at his mercy. Hereupon the governor alone, *Amir Ghiun Oglî* (D), is detained, and sent to *Constantinople*: to which city he the next year, about *Kassim Ghiuni* (E), leads back

A. D.  
1634.Recovers  
Revân.

‡ RICAUT. ubi supra.

(C) According to *Ricaut*, he in the year 1634 (half of which falls in that of the *Hejrah* 1033) suppressed taverns, and had the wine spilled.

(D) Son of *Amir Ghiun*, a *Persian Khân*. By his skill in music, he gained *Morâd's* favour to such a degree, that he made

him one of his privy council; and when he indulged himself in drinking wine, was delighted only with this *Persian* and *Bekri Mostafa*. In his palace on the *Bosphorus*, called *Imir Ghiun-ogli Yulisi*, the *Soltân* often went to drink with him. *Cant.*

(E) That is *St. Demetrius* whole

back his army; after he had staid for some time about *Tibrês* (or *Tauris*), to repair and garrison the neighbouring castles.

A. D.  
1634.

ACCORDING to the Christian historians, *Morâd* set-out on his *Persian* expedition about the end of *April* 1635. Before he went, in order to prevent seditions, he not only ruined taverns and tobacco shops, but forbade coffee-houses, and other idle places of resort: nay, in barbers shops, no more than one person was suffered to enter at a time. And further, to restrain meetings, all houses were obliged to put-out both fires and candles, an hour and half after night-fall. The same authors tell us, that *Morâd* was induced to undertake this expedition by the prime *Wazîr*, who wrote him word, that he had not forces sufficient to oppose the king of *Persia*, then encamped towards *Wân*; and that his presence was absolutely necessary to encourage his soldiers.

Wine forbidden.

WHILE the *Soltân* was on his march to *Persia*, there were great contests in *Transylvania*, between *Stephen Bethlen*, and *George Ragotski*, for that principality. *Morâd* espousing the interest of the first, while the other sought the assistance of the emperor *Ferdinand* II. tho' not with the desired success. The *Turks* entering the province with twenty-five thousand men, under the *Pâshâ* of *Buda*, *Ragotski* detached his general *Cornis*, with seven thousand, to seize an advantageous post; but ordered him not to fight, till he came up to support him. However, the *Pâshâ* having sent twelve thousand horse, and two thousand *Janizaries*, with some cannon to attack him, he set himself at the head of his troops, and fell on with such bravery, that he drove the enemies first rank upon the second; and at length put them all to flight, leaving their cannon and baggage behind, beside three thousand slain. The whole army had been defeated, if a party of *Janizaries* had not fortified themselves in a wood, and stopped the pursuit, *Ragotski* having had the better in several other rencounters with the *Turks*, and burnt two thousand villages in their territories, they were content to agree, that *Ragotski* should enjoy his government, on condition that the goods and estate, which belonged to *Ghabor* in *Transylvania*, should be restored to him.

Affairs of  
Transylvania.

*Ragotski*  
prevails.

BY this time *Morâd* was arrived at *Arzerâm*; the head of whose *Pâshâ* he ordered to be cut-off, for oppressing the people. Then entering *Armenia*, and finding it deserted by the inhabitants, he commanded them to return within twenty

*Revân* betrayed.

CANT. p. 245, & seq.

whose day falls on the 26th of the 23d of *April*, they take the *Osaber*; by this day and that field, and return on the 26th of of *Hiderlez* (or *Khiderlez*) being *Osaber*. Cant. *Hiderlez* is supposed to be *St. George*. the 23d of *April*, the *Turks* regulate their expeditions. After

A. D.

1634.

to the  
Soltân,

days, under pain of death : but most of them being settled elsewhere, bought off the penalty by fines. In this *March*, tho' naturally luxurious, he set his army of near three hundred thousand men, an example of temperance and hardiness, using a saddle for his pillow, and his horse-cloth for a quilt. Being come in *July* before *Revân*, he began the siege : but, altho' the place, which was well provided with necessaries, and a garrison of fifteen thousand men, might have held out a long time ; yet the governor, *Amîr Guni*, betrayed it to *Morâd*, who afterwards held him in great esteem. As soon as this news reached *Constantinople*, great rejoicings were made there for four days ; during which time *Bâyezîd* and *Orkhân*, two of the *Soltân's* brothers, were strangled ; the last of whom was said to have killed four of his executioners, before they could overpower him.

who re-  
turns.

AFTER this, the *Turks*, entering farther into *Persia*, miserably wasted the country ; yet not without many losses and defeats from the *Persian* cavalry, and mountain people. At last, being destitute of provisions, they retired to the parts about *Tauris* ; which being harrassed like the rest, the *Soltân*, in revenge, gave that city up to be plundered by his soldiers. After this, he put his army into winter quarters, and returned to *Constantinople* in *December* <sup>1</sup>.

Persians  
take Wân.

Hejrah

1046.

A. D.

1636.

Abaza  
slain.

THE *Persians*, who had hitherto skulked for fear of the *Othmân* sword, when they hear of *Morâd's* departure, rush forth with numerous forces, and besiege *Wân* ; of which city *Abâza Pâshâ* had been made governor. Yet the *Othmâns* behaved in so gallant a manner, for four months, that the enemy could gain no advantage, altho' they frequently repeated their assaults ; and perhaps the city would have escaped falling into their hands, if the brave governor, on whom the strength and safety of the place seemed to depend, had not been snatched out of the world. For, dispirited by this loss, the garrison more faintly defend themselves ; whilst the *Persians*, grown more courageous, furiously renew their assaults, and, taking the city by force, sacrifice all the *Othmâns* to the ghosts of their countrymen slain by *Murâd* <sup>1</sup>.

ACCORDING to the Christian writers, after *Morâd's* return from the east, the army, wanting provisions, was disbanded ; and *Mortâza Pâshâ*, governor of *Revân*, being killed, the soldiers, mutinied ; who, opening the gates, yielded to the *Persians* (F). At the same time, two thousand *Janizaries*, for

<sup>1</sup> RICAUT. Amurath.<sup>1</sup> CANT. p. 248.

e *Revân* seems to be  
or *Wân* ; and if so, it  
infirm what we sug-

gested in a former note, that  
*Abâza* was mistaken for *Mortâ-  
za Pâshâ*.

fear of the *Soltân's* resentment, listed with the enemy, who thereupon instituted chambers of *Janizaries*; and would have drawn over the *Spahis* also, by an offer of twelve aspers a day, constant pay. These tidings *Morâd* received with great indignation: however, to retrieve his loss of *Revân*, he ordered the *Wazîr* to besiege *Bâghdâd*: but the soldiery, not liking the enterprise, would march no farther than *Arzerâm*. They likewise demanded the head of *Jambolâd Oglî*, who commanded the army before his arrival; because he had put a *Pâshâ*, with several *Spahis* and *Janizaries*, to death: and altho' *Jambolâd* pleaded the *Soltân's* orders, yet the *Wazîr*, to appease them, was forced to strangle him. Meantime the *Persians* besieged *Wân*: but altho' they could not take it (G), yet they so ruined the country, that it could afford no subsistence to the *Turks*; who led by a *Kyurd*, to surprize one of the enemies quarters, the guide when he brought them thither, changed sides: so that fifteen thousand were slain and taken prisoners.

The army  
mutinues.

In the interim, great contests arose in little *Tartary*, between *Kantemîr* (H), a very leading man, and the *Khân*, who had overthrown the other in battle: but as he had thrown off much of his respect to the *Soltân*, this latter began to take *Kantemîr's* part, and sent for him to *Constantinople*. There he was kindly entertained, till his son, having killed a *Tatar*, was strangled for it; and soon after, the father himself was strangled. Yet his nephew having pretended to revolt to the *Khân*, and slain him, with one of his brothers, he was highly applauded at the *Porte*; and *Bekbir Gbieray*, another brother, set up in his room. But the joy of this good news, was allayed by bad tidings from *Asâk* or *Ajof*, which was taken by the *Russians* and *Kosaks*, who fortified that important place with new works.

Troubles in  
Krim.

A. D.

1637.

BUT to return to the war with *Persia*. The *Soltân*, not expecting any such misfortunes as happened after his last year's prosperous expedition, let fall the first effects of his anger on the *Wazîr Mehemed Pâshâ*. This minister for neglecting to fortify the borders, is instantly turned out, and his office given to *Bayrâm Pâshâ*, whom, the same year, he sends before with some light-

Bâghdâd  
besieged.

RICAUT. ubi supra.

(G) As the *Turkish* historians affirm, that *Wân* was taken, *Wân* here may be mistaken for *Revân*; as *Revân* seems to be mistaken for *Wân*, in the place above.

occasion to inform us, in a note, p. that this *Tatar* family is a different one from his. It seems to be compounded of *Kant*, *Kente*, or some such word, and *Anîr*.

(H) Prince *Kantemîr* takes

A. D.  
1637.

Hej. 1047

A. D.  
1637.Great  
cruelty.

armed troops (I), and following in person with a greater army into *Asia*, marches directly to *Bâghdâd*. When he comes there, spurred on by revenge, he attacks the city so vigorously, for thirty days together, that it seemed to be rather a continual slaughter than a fight. Fire, sword, and cannon, cease not one moment the whole time, to destroy the soldiers on both sides. The assaults are daily renewed, and the *Soltân*, with his simeter, compels the retiring forces to re-charge; and with his own hand kills the *Wazîr* himself, for appearing too negligent. At length, by the bravery of the army, and steadiness of the *Soltân*; the city is taken, and above thirty thousand *Persians* (K), who had delivered themselves up to his power, are slaughtered in his presence. Thus fell the famous city, to defend which, the *Shâh* of *Persia* had assembled the flower of his army, with almost his whole nobility; and to take which, *Morâd* had applied the strength of the empire. This was the last overthrow of the *Persians*; since which they have not dared to seek revenge, or to lift up their heads against the *Othmân* power<sup>1</sup>.

ACCORDING to the account given of this siege by a *Turkish* officer (L), who was present; "as soon as the *Soltân's* tent

<sup>1</sup> CANT. p. 248. & seq.

(I) While the *Wazîr* was on the road to *Persia*, an ambassador arrived in *August* at the *Porte*; but although the *Soltân* seemed disposed for peace, yet he resolved to make another expedition. *Ricant*.

(K) The *Persians* still mourn this cruelty of *Morâd*, who spared no captive excepting one. This person, when the officers were going to kill him, desired that he might speak a word to the *Soltân* before his death. Being brought before him, and asked what he had to say, *suffer not*, cried he, *most gracious emperor, that with me, Shâh Kuli* (that is, *the king's slave*, by which name he was afterwards called), *the whole art of music should perish*. Being ordered to give a specimen of his skill, he takes up a *sheshdâr* (called in *Arabik* *zabur*, and in *Greek* *psalterio*), and with so

much art, as well as sweetness, both plaid and sung the tragedy of the taking of *Bâghdâd*, intermixed with *Morâd's* praises; that the *Soltân* could not refrain from tears all the while he was performing. For this musician's sake, *Morâd* set at liberty all who had not yet been massacred, and his musical works became famous in *Turky*. This instrument is much like a harp with six strings each way, as the word *sheshdâr* denotes. 'Tis reckoned the chief of musical instruments, and is said to have been invented by *Dawid*, tho' few at present know how to play well on it. *Cant*.

(L) This account is inserted both in the *Turkish* (printed in *Italic* characters) and *French*, by the *Sieur du Loir* in his voyage, to the *Levant*.

was erected (M) on the side of the *Dogayl*, or *Tigris*, near the sepulchre of the great *Imâm*, on the 8th of *Rajeb*, they began to make their approaches with vigour. They opened their trenches under cover of ten pieces of cannon, and as many royal falcons, opposite to the white gate; which faces the angle of the tower of *Jighalzade*, over-against the great fort. When the siege was formed, and they had entered the trenches beyond the white gate, *Mostafa*, *Pâshâ* of *Damaskus*, *Ibrâhîm*, the *Haznadâr Pâshâ*, the *Sanjâk Beyg* of *Kustandil*, and others, were posted at the tower of *Persia*, with seven pieces of cannon and five royal falcons. Somewhat lower, where the grand *Wazîr Mohammed* had his quarters, there were only five pieces of cannon. A little beyond that, towards the gate of darkness; where stood the great tower between two forts, *Derwîsh Mohammed*, *Pâshâ* of *Diyârbekr*, was posted with seven great guns; and *Mostafa Pâshâ*, the *Selikhtar*, or sword-bearer, with five pieces of cannon and thirty falcons, took his quarters over against the bank of the *Tigris*, where is the bastion of birds." *Siege here formed.*

"THINGS being thus disposed, they began to batter the city with inexpressible fury; having beaten down five or six great towers: the trenches in thirty days were carried to the ditch, To fill up which, the officers among them furnished thirty millions of sacks filled with hair, wool, and hemp. They likewise cut down fifteen hundred palm-trees; and for ten days and nights, the soldiers carried earth to fill the ditch of the fortress, which was about eighteen feet deep, six whereof were filled with water. On the 19th of *Shaabân*, they marched at break of day to attack the fort which was at the angle of the grand *Wazîr's* quarters; where the fight continued three days and nights, with unparalleled fury. In this action the *Turks* engaged the enemy so closely, that some took them by the collar, whilst others struck them with their fists, or engaged with their poniards. Here the grand *Wazîr*, after slaying several with arrows, was slain himself by a musket ball, which hit him in the throat (N)." *A fort attacked.*

"*MORAD* at this news dropped a tear, and appointed the *Kapudîn Mostafa Pâshâ* in his room; who renewed the attack with such vigour, that at length the *Turks* set up their standard on the top of the fortress; and made so great a slaughter, that on the 29th of the same month, the *Persians* *The city surrendered.*

(M) The place was invested by the *Wazîr*, on the 19th of *October*, with 30,000 men, altho' the *Soltân* did not arrive till *November 5th. Ricaut.*

(N) By this it appears that he was not slain by the *Soltân*, as the *Turkish* historians relate.

A. D.  
1637.

from the top of the walls demanded quarter. *Morâd* having given them till the evening to evacuate the city, *Bektâsh Khân*, the governor (O), with all his train, came to the camp, where he was received with honour, and quarter granted to him and his troops. Mean time *Fetâh Khân*, *Khâlef Khân*, and *Ali Khân*, who remained in the fortrefs, having twenty thousand men at their command, resolved not to quit the place. Hereupon *Ali Pâshâ*, son of *Arslân*, entered the city with all the *Janizaries*; and made himself master of it with such a slaughter, that the streets ran with blood, without the loss of one man."

The garri-  
son slain.

"*HUSSEYN*, *Pâshâ* of *Anatolia*, seeing *Morâd* incensed at this breach of articles, desired leave that he might go and put the revoltors to the sword. His request being granted on the second application, he set himself at the head of his troops; who fell on so furiously, that the enemy presently fled towards the gate of darkness: but they were pursued so closely, that out of twenty-five thousand, not one escaped. the three *Khâns*, with a hundred captains, and many other officers, were taken prisoners. *Morâd*, having reproached them for their misbehaviour after quarter given, put two or three of them into the hands of the *Selikhtar Mostafa Pâshâ*, and left the rest to the discretion of the soldiers; who slew some, and gave the remainder to the *Janizaries*. Of those who were in the place, not one in a thousand were saved; whereas the *Turks* lost not above five thousand men in all k."

Causes af-  
fined.

THIS is the substance of what the *Turkish* officer relates concerning the siege. But the author, who has communicated the relation, observes that those at *Constantinople*, who were best acquainted with affairs, seemed convinced that the city was taken by the perfidy of the governor, rather than by force. They alledged farther, that the *Khân's* wife, being ashamed of her husband's treachery, poisoned herself, the same day on which the *Turks* entered *Bâghdâd*; and that neither the other *Khâns* nor the inhabitants consented to the surrender made by the governor. Hence they inferred, that the inhabitants were falsely accused of mutiny by *Husseyn Pâshâ*; who having formerly betrayed *Reyvân* to the *Soltân* (P), forged this story of a mutiny, to incense *Morâd*, when

\* DU LOIRE Voy. de Levant, lett. 8.

(O) The Christian writers call him *Amir Fatta*, who must be the same with *Fetâh Khân*, mentioned a line or two below.

(P) According to the *Turkish* and *Christian* historians, the per-

son who betrayed *Reyvân*, or *Rivân*, was *Amir Ghiun*; a different person, as it should seem, from *Husseyn Pâshâ*, whom the *Christian* writers name *Delli Husseyn*.

intoxicated



intoxicated with wine, that he might have the pleasure of washing his hands in the blood of his countrymen <sup>A. D. 1638.</sup> <sup>Some farther particulars.</sup>

We shall add something farther concerning the siege of this famous city, from the Christian historians. They tell us that, at this time the king of *Persia*, *Shâh Sefi*, with his army consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, was gone to oppose the great *Mogol*, who had promised *Morâd* to make a diversion in his favour: that the besieged made no opposition to the *Turks* while they were carrying on their trenches to the ditch, except by their cannon: that they were twenty days filling the ditch; and after they had gained the first inclosure, had two more grand walls to encounter, and another ditch to fill up, which at length they did with trees and other matter: that things being ready for the assault, it was given on *Christmas* day, and the fortieth of the siege; when the brave *Wazîr* being killed, *Mostafa*, seeing almost all his men dead about him, furiously took a royal standard, and climbing up the wall, planted it there: that being followed by the soldiers, they soon entered and mastered the city, killing all before them without distinction; excepting the governor and a few others: that *Morâd* ordered the slaughter to cease; but that, on the remonstrance of *Mostafa*, who was made *Wazîr*, he gave up fourteen thousand more to the sword: that in the assault the *Turks* lost thirty thousand men, besides ten thousand wounded; that *Morâd* entering the city, ordered that sixty thousand of the slain should remain unburied, for a terror to a *Persian* ambassador whom he expected <sup>Of the siege.</sup>

*MORAD*, having stayed a few days to repair the breaches and settle the affairs of *Irâk*, leaving the new *Wazîr Mostafa* to finish what he had begun, winters in *Di-yâr-bekr*; and the next spring returns to *Constantinople* (Q), with his guards <sup>Hejrah 1048. A. D. 1638.</sup>

He entered the city with all the triumph imaginable, altho' in a very bad state of health; and not long after an ambassador arrived from *Persia* with propositions of peace, which were not accepted of. However, another concluded a treaty with the *Wazîr* on the frontiers, whereby *Bâghdâd* was confirmed to *Morâd*; who being now at leisure, resolved to call the *Venetians* to an account for destroying the *Algerine* pirates in his port of *Valona*. The affair was this:

THESE pirates, in conjunction with those of *Tunis* and *Capello* other *Barbary* rovers, having infested the coasts of *Italy*, the *Venetian* gallies, under the command of *Capello*, blocked them

<sup>2</sup> RICAUT, *ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ubi *supr.*

<sup>4</sup> CANT, p. 249.

(Q) The Christian writers say, on the 10th of *June* 1639.

A. D. 1638. up in the aforeſaid port. The *Carſairs*, not daring to venture out, reſolved to remain there till the coaſt ſhould be clear: but *Capello*, after a month's ſtay, finding an opportunity, boldly went-in; and, to the aſtoniſhment of the *Turks*, took the whole ſixteen veſſels. The graver part of the *Venetian* ſenate, altogether diſapproving of this action, wrote to *Contareni*, their *Bailo*, or reſident at the *Porte*, to mollify, if poſſible, the reſentment of the *Turks*. The *Kaymakâm*, as ſoon as he was informed of the affair, ſent for the *Bailo*, and exclaimed againſt it, as an infraction of the peace, which the *Soltân* on his return from *Persia* would reſent.

the Bar-  
bary pi-  
rates.

THE *Bailo* answered, that thoſe ſame pirates having landed the year before in *Kandia*, and pierced far into *Italy*, with deſign to plunder the iſland of *Liffâ*, belonging to his republic, he had done nothing contrary to the capitulations; which enjoined, That all ports ſhould be forbidden to thoſe pirates, unleſs they firſt gave ſecurity not to injure the ſubjects of the *Venetians*. The *Kaymakâm* however required that the gallies ſhould be reſtored; and that ten thouſand ſoldiers and ſlaves belonging to thoſe gallies, who were at *Valona*, ſhould have free paſſage through the territories of the republic. But all thoſe veſſels, excepting the admiral galley, had been ſunk in the port of *Korfu*, by order of the ſenate, to prevent the reſtitution demanded.

Satisfac-  
tion de-  
manded;

AN account of this tranſaction being ſent to *Morâd*, he was ſo enraged, that he ordered the *Bailo*, with all thoſe of his nation found in the *Othmân* dominions, to be cut in pieces. But the *Wazîr* and his *Persian* favourite ſtopping the mandate for thirteen days, till the *Soltân* grew cooler, perſuaded him to change the ſentence into an imprifonment of the *Bailo*; which, by application of the other Chriſtian ambaffadors at the *Porte* to the *Kaymakâm*, was ordered to be in his own houſe. When the ſenate heard this news, they, to prevent a war, which they were apprehenſive of, began to make alliances with other powers, and, at the ſame time, uſed all their addreſs to ſoften *Morâd*. They alſo wrote him a handſome letter, to excuſe themſelves; and although he answered it with diſdain, and ſeemed to breathe nothing but revenge, yet it was carried by a *Ghaufſ*, and couched in ſuch terms as ſhewed there was room for an accommodation.

given by  
Venice.

MORAD, at his return from *Bâghdâd*, let *Contarini* know, that he looked on him no longer as a public miniſter, but an hoſtage for the ſhips which had been taken: however, he at the ſame time ordered the *Kaymakâm* not to ſhut his ears againſt a treaty. Accordingly that miniſter having admitted the *Bailo* to an audience, and finding the ſenate reſolved not to deliver up their own gallies in exchange; at laſt accom-

modated

modated the matter with him, on his promising to pay two hundred and fifty thousand chekins, and restore the vessels which were in being<sup>c</sup>.

A. D.  
1638.

BUT now to come to the period of *Morâd's* reign : we are told by the *Turkish* historians, that while he was meditating an expedition against the Christians, he was suddenly seized with a distemper ; which in fifteen days carried him out of the world, on the 15th of *Shawal* 1049, after he had lived thirty-one, and reigned seventeen years<sup>d</sup>.

Morâd  
dies.

THE Christian writers are more particular ; they tell us, that *Morâd* began to grow feeble by frequent debauches, his stomach so cold and weak, as not to digest the lightest meats. He was also at times grievously afflicted with the gout, and all over paralytic ; so that his mother and the physicians persuaded him to forbear wine. Yet he could not withstand the temptations of a banquet to which his companions invited him. In the time of *Bâyram*, he, at the instance of his *Persian* favourite, and the *Seliktar Aga* (R), appointed a solemn drinking day, to which they being invited, the former took care to excite his inclination to liquor by high-seasoned dishes ; by whose aid they all drank so hard of wine and strong waters, that they were carried off drunk one after the other. The excess of this debauch threw the *Soltân* into a violent and continued fever ; and the timorous physicians agreeing at length to let him blood, it hastened his death, which happened on the eighth of *February* 1640<sup>e</sup>.

A. D.  
1639.

Cause of  
his death.

A CERTAIN traveller, who was then at *Constantinople*, says, he was not ill above eleven days, and that on the eighth he threatened his physicians with death unless they cured him. At the same time being sensible he should die, he gave orders about paying his debts, and other affairs. After this the fever increasng, he resolved to put to death his brother *Ibrâhîm*, and all the great men who were enemies to *Mosfafa* to the intent that after his death his favourite might seize the throne without opposition (S). The great officers, be-

Attempts  
to destroy.

<sup>c</sup> RICAULT *ibid*.

<sup>d</sup> CANT. p. 249.

<sup>e</sup> RICAULT *ibid*.

(R) This was *Mosfafa*, who was also *Kâpudân Pâshâ*, or high admiral; *Du Loire*, who was then at *Constantinople*, says he was a handsome man, of about five or six and twenty ; so well beloved by the *Soltân*, that instead of slave, he called him his

friend. *Du Loire voy. de Levant*, let. 4. p. 110.

(S) Others say, that he did it in favour of the *Tartar Hân* or *Khân*; often wishing that he might be the last of the *Othmân* line. *Ricaut*.

A. D.  
1639.

his brother  
Ibrâhîm

believing that *Ibrâhîm* had been strangled, brothers in the road to *Persia*, crowded chamber, not so much to render him to be present when he appointed a successor having the vanity to expect that the news would reach him. But their ambition was strangled in the *Soltân*, in order to find a pretence to go off, began to examine them very strict execution of their respective offices. When he answers, that he could not without shew to death, he commanded the *Mufti* to execution of his brother *Ibrâhîm*, who was twice by means of his mother.

*MORAD* expired in the arms of these words, *Mostafa, I am dying.* *Morad* at his master's death, ran to a window and thrown himself out headlong, if he had been supported by those who were present: but his chief being gone, his enemies obliged him immediately to give him a hundred thousand crowns, as well as *Kâpudân Pâshâ*, in lieu of the *Pâshâship* probably they would have aimed at his life for fear of enraging the princess, sister of the deceased, who was in love with him, and breeding a host of soldiers.

THE *Turks* have related the manners of this *Soltân* in so many volumes, that they sometimes insert fables. His most remarkable observation, that he did some things which were contrary to the majesty of an emperor, and the dignity of a monarch. They say he used to resort with particularity to pleasant places and gardens without any other company than a few slaves, would light fires, dress victuals, and buy wine at a tavern, drink and converse familiarly with the lowest of his subjects, he married old women of fourscore, to y<sup>e</sup> or five and twenty, and old men to girls; and passed such-like frolicks.

A great  
drinker.

IN drunkenness he exceeded all his predecessors given to that vice. He not only drank wine, but allowed it to be publicly sold, as before he had been compelled even the *Mufti's* and *Kadib's* (justices) to drink with him. He was very fond of strong liquors by which he was one time about to drown himself in the sea, and was rescued by a man wallowing in the same liquor.

wondering at the novelty of the thing, asks his attendants, what was the matter with him, for he took him to be lunatic. Being told he was intoxicated with wine, he wants to know what sort of liquor that was, of whose effects he was yet ignorant. Mean while, *Mostafa* gets-up, and with opprobrious words bids the *Soltân* stand off.

THE prince, astonished at the man's impudence, *rascal*, *The ad-* says he, *dost thou bid me, who am Soltân Morâd, to be gone?* *venture of* And I (answers the drunkard) *am Bekri Mostafa* (T: *but if* *thou wilt sell me this city; I will buy it; and then I shall be* *Soltân Morâd, and thou Bekri Mostafa.* *Morâd* demanding where he would get the money to purchase such a city, *Mostafa* replies, *Don't trouble thyself about that; for, what is more, I will buy also the son of a bond-woman* (U). *Morâd* agrees to it, and orders *Mostafa* to be taken out of the kennel, and carried to the palace. After a few hours *Mostafa* comes to his senses; and seeing himself laid in a gilded room, asked those who attended him, what was the meaning of all that, and whether he was in a dream, or in paradise? Having informed him of what had passed, and his bargain with the *Soltân*, the man falls into a terrible fright, as knowing *Morâd's* fierce disposition. But necessity whetting his invention, he feigns himself ill, and pretends he should die, unless he could have some wine to restore his spirits.

THE waiters, to preserve his life, give him a pot full of *Bikri* wine, which he conceals under his gown. Presently after *Mostafa*, being sent for by the emperor, and ordered to pay so many millions as the price of the city, *Mostafa*, taking the pot out of his bosom, says, *This, O! emperor! is what would yesterday have purchased Constantinople; and were you likewise possessed of these riches, you would think them preferable to the monarchy of the universe.* *Morâd* asking how that could be? *By drinking*, said he, *this divine liquor.* The *Soltân* being persuaded, takes a large draught; which, as he was unused to wine, presently made him so drunk, that he fancied the whole world not able to hold him; conceives mighty projects, and was filled with such pleasing joy, that he thought it equal to the charms of a crown. After this he fell asleep; and in a few hours, awaking with the head-ach, in a great passion sends for *Mostafa*. The man forthwith appears; and perceiving the case, *hôte*, says he, *is your remedy*; and offers the *Soltân* a cup of wine, by which his head-ach was

(T) That is drunken *Mostafa*. self: for the princes are all born

(U) Meaning the *Soltân* him- of captives.

A. D. 1617. presently removed, and his former gaiety restored (X). When he had done this two or three times, he became by degrees so addicted to wine, that he was drunk almost every day.

Enemy to tobacco :

As *Morád* was an immoderate lover of that liquor, so he was a mortal enemy to opium and tobacco (Y). He forbade the selling of both on pain of death ; and with his own hand killed several, whom he found either eating the one, or smoking the other (Z). However, one *Tiriaki*, a smoker, escaped punishment by his wit : for as he could not abstain from tobacco, he caused a deep pit to be dug under his tent, and covered with green turf, to prevent discovery : but one day the emperor coming and enquiring for him, he is betrayed by his people, who expose him in the pit with a pipe in his mouth. The *Soltân* instantly drawing his sword in order to kill him, *Tiriaki*, seeing the danger he was in, humourously cries out : *go-to, thou son of a bond-woman ! thy edict extends above, not under the earth.* By this ready turn, he obtained new honours, with the sole licence of smoking tobacco.

extremely cruel :

FROM this vice sprung another cruelty. He thirsted after blood, and seemed to be nourished with it. Very often at midnight he stole out of the womens apartments, through the private gates of the palace, with his drawn sword ; and running thro' the streets barefooted, with only a loose gown about him, like a madman, killed whomsoever came in his way. Frequently from the windows of the higher rooms, where he used to drink and divert himself, he shot with arrows such as passed along. In the day time, he strolled up and down in disguise, and never returned till he had slain some unfortunate wretches, for little or no cause. He struck

(X) *Bekri Mostafa*, his tutor in drinking, was afterwards admitted among the *Musahib* or privy counsellors, and always near the *Soltân* ; who at his death ordered the court to go into mourning ; but caused his body to be buried with great pomp, among the hogheads. After this loss *Morád* declared that he never enjoyed one merry day ; and whenever *Mostafa's* name happened to be mentioned, was seen to burst into tears, and sigh from the bottom of his heart. *Cant.*

(Y) He is reported to have said to his people, by way of advice, *if you will be merry, drink wine, and eat not t—rd.* *Cant.*

(Z) *Thevenot* relates an adventure of his with a *Spahi*, whom he smoked with on the *Bosphorus* ; but going to seize him, when he landed, the *Spahi*, thereby suspecting that it was the *Soltân*, with a blow on the back with his mace, beat him down, and ran away. *Travels to the Levant*, part 1. ch. 45.

60

so great a terror through the whole city, that no man dared even to mention his name within his own doors. Many weak persons, especially such as used to eat opium, fell into a swoon, if they heard but the word *Morâd* repeated: for he never spared that sort of people, but either killed them, or made them drink wine instead of it. By these methods he is said, within the seventeen years of his reign, to have put to death above fourteen thousand men, several of whom were generals of the highest rank.

BUT at the same time that *Morâd* excelled in those worst *expert at* of vices, he was adorned with great endowments both of *arms:* body and mind. All sorts of, exercises requisite to a soldier were found in him. In the art of shooting with the bow, he had not his equal in the whole *Turkish* nation, excepting the famous champion *Toskoparan*. There are now two marble pillars standing, fifteen hundred cubits asunder, over which he is said to have shot an arrow. He was of all the *Othmâns* the most expert horseman; and threw the jerd (or dart) with such dexterity, that no *Tatarian* arrow could fly so far, or with such exactness. He is reported to have been so swift of foot, that the fleetest *Arabian* horse could hardly out-run him.

NOR did this *Soltân* want singular endowments of mind: *steady and* in the first place he was steady in the conduct of affairs; and *resolute:* desisted not from an undertaking till he either had accomplished it, or found it was not in his power to succeed. He was unshaken in all circumstances; so that if his years had been equal to his greatness of mind, he would without much difficulty have acquired the monarchy of the universe: but the wounds, with which the sword threatened others, were given him by drunkenness, and removed him early out of the world, of which he was the terror<sup>2</sup>.

THE Christian writers say, that *Morâd* was the most abso- *dissembler;* ute prince who ever swayed the *Othmân* scepter: but very *covetous.* irreligious (A), often laughing at the *Darwishes* and other religious orders. That he was very active, but a great dissembler, and covetous to excess; having left fifteen millions of gold in his treasury, which was empty when he ascended the throne<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> CANT. p. 249 & seq.

<sup>3</sup> RICAUT ubi sup.

(A) Is not this to abuse the word religion; which is either useless, or ridiculous, as if superstition, can deserve the name? required respect? or any thing

A. D.

1639.

## C H A P. XIX.

*The Reign of Sultan Ibrâhîm.*18 Soltân  
Ibrâhîm.

Hejrah

1049,

A. D.

1639.

*His weak  
disposition.**Loves ease  
and wo-  
men.*

**MORAD** being dead, and no other heir of the *Othmân* race remaining but his brother *Ibrâhîm*, he was with unanimous consent proclaimed emperor, being then in the three and twentieth year of his age<sup>1</sup>.

ACCORDING to the Christian historians, his interest was managed with the great officers by the *Soltâna* mother *Kiosem*, in opposition to the *Khân* of *Tatary*. But when they came to the hole of a prison, where, almost void of light, he had been mewed-up for four years, in constant expectation of death, he barred the door, and denied them entrance, supposing they came to strangle him. Nay, when the *Wazîr* proclaimed him emperor, fearing it to be only an artifice of his brother, he said, he did not desire that honour; and still persisted to deny them entrance, till the *Soltâna*-mother caused *Morâd's* corps to be brought. With this being at last satisfied, he plucked up his spirits, and taking boat, passed to *Job's* mosk (Z), where in eight days all the ceremonies of his inauguration being completed, he rode through the city to his palace: but whether for want of practice, or through an awkwardness natural to fools, he sat his horse so odiously, (A) that it moved the laughter rather than the acclamations of people.

THE *Soltân*, for want of capacity, left the whole management of his affairs to his ministers; who knowing his luxurious and wanton appetite, humoured him therein, as well as his other recreations of horse-races, shooting with the bow, and the like. So that he was a mere stranger to the business transacted; only the *Wazîr* would sometimes, in matters of least importance, apply for his assent; either out of formality, or because it was not safe to act altogether without his authority. As his fondness for women was his reign-

<sup>1</sup> CANT. p. 252.

(Z) *Du Loir* calls it *Yupuan Saray*; that is, the *Saray* or palace of *Yup*, *Tub*, *Ayub*, or *Job*, as we corruptly spell the word after the *Germans*. To this *Saray* belongs a mosk, where the *Soltâns* are girt with the sword by the *Musli*, and then mounts an horseback.

(A) *Du Loir* only says, that he was so feeble, that in saluting the people by bowing his head, he would have fallen with his face to the ground, if he had not been supported. *Voy. de Levant*, let. 4.



ing passion, so they were the first objects of his diversion. A. D. 1639. But as the law of the country forbade the *Soltâns* to see any other ladies than virgins, and he found he exhausted his strength to no purpose on girls, he had a mind to caress the favourite *Soltâna* of his deceased brother, who had charmed him with her beauty and wit. Nor was the lady averse to the design: but finding the queen mother and *Wazîr* do all they could to oppose it, she chose to sacrifice her ambition to her safety, and retire to the old *Saray*, where the other women of *Morâd* were locked up<sup>k</sup>.

*IBRAHIM's* first care, as to matters of government, was *The* *Ko-* to clear the *Black-sea* of the *Kosûk* pirates, and render the sâks re- passage safe for ships sailing for *Constantinople*. As *Afâk* (or *pressed. Afef*) situated at the mouth of the *Don* or *Tanais*, was very convenient for people of that profession, and, in case of an overthrow, would afford them a retreat, he perceived that there was no putting a stop to their depredations without great difficulty, so long as that city remained in their hands; and therefore sends a numerous army to besiege it, which after many assaults takes it, and puts all the garrison to the sword<sup>l</sup>.

*THE* Christian writers give quite a different account of this *Afef be-* affair. According to them, this city was besieged twice by *fieged;* the *Turks*; who the first time being molested by frequent *A. D.* sallies, made some furious assaults on the place; but were *1641.* so repulsed with arms, wild-fire and scalding liquors, that they lay still for fourteen days. During this time the captain *Pâshâ* tried the force of bribes: but finding it to little purpose, and having received some supplies by sea, another assault was given for seven days together, without gaining an inch of ground. So that they were forced to raise the siege, after they had endured the severest hardships, and lost three thousand *Spahis*, seven thousand *Janizaries*, and eight thousand other soldiers, besides *Moldavians*, *Walakhians* and *Tatars*.

*HOWEVER*, the *Soltân* having settled all differences with *And aban-* the emperor, and concluded an advantageous peace for *doned.* twenty years, the *Wazîr* resolved to attack *Afef*, a second *A. D.* time both by land and sea. The *Kosûks* on this news sought *1642.* the protection of the *Czar of Russia*: but that prince excusing himself, as having lately concluded a peace with the *Porta*, they abandoned the city, ruined the places, and carried all their moveables along with them.

<sup>k</sup> *RICAUT.* in *Ibrahim.* *Du Loir Voy.* lett. 4.  
P. 252.

<sup>l</sup> *CANT.*

A. D.  
1642.

ABOUT the same time, the *Turks* renewed their league with the king of *Persia*, on condition that he should demolish the fortrefs of *Fortrina*, which, contrary to articles, he had built on the *Caspian Sea*. But, notwithstanding their league lately made with the emperor, they contrived to surprize the fortrefs of *Raab*, in *Hungary*, by the following stratagem. A select number of soldiers, dressed like peasants, were put into carts covered with hay; which being admitted into the city, they were to surprize the centinels and gates, in which they were to be supported by four thousand others, lying in a valley near at hand. But this party being discovered by an officer of the garrison, in his return from hunting, he quickened his pace to the town; and overtaking the above-mentioned carts, which seemed to be laden after an unusual manner, it encreased his suspicion. On his arrival at town, he acquainted the officers, who immediately put the garrison in arms; and having permitted the carts to enter, the bridge was drawn up, the carts searched, and the whole fraud detected. However, the emperor being at that time in war with the *Swedes*, could not resent the injury; in the manner he was inclined to have done.

Raab in  
danger.Changes  
at court.A. D.  
1644.

NEXT year nothing remarkable occurs; but in 1644 some broils arose between the emperor and prince *Ragotski*, wherein the *Turks* somewhat concerned themselves; but matters were composed the year following. All this while, *Ibrâhim* minded nothing but his pleasures; yet the prime *Wazîr*, *Mos-tafa*, being an active minister, put to death all those persons, whom he suspected in the least inclinable to sedition; particularly, the *Pâshâs* of *Hâlep* and *Kâssa*. Yet his case of the state could not secure him from the resentment of the *Valide Soltâna*; who cut him off, for some marks of disrespect shewn to her; as for a like offence against the *Soltân*, the *Kâpudân Pâshâ* underwent the same fate. The *Tatar Hân* (or *Khân*) was likewise deposed by *Ibrâhim*, not so much for his incursions into *Poland*, as for his ill success; having in one of them lost ten thousand men.

Actions at  
sea.

*B E K R*, *Pâshâ* of *Rhodes*, the new *Kâpudân Pâshâ*, to handel his office, made a descent on the coast of *Calabria*, from whence he carried off three hundred men: but attempting the like near *Cortan*, paid for the former booty, with the loss of five hundred of his own. However, six of the *Maltese* gallies made more considerable reprisals, altho' the consequence proved fatal to the *Venetians*: for they took several rich *Turkish* vessels bound to *Alexandria*, with a vast booty; and amongst the rest, the wealth of the *Kisslar Aga*, who was slain in the action<sup>1</sup>. But here it will be proper, first to see what the

<sup>1</sup> RICAUT, *phi supra*.

*Turkish* historians say upon this occasion, which became of such importance to their nation.

A. D.  
1644.

THE Soltân having cleared the *Ruxine* Sea of *Corseairs*, he resolves likewise to purge the *White Sea* (or *Mediterranean*). All the islands therein were already subdued by the *Othmân* valour, excepting *Kandia*, or *Krete*; which, in defiance of the imperial power, afforded a retreat to pirates, who plundered the *Turkish* ships. To the provocations before given by the subjects of the *Venetians*, a new one was added about this time, which presented him with a fair occasion for subduing this island, long before desired, and more than once attempted in vain: for a *Turkish* ship, with the *Kizlar Agasi* (B), the *Kâdhi* of *Mekka*, and *Mollab* of *Prusa* on board, being on its way to *Egypt*, was attacked by six *Maltese* gallies, and taken; after the *Kizlar Agasi*, the *Kâdi*, and commander of the ship, had been killed in the action. The *Korseairs* immediately put into a port of *Kandia*, and giving the governor some share of their prize, were suffered to depart with the rest <sup>m</sup>.

Offence  
given

ACCORDING to the *Venetian* historians, the *Kizlar Aga* retreated, to avoid the fury of the *Soltâna*, mother of *Soltân Mohammed*, on the following occasion. The *Aga*, enamoured with a beautiful *Persian* slave, whom he took for a virgin, gave for her four hundred and fifty dollars: but soon after, she appearing to be with child, he confined her to his steward's house; yet, was so taken with the infant when born, that he adopted him for his own. About the same time, *Mohammed*, happening to come into the world, the pretty slave was preferred to be his nurse; and during the two years she continued in the *Saray*, *Ibrahim* took such an affection for her boy, that he seemed to love him better than his own son. This so displeased the mother, that she could endure neither the nurse, her child, nor the *Kizlar Aga*, who had recommended her (C); and

by the Ve-  
netians.

<sup>m</sup> CANT. p. 253. & seq.

(B) That is the chief eunuch, nurse and her boy in such provoking terms, that the *Soltân* threw her son *Mohammed*, then in his arms, into a cistern; where, tho' saved from being drowned, he received the scar which he had in his forehead.

(C) 'Tis said, that on a time when *Ibrahim* was diverting himself in the garden with his women and children, the *Soltâna* vented her anger against the *Ricaut*. *Thevenot* says, the scar was on his left cheek; and given by his father; who being half drunk, fell a dancing, and calling to *Mohammed* to dance with him,

A. D.  
1664.

and the fear of her resentment was the occasion of that eunuch's retiring from court. The boy, who caused all this uneasiness, was taken among the prisoners on board, and considered at *Málta* as a son of *Soltán Ibráhím*. But time having discovered the falsity of that opinion, he became a frier, and was the same person, who went under the name of *Padre Ottomano*.

Their de-  
fence.

*I B R A H I M*, enraged for the loss of his ships, not only vowed utter ruin to *Málta*, but vented his passion against the Christians in general, and in particular the *Venetians*, for not guarding the seas from his enemies, and for relieving them in their ports. The *Bailo* answered, that the port which the *Maltese* put into, had neither castle nor fortress; and if his majesty was not able to hinder those ships from careening, as they had often done, before *Rhodes*, how was it possible for the *Venetians* to drive them out of the sea? With this answer, *Ibráhím* seemed so well satisfied, that the *Bailo*, who was a person of penetration, had no apprehensions of a war. However, as great preparations that way were seen to go forward soon after at the *Porte*, they began to provide against the danger at *Málta*, which seemed to be the place on which all the storm was to discharge its fury.

Turkish  
subtily.

MEAN time the *Venetians*, suspecting the worst, prepared also for their defence; yet gave their *Bailo* orders, to try if money would purchase their tranquility. Hereupon he demanded an audience of the *Wazír*; but after waiting several hours, was told there was no opportunity of giving it him, altho' he saw the ambassadors of other princes admitted during the time. This was a convincing mark of their resentment: yet, as soon as *Ibráhím* understood, that the republic, growing jealous of his vast preparations, began to arm likewise, he did all that was possible to persuade the *Bailo*, that hostilities were not designed against the *Venetians*, and complained that by their suspicions, they injured his friendship.

English  
stratagem

ALL this while the *Soltán* was pursuing his pleasures, with no less vigour than preparations went on: so gay was his *Harám*, or ladies apartment, and so eager were they to get silks, cloth of gold, and the like to adorn it; that many times, when ships arrived at the castles of the *Hellepont*, gallies were sent to fetch the goods, which often were forced away, without any account taken, or price agreed with the merchant. Of this, when Sir *Thomas Bendish*, the *English* ambassador, complained to the *Wazír*, without redress, he put fire on the

him, the little boy made answer, *I am not a fool to dance; I am a fool then*, replied *Ibráhím*, in a rage; and gave him a wound

with his dagger; or as others say with a bottle thrown at him. Trav. Levant. chap. 45.

yard-

yard-arms of thirteen *English* ships, then at *Galata*; and drawing in the guns, brought them to an anchor just before the *Saray*: for it is the custom in *Turky*, when any one has received a very great injury from the chief ministers, for him to put fire on his head, and running to the palace, no person dare refuse him access to the *Soltân*. This unusual fight therefore, of fire on the ships yard-arms, being espied by the officer of the customs, he presently apprehended the reason, and went to acquaint the *Wazîr*. This minister immediately dispatched him on board, with a considerable sum of money, and desired the fire might be put out; promising faithfully to pay the remainder.

A. D.  
1664.to obtain  
redress,

At length the preparations both by land and sea being ready, the fleet on the last day of *April* set sail, consisting of seventy-three galleies, besides eight from *Barbary*, two galleasses, one great galleon, twenty-two other ships, ten of them *English* and *Dutch*, pressed into the service; with about three hundred *Saiks*, and *Karamoufaks*, which carried soldiers, provision and stores. The army was composed of seven thousand *Janizaries*, fourteen thousand *Spahis*, fifty thousand *Timariets*, and other soldiers, besides three thousand pioneers. They arrived at *Scio* the 7th of *May*, and from thence steered different courses, to disguise their design, till war was declared at *Constantinople*, by imprisoning the *Baito*, and giving orders throughout the *Archipelago*, to destroy or enslave all the subjects of the republic.

Kandia  
invaded.  
A. D.  
1645.

THE *Turkish* historians, omitting the circumstances above-mentioned, only take notice, that upon the taking of the ships bound for *Egypt*, with the *Kizlar Aga*, *Ibrâhîm*, by advice of his counsellors, breaks the peace with the *Venetians*; and having declared war against them, as robbers, and protectors of pirates, sends out both an army and a fleet; the first commanded by *Musah Pâshâ*, and *Morâd Aga*, *Kulkieth Udâsi*, or lieutenant general of the *Janizaries*; the other under the conduct of *Kâpudân Yusuf Pâshâ*. On the 21st of *Rabi'olakhir*, 1055, they landed in *Kandia*, and next day invest *Khania*, which after a resistance of fifty-four days, surrenders; then having repaired the walls, and left a garrison, they returned to *Constantinople*. Shortly after, *Husséyn Pâshâ* is sent with fresh forces; which, after several battles, fought in this and the following year, subdue the whole island, excepting the capital city.

The island  
reduced.Hejrah  
1054.  
A. D.  
1644.A. D.  
1645.Hejrah  
1056.

THIS is all the account we have from the *Turks*, relating to the expedition. From the *Venetians* we learn, that the public was not unprovided with a fleet, nor wanting in care

taken.

\* RICAUT, ubi supra.

° CANT. p. 254.

A. D. 1645. for their defence. They immediately sent necessary provisions to *Kandia*, with orders to *Cornaro*, then general and inquisitor there, to fit out twenty gallees from the arsenal of *Kanea*. About the middle of *June*, the whole *Turkish* fleet arrived at *Gogna*, a place about eighteen miles from *Kanea*, where landing their forces without opposition, they defeated the *Venetians* in several skirmishes; and altho' powerful succours were sent by the pope, as well as other *Italian* princes, yet having been too long delayed, and the commanders disagreeing among themselves, nothing was done of any service, to prevent the loss of *Kanea*; which the *Turks* forced, with great slaughter of the besieged.

Retino mastered. A. D. 1646. HAVING thus had the fortune to take the second city the first year, they were encouraged to proceed in the conquest of the island, the next year; when they had the success to make themselves masters of *Retino*, where general *Cornaro* lost his life, with a musket ball. Nor were the *Venetians* more successful at sea this year, than the former: for the quarrels among the commanders still subsisting, they grow negligent in the affair, and suffer the *Turkish* vessels to pass freely, as if they had not been at war. Nay, when the *Othmân* fleet lay half disarmed, and ill provided, at the isle of *St. Theodore*, opposite to *Kanea*, where it is thought they might easily have burnt them, they made no use of the opportunity: so that towards the end of the year, *Molino* returning home, was dismissed from his employment, and *Capello* appointed in his room.

Venetian indolence. THE general, with a very good fleet under his command, in the spring, arrived at the city of *Kandia*; whence *Moresini* the admiral, with twenty-two ships, sailed to the *Dardanelis*, in order to draw the enemy to an engagement: but finding they would not accept the challenge, he returned, and importuned the general, with the proveditor *Grimani*, to engage the *Turkish* fleet, promising them the victory: but while they were debating the matter, the fleet, consisting of three hundred sail, arrived at *Kanea*, and landed forty thousand men, which quite turned the scale. The *Venetians* in the mean time, being joined by the gallees of the pope and *Maha*, left port *Suda*, to attack the enemy at *St. Theodore*: but failing in that design, *Capello* sailed with some gallees and galleasses, to intercept thirty *Turkish* gallees, with men and provisions, in their way to *Kanea*.

Morissini slain. IN the interim, *Mosusa Pashâ* left that port, with fifty-seven light gallees, four large ships, and many saiks, in order to return to *Constantinople*: but in his passage, meeting with a storm, he lost seven gallees, and several other vessels; being forced into *Zia*, followed by some other ships, under the

com-

command of *Mohammed Chelabi*. Here the soldiers landing and roving about, *Morisini* and *Grimani*, came up, and took two of their ships: but *Morisini's* vessel being by a storm separated from the rest, forty of the enemies gallies attacked; and at length boarded her; in which dispute, the valiant admiral was slain. For all this, the men made so brave a defence, that the *Turks* were forced to leave her, especially when they saw two gallies come up to her relief.

A. D.  
1646.

HOWEVER, the republic had good success this year by land: *Successes* for in *Dalmatia*, *Foscolo* took *Ali Bey* prisoner; besides the towns of *Salcovar*, *Polisano*, *Issan*, and other places: he also recovered *Novigrada*, and reduced *Obraozzo*, *Curino*, *Ostifona*, *Vellino*, *Madino*, *Uzana*, *Tino*, *Salona*, with several other forts and castles, all which he plundered, and to them afterwards added *Scardano*. 'Tis true, the *Venetians* lost a great part of their fleet in a storm, at the isle of *Pfara*: but this misfortune was recompensed by the ill success of the *Turks*, who at this time had laid siege to the city of *Kandia*, which was defended with such bravery, that they were constrained to raise it. *Foscolo* likewise going on victoriously, took *Glissa*, and overthrew *Tekkhele Pâshâ* in battle: but seven thousand *Albanians*, who had a design to surprize *Kroja*, being set upon by a body of *Turks*, were routed, and many of them slain, while the rest fled to the mountains for refuge.

WHILE these things were doing in the fields of *Mars*, *Ibrâhîm Soltân Ibrâhîm* was making fierce war in those of *Venus*. A forces woman, whom he called *Sukbir Para*, that is a little lump of sugar, was the principal instrument of his amours: for as she visited the public baths, she gave him an account of all the beauties in the town; and he, falling in love with the *Soltâna*, his brother *Morad's* widow, made use of her to pander for him with that princess, who rejected his suit. Mean time *Sukbir Para*, having informed him, that the *Musti* had a beautiful daughter, he thought it better to propose taking her for a wife, than attempt debauching her: but, as that prelate knew his inconstant humour, and that he had several sons already, he artfully replied, that he dared not to force the inclinations of his daughter, because it was contrary to the *Korân*; but that in case she complied, he was very ready to give his consent to so great an honour. *Ibrâhîm* hereupon makes his addresses to the fair lady; but she, by the instructions of her father, rejects the motion.

A. D.  
1648.

THE *Soltân*, enraged at this slight, banishes the *Musti*; the *Musti's* and finding afterwards, that all the persuasions of *Sukbir Para* daughter, were in vain, he orders the *Wazîr* to cause her to be seized,

A. D.  
1648.



coming from the bath, and brought to his palace; where having enjoyed her by compulsion for a few days, he sent her back with scorn to her father. The *Musti* filled with grief at this injury, dissembled it for a while; but at length telling his case to *Mehemed Pâshâ*, a principal member of the *divân*, and to the *Janizari Aga*, they resolve to depose *Ibrâhim*. Into this conspiracy, they prevail on the *Valade Soltâna*, or queen mother herself, to enter so far, as to consent, that her son should be confined for a while, in order to his reformation; and that the seal should be taken from *Ahmed*, and given to *Mehmed Pâshâ*.

Cited to  
appear.

AFTER this, several other great men being drawn into the plot, on the seventh of *August* 1648, the *Janizaries*, having in a manner forced the *Soltân* to confer the seal on *Mehemed*, and strangled the other *Wazîr*, next day demanded of the *Musti*, whether *Soltân Ibrâhim* himself, as a fool and tyrant, ought not to be deposed. That prelate answering in the affirmative, they thereupon required him to appear the next day at the *divân*, to administer justice to his soldiers and subjects. *Ibrâhim* laughed at this citation; and the same being seconded by a *setva*, from the *Musti*, importing, *that as the Soltân was called to account, he was obliged to appear before justice*, he tore the paper, and threatened the author of that sentence with the loss of his head. The *Musti*, far from being terrified by the menace, backed that *setva*, by another of a higher nature, which declared; *that whosoever obeyed not the law of God, was not a true believer, altho' the person should be the Soltân himself: but that being become a kafir, or infidel, by his actions, he was ipso facto fallen from the throne, and no farther capable of authority or government.*

Deposed  
and strangled.

*I B R A H I M*, on hearing this new *setva* pronounced, immediately ordered the prime *Wazîr* to take off that prelate's head: but this command was not obeyed, for by the last *setva* he had lost all authority. In short the *Janizaries*, about five the same evening, hastening in a tumultuous manner to the *Saray*, the *Soltân* lost all courage; and flying to the arms of his mother, begged her protection. She being a resolute and subtil woman, employed all her eloquence to persuade the soldiery to offer no violence to their sovereign; promising that he should abdicate the government, and retire with a guard to his old lodgings: which was accordingly performed. *Ibrâhim* for a few days bore his imprisonment with great patience: but at length growing desperate and furious, he often beat his head against the wall of his apartment; wherefore, on the 17th of the same month, he was strangled by four mutes.



THE *Turkish* historians, come to our hands, say nothing either of this *Soltân's* deposition, or the manner of his death : they only tell us, with equal brevity and obscurity, that while he was making great preparations for the reduction of the city of *Kandia*, he was on the 18th of *Rajeb*, 1058, removed out of the world, and crowned with martyrdom. But, whatever motives induced them to suppress the circumstances which attended the end both of his reign and life, we are told by Prince *Cantemir*, that the manners of this *Soltân*, as well as those of his predecessor *Morâd*, are fully described by the *Turks*; tho' at the peril of their heads. As *Morâd* was wholly addicted to wine, so *Ibrâhîm* was abandoned to his lust. They say he spent all his time in sensual pleasures; and used potions and art to restore nature, when exhausted. Every *Friday*, the *Turkish* sabbath, he dedicated to *Venus*; and had a beautiful virgin, richly dressed, brought him by his mother, the prime *Wazîr*, or some other great man. He covered the walls of his chamber with looking-glass, that his love-battles might seem to be acted in several places at once. He ordered his pillows to be stuffed with rich furs, that the bed designed for the imperial pleasures might be the more precious: nay, he put sable skins under him, in a notion, that his amorous desires would be inflamed, in case his love-toil was rendered more difficult by the glowing of his knees.

A. D.

1648.

Reckoned a  
martyr.His cha-  
racter.Abandoned  
to venery.

IN the palace garden called *Kbâs*, he frequently assembled all the young maiden ladies, and having made them strip themselves, and him, ran naked, neighing like a horse, among them; and, as it were, ravished one or other, kicking and struggling by his order. Happening on a time to see the privy parts of a wild female heifer, he sent the model of them in gold all over the empire, with orders to make enquiry, whether a woman, made just in that manner, could be found for him; which at last, they say, was done, and she received into the *Harâm*. He made a collection of great and voluminous books; expressing by pictures, the various ways of coition, and by their help, was sure to invent some new posture, never thought on before. Thus the public treasury, diminished by *Morâd's* drunkenness (D), was quite exhausted by *Ibrâhîm's* luxury and lust.

His a-  
morous  
frolics.

THE Christian historians tell us, that the continual apprehensions which he entertained of death, during his brother *Morâd's* reign, had so frozen his constitution, with a strange

For a  
while im-  
potent.

r CANT. p. 254.

(D) This is contrary to what the Christian writers say. See, before p. 408.

frigidity

A. D.  
1648.

frigidity towards women, that all the dalliances of the most beautiful ladies in the harâm could not for a whole year thaw it effectually. This was what at first occasioned the report of his impotency : and during that time, he attended to the affairs of government with much assiduity ; which gained him a great deal of reputation. But after his natural warmth had returned, as if it had acquired force from its long suppression, he quickly plunged himself wholly into sensual pleasures, and gave up the reins of government to his ministers.

*His person.*

As to his person, he had a large forehead ; a quick and lively eye ; his complexion was ruddy, and his features well proportioned : yet he had something in the air of his face, which promised no great abilities of mind. However, he was by nature of a gentle and easy temper <sup>1</sup>.

*His children.*

He left nine sons, *Selim* and *Othmân*, born in 1054 ; *Mohammed*, *Abmed*, *Soleyman*, *Morâd*, *Jehân Ghâr*, born in 1056 ; *Bâyezîd* and *Orkbân*, in 1058 : of these, *Mohammed*, *Soleyman*, and *Abmed*, came to the throne : the rest were excluded by an untimely death <sup>2</sup>.

## C H A P. XX.

*The Reign of Mohammed IV.*

## S E C T I.

*Transactions during this Soltân's Minority; with the Conquest of Kandia, and Kaminiek.*19 Soltân  
Moham-  
med IV.A. D.  
1649.

**I** B R A H I M being thus removed, the *Janizaries*, in the year 1058, and on the 8th of *Rajeb*, proclaim his son *Mohammed* (E), then but seven years old, and place him on the throne. In this tender age, he gave very sensible proofs of his future greatness, and of the hopes the *Othmâns* ought to conceive of him. The treasury, exhausted by his father's luxury, being replenished by the management of the *Wazîr*, *Kioprîli Mehmed Pâshâ* (F), and all intestine commotions appeased, he

<sup>1</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.<sup>2</sup> CANT. p. 254.

(E) His mother was the daughter of a Greek priest, brought from the *Morea*, before the law, by which the children of Christians were collected by

way of tribute, was abolished. CANT.

(F) The founder of the present most noble family, among the *Turks*, of *Kioprili Oglî*. In the

he strangles his grandmother, who had been privy to the rebellion of the *Janizaries*, and puts many of their accomplices to death. He recovers *Tenedos* and *Lemnos* from the *Venetians*; takes and beheads the rebellious *Pâshâ* of *Hâlep*, with his associates; and sends the *Wazîr* against *Yanowa*, which after a siege of few days is reduced.

A. D.  
1649.

WITH the same success, he wages war in *Hungary*, where in the year 1070, *Ali Pâshâ* assaults and takes *Waradin*. In 1074, the *Wazîr*, *Fazil Ahmed Kioprili Oglî* (G), subdues *Vivar*. He likewise declares war against, and vanquisheth *Rakosi* (or *Ragotski*), who died of wounds received in the battle; and over-running *Transylvania*, appoints *Mikbael Apafi*, prince of that country, under a certain tribute. The emperor of *Germany*, terrified at the progress made by the *Othmâns*, sends ambassadors to the *Wazîr*, suing for peace; and, promising to quit claim to whatever the *Turks* were possessed of, it is at length granted for twenty years, on the *Soltân's* own terms<sup>a</sup>.

*Affairs of  
Hungary,*

A. D.  
1659.

Hej. 1074

A. D.  
1663.

IN this cursory manner, the *Turkish* historians relate the transactions of the first fourteen years of *Mohammed's* reign; suppressing those, in which they met with bad success, and barely mentioning such as turned out to their advantage, apparently, that they might hasten to the siege of *Kandia*; the conquest of which is reckoned of so much honour and importance to their nation. But to acquit ourselves as impartial historians, it will be necessary, before we proceed with them, to lay before our readers, what the *Christian* authors take notice to have happened within that interval.

<sup>a</sup> CANT. p. 255.

the beginning of *Mohammed's*, reign, he, by reason of his poverty, lived very private, and seldom appeared abroad. Shortly after, the *Spahis* having in a sedition murdered the prime *Wazîr*, and all the *Pâshâs*, excepting this *Mehemed*, who escaped by his obscurity; the *Kislar Agâs*, and other officers, confer on him the *Wazîrship*; but the first thing the old fox did, was to lay a snare to cut off his benefactors. He likewise destroyed, in two years, all the mutineers. He enjoyed the post seven years, and at his death re-

commended his son *Ahmed*, as the fittest person to succeed him.

*Cant.*

(G) He was prime *Wazîr* 17 years; famous among the *Turks* for learning, prudence, and fortitude. He is said to have excelled all those of his time for eloquence. They say also, that if he had not been general in the expedition, *Kandia* could never have been taken. He is dignified by the *Turks* with grand titles. He was the only *Wazîr* who received that dignity from his father, and transmitted it to his son and grandson. *Cant.*

SOLTÂN

A. D. 1649. **SOLTAN** Mohammed was during his minority (which was to continue ten years longer) under the government of his mother, assisted with the council of twelve *Pâshâs*: they resolved to continue the war against the *Venetians*, who yet conceived some hopes of an accommodation, from the jars, attended with frequent skirmishes, which at this time happened between the *Janizaries* and *Spahis*; so much to the disadvantage of the latter, that none for a while dared to own that name, within the walls of *Constantinople*. But their hopes soon terminating with those disturbances, they diligently applied themselves to preparations for war, which was to be carried on, not only in *Kandia*, but also in *Dalmatia*, *Bosnia*, *Albania*, and the *Morea*: for tho' *Fosculo* was beaten off again to his shipping, near *Castle Nuevo*; yet he had better fortune in *Bosnia*, where he repulsed the enemy to the very gates of *Saray*, capital of the province, and took *Bisano* upon articles: but the *Turkish* army being at length reinforced, the *Venetians* were obliged to quit their new conquests, and retire home.

**Turks ill success.** MEAN time, the *Turks* in *Hungary*, making incursions into the emperor's territories, were overthrown by *Fergatz*, near *Buda*; the *Pâshâ* of which was taken prisoner, and his son slain. Nor had they better fortune in their attack on *Klissa*, which they left with dishonour, after the loss of five thousand men. The *Kosaks* also, during this interval, did much mischief in the *Black Sea*. Thus was the *Othmân* empire afflicted with misfortunes abroad, as well as intestine troubles at home; and the blame of all being thrown on the prime *Wazîr*, he was first displaced, and then, at the demand of the *Asiatick Spahis*, put to death.

**War in Kandia.** BUT, for all these disturbances, the *Turks* were very active to carry on their war in *Kandia*, whither they sent considerable supplies to *Husséyn Pâshâ*, the commander there in chief. A. D. 1650. The city of *Kandia* was at this time in a very bad state; when 600 men, with sixty knights, arriving from *Malta*, mounted the guard at fort *Martinengo*, which was the place of most danger; and altho' the *Turks*, in the fourth desperate attack, carried it by dint of sword, yet the knights returning, bravely recovered it, with the destruction of all the intruders. However, the *Turks* prevailing again, in their turn, the *Venetians* sprung their mines, and blew up the fort, with two thousand *Turks* into the air.

**The Turkish fleet** THE *Janizaries* and *Spahis* were still at ill terms together, at *Constantinople*; and the *Kâpudan Pâshâ* was so beaten and cooped up by the *Venetians*, within the *Dardanelis*, that he could not get out with his fleet; which so enraged the ministry, that they sent all the subjects of the republic, and even the

the *Bailo* himself, out of their dominions. At length, winter obliged the *Venetians* to withdraw, and leave the *Turkish* fleet at liberty to relieve their army in *Kandia*, which stood in great need of provisions. They were so intent on the war there, that next year they sent 1100 sail of all sorts, with necessaries. This fleet was followed by the *Venetians*, who forced several of their gallies into *Scio*, with the loss of *Mohammed*, *Pâshâ* of *Anatolia*, sent to succeed *Hussfeyn*, who was made prime *Wazîr* \*.

A. D.  
1651.

ON the tenth of *July*, the *Turks* gave a signal of defiance to the *Venetians*, who presently came to a close engagement; in which, the *Kâpudân Pâshâ*, being slain by a cannon ball, threw the whole fleet into disorder, and fled. Mean time the gallies, which were towing-off the heavier ships, being chased to *Mocenigo*, the captain-general quickly left them to shift for themselves: but the *Turks*, rather than fall into his hands, blew up five; the rest were taken. In short, not a ship remained in sight, but what was either seized, sunk, or burnt. A few days after, they had no less success against another fleet, of which they took thirty-nine gallies, twenty-three ships, three galleasses, with three thousand soldiers on board.

MEAN time, the dissention encreased among the soldiery; which was hardly quieted, when news arrived of two rebellions at the same time, one at *Damaskus*, the other at *Grand Kayro*. How to suppress these dangerous commotions, employed the thoughts of the divân, this year and the next; which gave the *Venetians* some time to breathe, and reinforce themselves in *Kandia*. But in 1654, the *Pâshâ* of *Buda*, being made captain *Pâshâ*, fitted out a good fleet; and altho' in an encounter with the *Venetians*, at the mouth of the *Dardanel*s, he lost six thousand men, with seven of his vessels; yet he broke thro' their fleet, and landed twelve thousand soldiers in *Kandia*. On this occasion, the admiral so extolled his own merit, and vilified the *Wazîr* to the council; that they sent of an officer to take off his head, and put the accuser in his place. Yet the latter falling sick and infirm soon after, the *Pâshâ* *Hâlep* was pitched on, to succeed him in the command in *Kandia*; but in his way thither, his fleet, fitted out with great expence, was overthrown by the *Venetians*.

A. D.  
1654.A. D.  
1655.

HEREUPON, a treaty was set on foot with the *Bailo*: but the ministry insisting on the intire surrender of *Kandia*, it broke off. However, on the tumults, raised by the merchants and tradesmen, in which the *Wazîr* fell a sacrifice, the negotiation was renewed; yet came to nothing a second time, by the *Turks* demanding the payment of ten millions, for the charges

\* RICAUT, in Mahomet 4.

A. D. of the war. Mean time, the *Spahis* and *Janizaries* at Constantinople, joining together, pretended to reform the abuses of the state. Entering armed into the divân, they deposed the prime *Wazîr*; turned out several other officers; made the *Misfi* flee to *Jerusalem*; and went so far, as to propose de-throning the *Soltân* himself. Then entering the palace, they broke open the treasury, and carried two millions away with them. At length, the sedition beginning to subside, *Soltân Mohammed* advanced to the *Wazîrship* the *Pâshâ* of *Damaskus*: this was the famous *Kuperli* (or *Kyuprili*): the *Pâshâ* of *Silistria*, was made captain *Pâshâ*; and *Husséyn* confirmed in his government of *Kandia*.

Fleet destroyed.

Lemnos taken,

and recovered.

AND now to prosecute the war in that island, the *Turks* fitted out a great fleet: but, as soon as it sailed out of the *Dardaneles*, the *Venetians*, who waited for them, began the attack, whence ensued a terrible fight. And, altho' the captain general *Marcello* was slain; yet the proveditor so vigorously prosecuted the victory, that of sixty light gallies, twenty-eight ships, and nine galeasses, none escaped being either taken, sunk, or burnt, excepting eighteen gallies. The *Venetians*, animated by this success, in four days time took *Tenedos*, and afterwards *Lemnos*. The ministry, considering that the loss of these islands, especially the first, would be attended with great inconveniences, sent a numerous fleet to besiege the fortress: but putting into *Scio*, to wait for ten gallies from *Barbary*, with a great number of *Saiks* under their convoy, the *Venetian* general intercepted and burnt the ships, with many of the *Saiks*; and killed one thousand *Turks*. Hereupon another fleet was fitted out; but altho' the *Venetians* defeated that also (with the loss, however, of their own valiant captain-general *Mocenigo*) yet they repaired it again; and, coming before *Tenedos*, in the end of *July*, it was deserted by the besieged, who thought it not tenable. But *Lemnos* held out two months, and then was surrendered on articles. Hereupon, *Soltân Mohammed* proposed to make peace with the republic, on surrendering *Kandia*, with the fortress of *Kliffa* in *Dalmatia*, and paying three millions, for the expences of the war: but those conditions were rejected.

Rebellion in Asia.

A. D. 1658.

A. D. 1659.

THE brother-in-law of the *Pâshâ* of *Hâlep*, arriving with his troops at *Adrianople*, which was the rendezvous of the army destined for *Dalmatia*, the prime *Wazîr* put him to death: hereupon, the *Pâshâ* in great fury sets forward, at the head of forty thousand men, to demand the head of *Kuperli*, and four others; at the same time, carrying with him a young man, whom he affirmed to be the son of *Soltân Morâd*, and whose right to the throne he undertook to establish. The rebels at length drawing near to *Skutari*, and by this time four-

score

score thousand strong, the *Wazîr* passed over into *Asia*, with a numerous army: but being met by the *Pâshâ*, was totally routed, and all his cannon, as well as baggage taken. This alarm made it necessary for the *Soltân* himself to go over, and join the *Wazîr*, whose united forces making seventy thousand men, the *Pâshâ* proposed an accommodation: but imprudently consenting to meet in a private place, at some distance from his camp, *Mortâza*, who was sent to treat with him, overpowered and strangled him, with seventeen of his accomplices, which was no sooner known in his army, than they dispersed.

A. D.

1659.

THE *Venetians* all this while were not idle in *Kandia*; for having received a reinforcement of four thousand *French* foot, after the peace of the *Pyrenees*, they quickly took *Kalamo*, *Kalegrô*, and *Epikarno*. After this, they proceeded to besiege *Kanea*; but the place being reinforced with three thousand men, they gave over the enterprize, in expectation to beat the *Turks* out of *New Kandia*, lately built by them, near the old city of that name, in order to strengthen it; where we shall leave them for a while, to see how the affairs of the *Othmans* went on in other countries.

A. D.

1660.

THE rendezvous for the army, designed against the emperor of *Germany*, was at *Belgrade*; where the prime *Wazîr* falling sick, he sent orders to *Halîl Pâshâ*, general of the forces in *Hungary*, to hasten the siege of *Waradin*, which was begun the 4th of *July*: but, altho' the *Turks* soon approached to the counterscarp, and made breaches in the walls; yet they found the ditch so wide, and full of water, that they could not get to storm them, till a woman captive shewed them how the citizens used to drain it. However, they bravely repulsed their attacks till the 20th of *August*; when, being reduced very low, they surrendered on articles, and marched out with ensigns of honour. The *Transilvanians*, resenting this loss, depose *Barklay* their prince, a favourite of the *Turks*, and constituting *Kemenius* in his room, crave the assistance of the emperor, to whom they give up *Zekelid*, *Khowar*, *Giula*, and other places.

Affairs of  
Hungary.

HEREUPON *Montecuculi*, joining *Kemenius* with a considerable army, would have drawn *Ali Pâshâ* to a battle. This the *Pâshâ* for the present declined: but having set up *Mikhael Apafi*, for prince of *Transylvania*, to whom the people revolted in great numbers, he took the opportunity to attack the imperialists, discouraged by that event, with such success, that he slew and took fifty thousand persons, and drove *Kemenius* out of the country; who, gathering more forces, was

Germans  
defeated.

A. D.

1661.

A. D. 1661. defeated a second time. This animated the victors to besiege *Clausenburg*; but on the approach of the general *Schemidau*, out of *Hungary*, they raised it as hastily.

Kiopri  
dies:

THIS year a great plague happened at *Constantinople*: and towards winter, the prime *Wazîr*, *Kuperli*, being in a declining state, obtained a grant of the *Soltân*, not only that his son *Ahmed* should assist him; but also (what was unusual) succeed him in his office; as he in fact did, on the 19th of *October*, on which day his father died. While the new *Wazîr* was taken up with removing some officers, who were his enemies, and banishing the *Musîi* to *Gallipoli*; the war went slowly on against the *Venetians*, who on their side destroyed five gallies at *Milo*, and took the fortress there.

A. D.  
1662.  
his son  
succeeds.

NEXT year, the *Algerines* complained to the *Porte*, against the proceedings of the *English* fleet, under the earl of *Sandwich*, before *Algiers*: but were baffled in their suit, by the earl of *Winchelsea*, then ambassador at *Constantinople*; where the *Soltân* proved very burdensome to his subjects, by his extravagant way of hunting; in which, thirty or forty thousand men were appointed to beat the woods for him, for three or four days together. Mean time, the *Wazîr Ahmed* was employed in removing his enemies, among whom, none disturbed him more, than *Mortâza*, *Pâshâ* of *Bâghdâd*. *Mortâza*, being at length displaced, retired to the king (or prince) of the *Kurdi*, whose daughter he had married: but, while the *Wazîr* prepared to force that king to surrender him up, unexpected troubles broke out in *Georgia*. When *Soltân Soleymân* had taken *Arzerûm*, it was agreed, that of the seven princes of *Georgia*, three should be tributary to the *Turks*, and three to the *Persians*, all governed by *Achik Pash*, as supreme prince, to whom the seventh should also be subjected, without being dependant on either of the two powers. But at this time the governor dying, his widow married again, and to oblige her new husband, was content to have her own son set aside, and his eyes put out. Hereupon, the three provinces, under the *Persians*, chose a new governor; which the *Turks* being offended at, they elected another, descended from the former. But this storm blowing over, by the establishment of a person, to the liking of both parties, the *Turkish* forces were turned against *Mortâza*, who was then in the castle of *Zizri*, belonging to those *Kurdi* called *Yezidi* (A). The army arriving at the pass commanded by that castle, five hundred *Turks* entered it: but were quickly put to flight by the *Kurdi*; who,

Mortâza  
Pâshâ  
slain.

(A) They have a religion of their own, and are reckoned atheists by the *Mohammedans*.



purſuing them, left the paſs open : hereupon the *Turks* ſeized it, and laying ſiege to the caſtle, required *Mortáza* to be delivered up. The beſieged, to free themſelves from the danger, ſoon complied, and the *Páſhá's* head was immediately ſtruck off.

A. D.  
1667.

*Fleet de-  
ſtroyed.*

THE Chriſtians, having rebuilt the churches burnt down at *Conſtantinople*, in the great fire in 1660, contrary to the prime *Wazír's* command, and the *Turkiſh* laws, under preſence of dwellings, and warehouses ; that miniſter in a rage ordered them to be demolſhed, and the reſtorers imprifoned. About this time alſo, he reformed the coin, which had been greatly clipped by the *Jews*, *Armenians*, merchants, and others. This year the *Turkiſh* fleet, bound to *Alexandria*, conſiſting of ſeventeen ſhips, and thirty-ſeven ſaiks, richly laden, under the convoy of ſix gallies, in its paſſage near *Rhodes*, was encountered by the *Venetians*, who ſunk and took twenty-eight ſaiks, and four of the ſhips, with many priſoners of note.

ALL this while, the preparations for war againſt the *Ger- War in  
mans* went on : but the emperor, not inclined to embroil Hungary.  
himſelf, ſent to treat with the *Páſhá* of *Buda*, about continuing the peace. Yet, when all points ſeemed to be agreed on, in *February* following, the horſetail was erected before the prime *Wazír's* gate ; and next month, the *Soltán* and he ſet forward with the army, towards *Sofia* ; where a meſſenger who arrived from the emperor, was reſuſed an audience, and detained in the camp. The *Tatars* were ordered to ſend one hundred thouſand men to *Hungary* ; but had great difficulty to obey that command, on account of the *Koſaks*, who infeſted them, and threatened *Aſak* (or *Aſof*) their capital city. They had likewise one hundred and fifty ſail in the *Euxine* ſea, where they carried all before them : but moſt of them having been caſt away, on the coaſt of *Mingrelia*, the reſt were forced to retreat into the *Boriſthenes*, by twelve *Turkiſh* gallies.

A. D.  
1663.

THE *Wazír*, *Ahmed*, being come to the *Danúbe*, began to paſs his army : but the bridge of boats breaking, when about four thouſand had gotten over ; *Forgatz*, governor of *New Heuſel*, marched in the night with eight thouſand men, to attack them ; which he did with great ſlaughter : but the noiſe reaching the groſs of the army, which, unknown to him, had now gotten over, they drew up, and ſurrounding this ſmall body, cut them all off, only the commander, and a few more eſcaping. *Montecuculi*, governor of *Raab*, being informed by *Forgatz* of this defeat, ſent him a thouſand men ; who would have been intercepted by the *Turks*, had not that officer deluded them, by erecting a white flag, as if he deſigned a treaty : but when the ſuccours were ſafely gotten into the

*Germans.  
defeated.*

A. D. 1663. place, the white flag was changed to colours of defiance, to the great surprise and anger of the enemy.

New  
Hawfel  
taken.

HEREUPON, the *Wazîr* invested the city; and having from two batteries, mounted with one hundred pieces of cannon, terribly annoyed the place, they made a furious assault on the 14th of *August*, but were repulsed with great loss. On the 28th, a breach being made in the walls, they attempted a second storm, but were forced to retire, after a very great slaughter of them: and altho', ten days after, they planted an ensign on the rampier, yet they were beaten back, and five thousand slain. But in the middle of *September*, the chief magazine of powder happening to blow up, the officers agreed to surrender, on condition of being conducted to *Komorra*, after they had held out about forty-three days, and destroyed fifteen thousand of the enemy; among whom were the *Beglerbeks* of *Romania* and *Anatolia*, with two other *Pâshâs*, the *Aga* of the *Spahis*, and twenty-five captains.

Serini's  
bravery.

AFTER this, the *Othmâns* took *Leventz*; which so terrified *Presburg*, that it seemed inclined to submit. It was expected that the *Wazîr* would have done still greater things this year: instead of that, he failed in his attempt on *Schinta*, the imperial magazine of arms and artillery. However, he presently reduced *Novigrade*, and then returned to winter at *Belgrade*; sending thirty thousand *Turks* and *Tatars*, to ravage *Stiria* and *Kroatia*. Count *Serini*, on their sudden approach, with four hundred and eighty men, who were all he could raise, posted himself at the river *Muer*, if possible, to stop their passage. On perceiving two thousand who had gotten over, he fell on so vigorously, that they were soon routed; and missing the ford, most of them who escaped the sword, perished in the water; which so amazed those on the other side, that they made no farther attempt that way.

Burnt Es-  
sek bridge,

A. D.  
1664.

takes Five  
Churches.

THE count, having after this gotten together an army of twenty-five thousand men, in the beginning of the year 1664, took *Berzenkhe* and *Bakokza*. He then marched to *Essek*, and having defeated six thousand *Turks*, took the *Palanka*, at the foot of that famous bridge, and burnt the bridge itself: which however, to their surprise, the *Turks* rebuilt in forty days time. After this, on the 5th of *February*, he took *Five Churches* by storm, and put all the inhabitants to the sword: then laid siege to the fortress of *Sigeth* (or *Ziget*) famous for the attempt made on it by *Soleymân* the magnificent, with six hundred thousand men: but when he had reduced it also to the last extremity, the approach of a considerable body of *Turks* and *Tatars* to relieve it, made him draw off his forces. On advice of these successes, the *Wazîr* detached part of his army

army to besiege *Serinswar*: but the count, with all the force he could raise, lying in ambush, surprised and defeated them, killing above two thousand, and taking many prisoners <sup>2</sup>.

A. D.  
1664.

*SÉRINI*, on the first of *May*, laid siege to *Kanisia*, His castle which he pushed with great vigour: but *Montecuculi*, the German general, delaying to support him, on the approach of the *Wazîr* by the bridge of *Essék*, he retreated towards *Serinswar*, leaving some ammunition to the enemy; who presently, with 30,000 men, invested that place. Mean time the count joined *Montecuculi*; and urged him to fight the *Turks*: but that general, instead of complying, entering into *Serini's* fort, dispossessed the governor, and cleared the garrison of the count's forces; which so offended him, that he left the camp, and retired home. The *Turks*, taking advantage of these delays, on the 9th of *June* blew up a half moon; which so terrified the besieged, that in their fright they left a sally-port open: whereat the enemy entering, the garrison, consisting of nineteen hundred men, fled over the bridge; which breaking, many were drowned, and the rest slain. As for *Serinswar*, it was razed to the ground.

To counter-balance this loss, count *Soise* recovered *Nitra*, Count Soise's success.

lately taken from the imperialists: and, having twice defeated above fourteen thousand *Turks*, with great slaughter, *Levintz* surrendered also. This last place, the *Walakian* and *Moldavian* forces, joining with some *Turks* and *Tatars*, determined to recover: but after losing two thousand men, on the approach of count *Soise*, the 16th of *July*, they marched off to fight him. The imperialists having in the first volley poured a shower of shot on their main body, they fled, leaving the two wings to an unequal battle, who quickly after fled also, and left their cannon, as well as baggage. They lost many more by the pursuit; and those who escaped, being denied a passage at *Gran*, over the *Danube*, the *Moldavians* and *Walakhians* forced their princes to return home; while *Hussyn Pâshâ* fled to *New Hausel*, after he had lost six thousand men, out of eight and twenty thousand, to one hundred and fifty of the imperialists. There were taken four thousand carts, with ammunition and provision; one hundred colours, and twelve pieces of cannon; besides tents, arms, horses, camels, and other booty. They gave no quarter to any, except seven hundred *Moldavians*, and *Walakhians*, in order to hang them, with their muskets about their necks. After this, count *Soise* took and burnt *Barkam*, a palanka opposite to *Gran*.

The Turks  
defeated.

MEAN time, the two main armies under the *Wazîr* and *Montecuculi*, did nothing but observe each other's motions. At

Over-  
thrown  
again,

<sup>2</sup> RICAUT, *ibid*.

A. D.  
1664.

length, on the first of *August*, one half of the *Turkish* army crossed the *Raab*, the *Wazir* designing to pass over with the rest the next day: but altho' the great rains which ensued prevented his passage, by swelling the river, he was not uneasy, as the troops which had crossed were equal at least to the imperialists: however they proved not to be their match; for *Montecuculi* not giving them time to intrench, fell on them the third in the morning, with great fury, and continued the fight till four in the afternoon, with various fortune. During that time, the waters being abated, the *Spahis* forded them in several places, and charged the imperial left wing, while the *Janizaries* threw up earth, to secure the passage of the rest.

by Monte-  
cuculi.

THIS being observed by the general, he thought at first to found a retreat; but perceiving that the trench was only just begun, he drew up the body of his army in form of a half moon, and furiously attacked the *Janizaries*; while the horse encountered the *Spahis*, with such bravery, that the *Turks* began to give ground. At this instant, an outcry being heard, that count *Serini* had assaulted the *Wazir's* camp, on the other side, they were so terrified, that they betook themselves to a shameful flight, after they had lost eight thousand men on the field of battle; and above as many more were drowned in the river. Nay, the *Turks* themselves acknowledged, in our author's hearing, that since the *Othmân* empire came to its greatness, the *Turks* had never suffered any slaughter or disgrace equal to this. They lost sixteen pieces of cannon, one hundred and twenty-six colours, with the grand *Wazir's* standard, five thousand simeters, with many horses. The imperialists on their part, had near three thousand men slain; among whom were the count of *Nassau*, and some others of note.

Peace con-  
cluded.

THIS victory inclining the *Wazir* as much to a peace, as the *Germans* were before inclined to it, a negotiation was set on foot, and soon concluded, with the imperial resident in the camp. The chief articles were; "that prince *Apafi* should hold *Transylvania*, paying the *Soltân* six hundred thousand dollars, for the expences of the war: that the emperor might fortify *Gutta* and *Nitra*; and the provinces of *Zatmar* and *Zaboli* to revert to him: *Zekhelid* to be demolished; and *Waradin*, and *New Hâusel*, to remain to the *Soltân*." *Mohammed* all this while resided at *Adriânople*, the disgust he had taken to the imperial city, increasing every day; and having now a son of his own, would have put his brother *Soleymân* to death, had not the *Mufti* refused to grant a *fatwa* for the purpose.

Rebellion  
at Kayro.

WE must not omit to inform our readers, that while count *Serini* besieged *Kanisia*, a kind of rebellion broke out at *Kayro*

*Kayro* in *Egypt*, among the *Beys*: who having very great power in that country, seized *Ibrâhim Pâshâ*, when his three years government were nearly expired; and having imprisoned him, demanded no less than three thousand purses for his releasement. Hereupon the *Soltân* sent over the master of his horse, who soon brought matters to an amicable agreement, and obtained *Ibrâhim's* liberty.

A. D.  
1664.

NEXT year Count *Lestey* the imperial ambassador arriving at *Buda*, in *May* he set out with the *Wazîr Ahmed* for the *Porte*; and on the last of *June* came within six hours of *Adrianople*, whither *Soltân Mohammed*, who seemed to doat on the *Wazîr*, sent his favourite to meet him, with a present of five horses richly adorned, and feasted him on the way. He was so impatient for his company, that he ordered him to come privately before the day of his public entry, kissed him on the shoulder, and honoured him with a *Topâz*, or mace of gold, studded with precious stones, besides a sword, dagger, and other things of value. In the ambassador's retinue there came a nobleman of *Genoa*, to negotiate a treaty of friendship and commerce with the *Porte*; which was granted, much to the displeasure of *M. de la Haye* the *French* ambassador.

A. D.  
1665.

The Wazîr benamoured.

LET us now, after a long respite, return to the *Turkish* Great preparations historians. According to them, the peace with the emperor being concluded, *Mohammed* resolves to renew, with more vigour the *Kandian* war, which, on account of other affairs, had hitherto proceeded but slowly. His father *Ibrâhim* had reduced the whole island (as well as expelled almost all the old inhabitants), excepting the city of *Kandia*; which being exceeding strong, both by nature and art, had often baffled the attempts of the *Musulmân* forces. But as the possession of the country could not be reckoned sure, so long as a port was open to receive the enemy, whenever they pleased to invade it, *Mohammed* resolved to employ the whole forces of his empire to make himself master of that place.

THE care of this expedition was intrusted to the *Wazîr* against *Ahmed Kioprili Oglî Pâshâ*, who having prepared every thing for a long siege during the winter, in the spring of the year 1076 assembles all the forces, with which he marches to *Termes* (I), where he embarks for *Khania*; and landing his army, places them in winter quarters<sup>b</sup>.

Kandia:  
Hejrah  
1076.  
A. D.  
1663.

<sup>a</sup> RICAUT, *ibid*.

<sup>b</sup> CANT. p. 258.

(I) A poor town in *Thessaly*, on the coasts of the *Archipelago*, called by the modern *Greeks* *Thermas*, and by the antient *Therma*, giving name to the *Sinus Thermaicus*. Cant. According to *Ricaut*, he embarked his army at *Malvasia*, in the year 1666.

A. D.  
1666.Sabatay  
Sevi

HERE let us leave them awhile, to speak of certain transactions not mentioned by the *Turkish* authors before us. The year 1666 affords a remarkable instance of imposture and superstition, in the case of *Sabatay Seva*, the pretended messiah of the *Jews*. This man, the son of a broker of *Smyrna* (K), being banished for a tumult in the synagogue there, wandered over *Greece* for a time, and then went to *Jerusalem*. There he met with one *Nathan*, a subtle fellow, who taking upon him to be *Sabatay's* prophet, had the impudence to declare, *that, within a twelvemonth, the messiah should appear before the Soltân, and take the crown from his head.* At the same time *Sabatay* preaching repentance to the *Jews* at *Gaza*, his fame spread far and near among that people, who flocked to him in multitudes on the way to *Smyrna*; where he openly assumed the title of messiah, and published his declaration thereof to all the nations of the *Jews*. The mortifications and other extravagancies committed by that infatuated people were astonishing. They believed the most improbable stories of him. Some invented miracles in his favour, and others swore to be witnesses to them; while almost all believed them, and were ready to tear in pieces those who did not: for there are, even among the *Jews*, some men of understanding and discernment.

a counter-  
feit mes-  
siah.

AT length the impostor declared that he was called by God to visit *Constantinople*: but, at his arrival, the *Wazir* had him seized and clapped up in prison. Yet this did not cure the phrenzy of the *Jews*; whose numbers and madness daily increased to such a degree, that the *Soltân* at last ordered him to be brought into his presence. No pen can describe their confidence on this occasion, in asserting the power of their pretended messiah, and the wonders which he would perform. But here the farce at once ended: for *Mohammed*, demanding a miracle in proof of his mission, put it to this issue, that he should be stripped naked for his archers to shoot at, and promised, in case the arrows did not pierce his body, that he himself would acknowledge him to be the messiah. This was a very fair proposal, but *Sabatay* chose rather to confess himself a cheat, and turn *Mohammedan*, than stand the trial. Yet even this could not convince his incorrigible followers: for most of them, through stupidity or perverseness, affirmed that it was

(K) The history of this impostor, written by Sir Paul Ricaut, was first published in 1669, in a book, intituled *The history of the three late famous impostors; Padre Ottomane and*

*Mohammed Bey* being the other two, It was reprinted in 16 3, with some useful matters prefixed, in the *Two journeys to Jerusalem*, 12°.

only

only his shadow which appeared in a *Turkish* dress, but that his body was taken up into heaven, there to reside till the time appointed for the accomplishment of those wonders was come.

A. D.  
1666.

THE *Tatars* having about the beginning of the next year made incursions into *Poland*, the republic sent an ambassador to make complaint to the *Porte*; where it was quickly agreed, that no compensation should be demanded on account of those incursions: that the *Poles* should not make war on the *Kosacks*, lately revolted from them to the *Soltân*: that they should forthwith declare war against the *Russians*: and that the *Turks* should have free trade to *Poland*. This affair being over, and the rebellion raised by the *Pâshâ* of *Basrah* (L) suppressed, the *Wazîr* began with vigour to prosecute the conquest of *Kandia*. But before we proceed with the Christian historians, let us hear what the *Turkish* say concerning this important expedition.

Hejrah  
1077.  
A. D.  
1666.

WHEN all things were ready, the next year, on the 18th of *Zilkaadeh* 1077, the *Wazîr* sails from *Kbania*, and landing his men without opposition at the village *Kawlokhhor*, near *Kandia*, marks out the ground to encamp in. Next day he views the places about the city: then in a council of officers it was determined to undermine the *Red Tower*, and after battering the walls, make the first attempt on that side.

HEREUPON, in the end of next month, the last in the year, the city is invested, and the siege begun, the like whereof never had been seen, nor perhaps ever will. Many years preparations are employed: fresh troops supply the place of the slain: while the soldiers, declining the danger, are compelled by threats and blows to renew the charge. For the besieged, joining all their courage to the strength of the place, fought like determined men for nineteen months incessantly; being frequently relieved with fresh supplies by the *French* and *Venetians*, to which latter it belonged. Every inch of ground is gained by the blood of many heroes slain on both sides. When the walls are battered down, and mounted by the besiegers, new walls are instantly raised by the enemy. And thus the *Othmâns*, who imagined, that in entering the breaches, their dangers were at an end, are almost reduced to despair, by the sight of new obstacles, no less difficult to surmount than those which they had just then with so much loss subdued.

At length, the *Othmâns* being now quite tired out and spiritless, what could hardly be effected by force of arms, is

RICAUT in Mahomet IV.

(L) Corruptly in the text called *Balsora*, by others *Bassora*. brought

A. D.  
1660.

brought about by *Panaïot* (M), the *Tarjimân* (or interpreter) of the court; who, by an artful speech, persuaded the governor (N) of the city to surrender, on certain conditions, the last but strongest fortresses to which the garrison had retired. The *Wazîr*, in the beginning of the month *Jomazîa'lawel* in the year 1080, takes possession of *Kandia*, deserted by the *Venetians*, and annexes to the *Othmân* empire a city renowned for many ages, the eighth wonder of the world, and which nature seemed to have fortified against all assaults, after a war of twenty-four years; wherein, according to the best *Turkish* historians, above two hundred thousand (O) *Othmâns* were slain.

A. D.  
1669.

THIS is the *Turkish* account, which does great honour to the Christians, and ascribes the *Wazîr's* success at last not to force but artifice. But we must have recourse to the Christian authors for the particulars of this remarkable siege. The city was then fortified with seven great bastions, *Sabionera*, *Vetturi*, *Jesus*, *Martinengo*, *Bethlem*, *Panigra*, and *St. Andrea*. These were all encompassed with a broad and deep ditch, defended by ravelins, of which the first was that of *St. Spirito*: the ravelin of *Panigra*, flanked to the right with the half-moon of *Mocenigo*: next followed the ravelin of *Bethlem*, bordering on the work of *St. Mary's*, which to the left had the ravelin of *St. Nicholas*, and this joined to the fortification of

Is  
strength.

h CANT. p. 258.

(M) His true name was *Panagiotes*. No Christian before ever did, or after him it is thought ever will, enjoy so much credit as he did in the *Turkish* court. He was to the *Wazîr*, what *Ulysses* was to the *Greeks*. He was never known to have been mistaken in his advice or judgment of things. His bringing the brave and wise *Morosini*, to surrender *Kandia*, after holding out 24 years, was a proof of his great dexterity in managing affairs. By these means, he acquired such favour with the *Turks*, that he ventured to dispute, before the *Wazîr Ahmed*, about the law, with *Vanli Effendi*, the most learned among the *Turks*, and no less skilled in the Christian than the *Turkish* religion, formerly tutor to the *Sol-*

*tân Mohammed*. The dispute is inserted in *de la Croix's* commentaries on the eastern churches. He is also famous for his skill in astrology, and knowledge of future events, of which our author *Cantemir* gives two or three instances.

(N) This was *Francisco Morosini*, mentioned in the preceding note; afterwards famous for subduing the *Morcia*. On his return, he was created doge of *Venice*. Cant.

(O) That is, soldiers on the list, exclusive of others, who might have amounted to as many more. The *Venetians* own this war cost them above an hundred millions of gold crowns. Cant. The Christian writers compute 900,000 *Turks* slain during that time. Ricant.

the



*de Palma*. Next to *de Palma* was the ravelin of *Priuli*, with the redoubt of *Crepa-cuore*, and over all was the royal fort of *St. Demetrio*, which commanded the work of *Molino* and *Sabionera* to the very sea. A. D. 1667.

THE 14th of May the Turkish army, consisting of about seventy thousand men, encamped over against *St. Mary's* along the valley of *Gioffire*, on which side began the first traverses, which were carried on to the sea-side. The grand *Wazîr* took his quarters over against *Panigra*; the *Janizar Aga* opposite to *Martinengo*; and the other *Pâshâs* at other places. After this they raised three batteries, facing the bastions of *Martinengo*, *Panigra*, and *Bethlem*, shooting bullets of sixty, ninety, and one hundred and twenty pounders. The besieged within posted themselves accordingly: the marquis *Villa*, governor and general of the infantry, had his quarters at the bulwark of *Jesus*: the proveditor-general of the kingdom, at *Martinengo*: and *Giacomo Contarini*, duke of *Kandia*, in the fort of *Sabionera*: and the other officers at proper posts, *The siege begins.*

THE city being thus invested on all sides but that towards the sea, the besieged began to disturb the enemy with their sallies and mines, six of which were sprung with good success, at the angle of the half-moon of *Mocenigo*. Notwithstanding this, the *Turks* advanced so well to the borders of *Panigra*, that they sprung some mines likewise though, to little effect, except one, and then made a most furious assault at the breach, but were repulsed; as they were afterwards at another breach in the half-moon, by a dreadful mine, which opened a gap for eight men to enter abreast. Both parties went on mining and attacking with various success; and the besieged, having received three reinforcements, of about five hundred men each, made some successful sallies. At length, towards the end of *October*, the *Wazîr*, urged by a letter and presents from *Soltân Mohammed*, caused a furious assault to be given, chiefly on the side of *Panigra*; so that the *Turks*, having planted six of their colours on the ruins of that work, ventured to descend into the ditch. But many of them being blown up by three mines, which contained seventy barrels of powder, their progress for that time was stopped. *Carried on with*

Now winter coming on, hostilities began to flag, and some proposals of peace to go forward: but as these came to nothing, the *Turks*, in spring following, made great preparations in all their ports to furnish their camp with provisions, and recruited their army with seventy thousand men. The besieged likewise being reinforced with some men, the garrison were reckoned to be four thousand strong. Mean time the besiegers raised a battery on the side of *Lazaretto*; which so offended the port, that ships could neither enter nor abide there *with various success.*

A. D.  
1668.

A. D.  
1668.

there. They likewise erected another by fort *St. Andrea*, which much annoyed *Tramata*, another harbour for small craft. After this, in a dark night, passing along the sea-side, they fixed a cable to the pallisade of *St. Andrea*, and having torn it down with an engine, continued to advance their lines that way. But the besieged making a sally, forced them to retreat to their trenches, and overthrew certain redoubts and traverses; for which piece of service the general rewarded every soldier with fifty *Chekins*.

St. An-  
drea bas-  
tion

THIS success gave the besieged an opportunity to finish their platform on the side of the ditch adjoining to the bulwark of *St. Andrea*. However, the *Turks* with invincible patience battered the little tower of *Priuli*, with the curtain and ravelin of *St. Andrea*, as well as employed all their power to fill the ditch: and although a very successful sally was made on the 29th of *February*, yet they still went on with their works against that bastion. This was the state of the siege, when the brave marquis of *Villa* being recalled by the duke of *Savoy*, the command was conferred on the marquis of *St. Andrea Montbrun*, a *French* nobleman. By this time the earth was grown so porous, with the number of works, mines, and traverses, that the light of the mines on one side, glimmering into the traverses of the other party, discovered where they were; so that it became a trade to steal powder from each other. However, the besieged sprung a mine on the 1st of *December*, which overthrew the enemies battery against *St. Andrea*, and buried all their cannon.

closely  
pressed.

AMONG the many volunteers, which the length and fame of the siege brought to *Kandia*, one was *M. la Feuillade*, duke of *Roanez*, with a body of men divided into four brigades, under so many noblemen. These made so brisk a sally, headed by the duke, who behaved very gallantly, that they broke through the main body of the enemies force; but penetrating too far, were obliged to retreat with considerable loss. About this time also the besieged received a reinforcement of three thousand three hundred *Lunenburg* troops; yet they were so hard put to it for want of men, that the captain-general *Morosini* disarmed several galleys to supply them. Mean while they sprung a great many mines with good success; and towards the end of the year made a sally at *Sabionera*, wherein they slew near three thousand *Turks*; and taking a battery, dismounted and nailed their cannon.

General  
assault.

THE besiegers having gained considerably on the fort of *St. Andrea* to the east, pressed hard, with ten thousand men, on the bastion of *Sabionera* to the west; and one night gave a

\* RICAUT. ubi supra.

general assault, with all their forces, on those two bastions, that of *Panigra*, and the great fort of *St. Demetrio*; but received three repulses, with great confusion and slaughter. Not long after, the marquis of *Cornaro*, with baron *Spar*, arriving with a recruit of three thousand men, they made a resolute sally, in which they killed above two thousand of the enemy.

A. D.  
1668.

MEAN time, the Soltán having removed to *Larissa*, to be nearer the seat of war, Signor *Molino* arrived from *Venice* with proposals of peace: but he was told nothing would do, unless he had brought the keys of *Kandia* with him; for *Mohammed* was resolved to have that city at all events; and his *Wazir* pressed the siege exceeding hard. He caused it now to be twice stormed at four several bastions, which cost the lives of thirty thousand *Turks*; and such a number of mines was sprung, that the ground lay open like a vast abyss.

BUT *St. Andrea* and *Sabionera* being reckoned the most weak, because not fortified by any considerable outworks, or encompassed with deep ditches, the *Turks* pressed upon them more earnestly than any other parts. Having raised some batteries on the heaps of earth, they advanced foot by foot upon the ravelin of *St. Andrea*, which at length they blew up; and penetrating into the ditch with four traverses, came to the very foot of the wall of the bulwark. This was defended by eighteen pieces of cannon, six of which, being fifty pounders, shot into the ditch; for all this, they stormed the walls in nine different places, and in short penetrated almost to the gate of *St. Andrea*, laying open a breach ninety paces wide, as far as the sea. So that at last the besieged were forced to quit the outworks, and confine themselves within the walls of the city; which was still more distressed by an unlucky shot, that set a magazine of ammunition on fire. Thus ended the year.

The out-  
works taken.

NEXT spring the *Turks* renewed the assaults upon fort *St. Andrea*, and penetrated forty paces within the city walls: but the besieged, knowing the weakness of the place on that side, made it part of their winter's work to draw another wall from fort *Panigra*, across almost to the *Tramata*. Mean time the enemy fortified themselves as strongly without; and advanced so far on the bulwark of *St. Andrea*, that there remained nothing of it but the ruins. In effect, this post was become so weak, that *Montburn*, and all the chief officers, took their quarters here.

*St. Andrea*  
battered  
down  
A. D.  
1669.

THINGS were in this posture in *Kandia*, when the dukes of *Beaufort* and *Noailles* landed there with seven thousand *French*: and it being determined in a council of war, that the place was no longer to be maintained but by some extraordinary enterprise, it was resolved to make a grand sally on the 27th of *June*, while the fleet, by the duke of *Beaufort's* order, drew

A. D.  
1669.

drew near the shore to annoy the enemy with their artillery. The troops marched out silently in order, and at day-break the forlorn hope assaulted two redoubts; which they took, putting all the *Turks* therein to the sword. Hereupon the other regiments entered the lines, and having mastered the trenches after much slaughter, by storm carried a fort, wherein was a battery which played upon *St. Demetrio*, and nailed the cannon. Mean time the *Turks* began to draw into order, and coming on, a most terrible fight ensued. But while the success of the day seemed to smile on the Christians, a magazine lately won, containing one hundred and thirty-four quintals of powder, accidentally blew up, and destroyed many men. This blow so amazed the rest, that they began to fly in disorder; having in the attack lost a good number of men, and some considerable officers, among whom was the brave duke of *Beaufort*, supposed to have been blown up. At the same time the fleet, consisting of eighty ships, fifty galleys, and six galleasses, were driven by the winds at some distance from shore; and a *French* man of war, of seventy guns, blown up.

The  
French de-  
part.

HEREUPON, disputes arising between the *French* and *Italians*, who threw the blame upon each other, the duke of *Noailles* ungenerously sailed off with his forces, and left *Kandia* in the utmost distress. The *Turks*, encouraged by the departure of the *French*, assaulted the quarters of *Saboniera* and *St. Andrea* afresh, and advanced to the pallisades of the new retrenchment: but although some stop was put to their fury here, yet the gross of the army was so weak and broken, that they refused to advance against the enemy. Mean time the captain-general sprung a mine, of one hundred barrels of powder, under the thickest croud of the *Turks*, which made such destruction among them, that the rest retired hastily to their redoubts. Neither was the storm less furious at *Saboniera*, nor the advantage less considerable on the side of the besieged.

The city  
yielded.

BUT notwithstanding this success, and that a small reinforcement arrived under the duke of *Mirandola*; yet the town was so weakened by the departure of the *French*, with the battalion of *Malta*, and the rest of the volunteers, that the captain-general at length called a council of officers, to deliberate what was fittest to be done in this extremity. *Grimani* and some others were for blowing up the place: but the captain-general urging the difficulty of embarking the soldiers, they came to a resolution of treating with the *Wazir* about a surrender. For this purpose they sent colonel *Thomas Arand* and *Stephano Cordili*, an understanding young man of twenty, secretly to the *Wazir's* camp. A treaty being here agreed on, the plenipotentiaries met under *Paleo Castro*. Those on behalf of the *Turks* were *Ibrahim*, *Pasha* of *Halep*, *Abmed*

*Abmed Aga* the *Kahiyabeg* of the *Janizaries*, the *Spahiler Agasi*, and *Panaiotti* the *Wazir's* interpreter. The plenipotes for the besieged required some place in exchange for *Kandia*: but that being rejected, they were at last contented that the *Venetians* should embark (P) with all their arms, provision, and baggage, together with such cannon as had been brought thither during the war<sup>f</sup>.

A. D.  
1669.

THERE is nothing in this account of the surrender inconsistent with that given before from the *Turkish* historians: For *Panaiotti* might at this time have first proposed it, and *Morofini*, through policy, seem to have been persuaded by his arguments, although no mention is made of any such matters here. But the account which Prince *Cantemir* gives in a note, of the manner in which *Panaiotti* duped *Morofini*, as related to him by *Masbûd*, the messenger of *Panaiotti* on that occasion, must needs be a fable; since it is all grounded on the false suggestion, that the *French* fleet, which the besieged long expected, arrived, but being by *Panaiotti's* address introduced into port as friends to the *Turks*, *Morofini* gave up the city to prevent their landing; concluding from thence that they came to act as the interpreter had informed him (Q): for we find that all the *French* succours, which were expected, did come, and that all which came did actually land.

THUS ended the famous siege, which had continued 25 years, yet went on but languidly, excepting for the last two

<sup>f</sup> RICAUT, *ibid*.

(P) There embarked not above 2,500 soldiers, sickly, ill accoutered, and half naked. All the inhabitants departed likewise, excepting two *Greek* priests, one woman, and three *Jews*, besides about 30 decrepid *Jews* and *Greeks*.

(Q) The narrative relates, that the *Wazir* getting intelligence that the *French* fleet drew near; *Panaiotti*, at a secret meeting, told *Morofini* that the admiral had sent to inform the *Wazir*, that he was sent by his king to carry away the *Venetians* prisoners, and deliver *Kandia* up to him: that next night twelve *Turkish* ships sailed out of port,

with orders to return next day with *French* colours; and, that as soon as they appeared in sight, twelve more were sent out under *Turkish* colours, who, instead of fighting the counterfeit *French*, saluted and accompanied them into the port: that *Morofini*, convinced by this that what *Panaiotti* told him was true, explained the mystery to the besieged, who stood astonished at what they saw: and having persuaded the soldiers that it was safer to trust enemies than faithless friends, surrendered the city to the *Wazir*.

A. D. 1669. years and four months, in which great numbers of men were destroyed, and vast quantities of warlike stores consumed (R). But it is now time to return to other affairs.

Affairs of  
Hungary.

THE Hungarians were all this time very uneasy, as thinking themselves not well used by the emperor; more particularly count *Peter Sereni* (whose brother had been killed by a wild boar), *Nadisti*, and *Frangipani*, who, after some consultations, resolved, if possible, to gain the *Turks* on their side: but not being able to agree with *Kâra Mostafa*, the *Kaymakân*, because he insisted, that they should become tributary, like the *Transylvanians*; they sent their agents to the *Wazîr*, *Abmed Kyoprili*, at *Kandia*, in hopes of better terms: but he, not being yet willing to entertain thoughts of another war, civilly dismissed them. However, he ordered their proposals to be taken in writing, and promised to refer them to the ministers, then at the *Porte*. But, the machinations of these three lords being at length discovered, they were all seized, tried, and executed, the next year.

Peace  
with Ve-  
nice.

A. D.  
1670.

THE prime *Wazîr* being arrived at *Adrianople*, from *Kandia*, with great applause, Signor *Moline*, was sent ambassador from *Venice*, to confirm the peace; which at length was effected; and the dispute about the limits in *Dalmatia* adjusted. This year, wine was prohibited, on account of the *Janizaries*, with such strictness, that the *English* ambassador could scarce obtain leave, with much trouble and charge, for his family and merchants to make use of it. But the *French* ambassador, *de Nointel*, was more sensibly mortified by the prime *Wazîr*, who, under various excuses, put off renewing the capitulations, this year and the next: towards the end of which, *Orkhân*, the *Soltân's* brother, was poisoned by his order. Let us now return to the *Turkish* historians, from whom we have been long absent.

RICAUT, *ibid.*

(R) During the last two years and four months of this siege (which from the beginning held 25 years), we are told by *Ricaud*, that of the *Venetians* there were killed and wounded 30,985; of the *Turks* 118,754. The assaults given by the latter were 56: the combats underground 45: the sallies made by the *Venetians* 96: the mines and

*fornelli* sprung by the besieged 1,173: by the *Turks* 472: the *Venetians* spent 50,317 barrels of powder: bombs, from 50 to 500 weight, 48,119: grenades, of brass and iron 100,960: of glass 84,874: cannon-bullets 276,743: pounds of lead 18,044,957: pounds of match 13,012,500. They left behind about 300 small cannon.

WHILST

WHILST Soltân Mohammed, under pretence of hunting, removed to *Yenishahr* (S), that he might be near at hand, to send supplies to *Kandia*; the *Sâri Kamîsh Kofâks* (T), then subject to *Poland*, submit themselves to him, by their ambassadors; among whom was the *Hetman* himself, *Doroshenko* (U): him the Soltân presents with a robe, and dismisses, adorned with a *Tâg*, or horse-tail (X), and an *alem san-jâk*, in token of dominion. The *Kofâks* had hitherto been of service both to *Poland* and *Russia*, as well by their daily ravaging the *Oshmân* borders, as because their country, abounding with straits and marshes, was accounted the bulwark of both kingdoms; which being now removed, they had cause to fear from them no less damages, than what the *Turkish* provinces had formerly suffered. Hereupon, the king of *Poland*, to destroy their new allegiance, before too deeply rooted, sends a great army; which, joining with those who still favoured his interest, make great devastations in their country.

THE Soltân, on this advice, sends a *Chaussh* with a threatening letter to the king; and, on his continuing hostilities, declares war against the *Poles*. Pursuant thereto, in *Sefer* 1083, he sets forward with a great army (Y); and running a bridge over the *Danube* at *Sakche* (Z), passes his forces. At length, after long marches thro' *Moldavia*, he encamps near *Khotin* (or *Khochim*). Then he sends over the *Tyras*, in boats, a strong party, who at the first assault take *Zwaniecz*; and being now

(S) So *Larissa*, a noted city of *Thessaly*, and at present the metropolis, is called. *Cant.*

(T) That is, *Kofâks* of the *Yellow Reed*; so are called those who inhabit, between the *Boristhenes* (or *Nieper*) and the *Tyras* (or *Niefter*) formerly subject to *Poland*; now vassals partly to the *Poles*, partly to the *Russians*. They have several times changed their names among the *Turks*. *Doroshenko*, called them *Kazagbi*: and when he revolted to the *Russians*, they took the name of *Serke Kazagbi*, from *Sirke*, also their leader. *Cant.*

(U) *Ricaut* says, the reason of this revolt was, the court refusing to annex *Ukrania* to the crown, which would have inti-

tled that country to the privileges of other free provinces, and given that general an opportunity of becoming absolute over the *Kofâks*.

(X) This was taken away, when the country was given to *Duka*; the *Wazîr* thinking it too great an honour for an infidel. *Cant.*

(Y) Of one hundred and fifty thousand men, according to *Ricaut*.

(Z) Formerly called *Oblucizia*, a town on the south side of the *Danube*, not far from *Galacz*, in *Moldavia*. By the very old buildings there, it seems to be a work of the *Roman* colonies, or the *Daci*; as are *Falca*, *Babadaghi*, and other very ancient towns of that region. *Cant.*

Kofaks  
submit.

War with  
Poland.

Hejrah  
1083.  
A. D.  
1672.

A. D. 1672. joined by the *Tatars*, headed by their *Khân*, *Selim Gyeray* (A); he orders a spacious bridge to be built over that river. In this work, *Duka* (B), prince of *Moldavia*, refusing timber, is discovered to favour the enemy, and to be bribed, to delay the building of the bridge: wherefore he is deposed, and stripped of his treasure; after which, *Peter* is chosen prince, by the nobility of that country.

Kâmeni-  
ek taken.

At length, passing the *Tyras*, on the 3d of *Rabio'lakbir*, he appears with his army before *Kameniek*, three hours distant from the river. This city, being strongly fortified both by nature and art, is very difficult to be assaulted. It is surrounded by the rapid torrent *Smotricz*, the banks whereof, every-where full of craggy rocks, afford a strong bulwark to the place. Besides these, a castle stands in the middle of the town, environed with walls of a great height, and not to be shaken. The *Poles* depending on these fortifications, and the strength of the garrison, hoped to blunt the edge of the *Othmân* fury with this siege; and therefore, appeared not in the field. But the walls were so vigorously battered on all sides, that in ten days time they are beaten down; and the garrison, finding themselves unable to sustain the assault, relinquish the outer walls, and retire into the inner castle: yet, not thinking themselves safe even there, they surrender (C), on condition of having life and liberty.

Peace con-  
cluded.

THE *Poles* were quite astonished to see a fortress, thought capable of holding-out many years, taken in so few days; and to confound them the more, *Kaplân Mehemed Pâshâ*, governor of *Hâlep*, and the *Khân* of *Tartary*, were sent with the light-armed forces to reduce *Leopolis*; whilst the *Saltân*, intending to follow with the main army, encamped near *Bucbach* (D). When the city was at the last extremity, ambassadors arrived in the *Tatar* camp, offering, in the name of the king and kingdom, to deliver-up forty-eight towns and villages,

(A) The most famous *Khân* of the *Tatars*, in the present age; a prince equally brave and prudent. *Cant.*

(B) He was thrice prince of *Moldavia*, and once of *Walakbia*; originally a *Greek*, and servant to a merchant of *Jassi*: he was illiterate, but very prudent in managing affairs, and reckoned the most excellent of his age. *Cant.*

(C) Prince *Cantemir* observes, that this was the last victory, by

which any advantage accrued to the *Othmân* state, or any province, or city, was annexed to the empire; and, that since then, the strength of the *Othmâns* has been weakened, by the destruction of several kingdoms and provinces; by the loss of whole armies, and by intestine wars and dissensions, as he proceeds to relate in the words of the *Turkish* historians.

(D) According to the *Polish* orthography, *Bucacz*.

in



in the territory of *Kameniek*; to pay a yearly tribute of twenty thousand rix dollars (E), and never more quarrel with the *Kosaks*, under *Doroszenko*. The *Khân* having heard the proposals of the ambassadors, sends them to the *Soltân*; who grants a peace on those terms; and then disbanding his army in *Shaabân*, returns to *Adrianople* <sup>h</sup>.

A. D.  
1672.

## S E C T. II.

*The War with Poland, Ruffia, and the Emperor; with the Siege of Vienna.*

**B**UT, whilst *Mohammed* expected the arrival of the *Polish* ambassadors, who were to bring the promised tribute, and ratify the peace, he is informed, that *Doroszenko*, general of the *Kosaks*, had revolted; and, with a large body of men, was laying waste the borders of the empire. This bad news was followed by worse; that the *Poles*, animated by the promises of the emperor of *Germany*, and the pope, were preparing again for war. Not long after, the *Wazir*, *Kyoprili Ahmed Pâshâ*, receives letters from the high chancellor of *Poland*, importing, that the states of the kingdom considered as null the conditions to which the king had submitted, without their consent; and that they would rather suffer death, than the infamy of paying one farthing, by way of tribute.

*The peace broken.*

THE *Soltân*, finding himself deceived by the *Poles*, determines to take a severe and memorable revenge. The *Wazir* answers the letters of the states, reproaching them with their perfidy, and threatening the total destruction of the kingdom, unless they submitted, without hesitation, to what was agreed upon. As these remonstrances had no effect upon the *Poles*, the *Soltân*, in *Rabio'lakhir*, 1084, sets out at the head of an army, not inferior to the former; flattering himself with the hopes of subduing them at once, weakened as they were by the last year's ill-successes, and to annex *Poland* to his empire. But the *Poles*, grown wise by their misfortune, having composed those domestic broils, which had opened the way to the *Turkish* victories the former year, assemble all their forces (F), and before the *Soltân* could reach them with his

*The Polish army*

Hej. 1084.  
A. D.  
1673.

<sup>h</sup> CANT. p. 263, & seq. RICAUT, ubi supra.

(E) The *Poles* do not deny that this was promised, tho' it was never paid; and in time was abolished by the peace made at *Zuranno*. Cant. According to *Ricaut*, the king of *Poland* was to quit claim to the *Ukrain*, *Podolia*, and *Russland*; *Leopolis*, and the adjacent country, to pay 70,000 dollars, yearly tribute.

(F) Consisting, according to *Ricaut*, of 50,000 men.

A. D. 1673. army, pass the *Tyras* at *Khotin*, under the command of *John Sobieski*.

defeats  
the Turks,

A FEW days after *Mahammed* arrives, and finding the place, where he designed to cross the river, seized by the enemy, is surprised at the boldness of a people lately vanquished; and imagining that, led by their evil genius to destruction, they had shut themselves up between the *Tyras* and the *Danube*, commands his forces to attack them. Hereupon the two armies engaging, a fierce and bloody battle ensues; which lasted with doubtful success till the evening: at which time, *Petrzeicus*, prince of *Moldavia* (G), and *Gregory* (H), the son of *Chika*, prince of *Walakhia*, deserting to the *Poles*, the left wing of the *Turks*, commanded by *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, cried out they were betrayed; and, quitting their ranks, refuse to obey the orders of their leader. The right wing likewise is soon broken by the valour of the *Poles*; and, at first indeed, retreat gradually: but being vigorously pressed by the enemies troops, they quickly take to flight, and abandon their cannon, with all their warlike provisions. When the *Saltân*, who had remained four hours march behind, saw his soldiers flying in disorder, he endeavoured all in his power to make them return to the charge: but, finding neither his commands nor sword had any effect, he is forced at last to have recourse also to flight, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy<sup>1</sup>.

under  
John So-  
bieski.

THE Christian historians say, that *Sobieski* broke into the *Turkish* camp, and wounded the general *Hussayn* with his own hand: that the fight continued fifteen hours; and that of the *Turks*, *Soleyman*, *Beglerbeg* of *Bosnia*, fought best; who, having had six horses shot under him, was afterwards slain in the pursuit: that all the *Janizaries*, to the number of eight thousand, were cut to pieces; besides twelve thousand other soldiers: that they lost all their baggage; twenty-five thousand waggon-load of provision and ammunition; with two thousand purses of money, for payment of the troops<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> CANT. p. 275. & seq. RICAUT. ubi supra.  
ibid.

<sup>2</sup> RICAUT,

(G) He was disgusted at *Hussayn*, the *Turkish* general, who struck him on the head with his pole-ax, because he had not brought troops, according to his expectation; yet the same night, intrusted the care of the guards to him; who thereupon corresponded with *Sobieski*. *Ricaut*.

(H) A very great man, and adorned with many virtues. This was the second time he revolted from the *Turks*. *Cant. Ricaut* says, he was forced away to the *Poles*, by his own troops, and soon after escaped back to the *Turks*.

THE *Othmān* army being thus defeated, there appeared nothing to hinder the *Poles* from recovering what they had lost, and even extending the limits of their kingdom. *Kameniek*, which they found to be a check to their progress, was pressed with a severe famine; which would probably soon force the garrison to abandon that fortress: but all these hopes were suddenly destroyed, by the death of *Mikhael*, king of *Poland*, which happened soon after, and drew off the nobles from the care of the war, to the election of a new king. After long deliberation, the crown is conferred on *John Sobieski*, great marshal of the kingdom; who, besides the nobleness of his family, and his own personal merits, by his late victory against the *Turks*, had procured the votes of the states of *Poland*.

A. D.  
1673.He is  
chosen  
king:

THIS choice was by no means agreeable to the *Othmān* court; and as it seemed to threaten the vanquished with some greater calamity, from the same hand, the *Soltān* therefore prepares a very powerful army to oppose him, and commands *Selīm Gyeray Khān* to join him, with numerous troops of *Buják*, and *Khrīm Tatars*. The king of *Poland*, suspecting what was really the case, admonishes the states of the realm to assemble all their forces: but they were deaf to his advice, under pretence, that the *Othmān* power, broken by the loss it had lately sustained, could scarce recover itself in many years; and that therefore the forces already raised, were sufficient: but the true reason was, that the nobles were afraid, lest the heroic king, when he found all *Poland* united under his command, should make the crown hereditary in his family.

not well  
assisted,

HOWEVER, *Sobieski*, to overcome the enemy by art, since he could not by force, sent what forces he had ready, to block-up *Kameniek*; which reduced that city to such straits, that the garrison had scarce provision enough for a few weeks: but the *Soltān*, being informed of their distress, assembles his forces, and marches them with such speed, that about the tenth of *Rabi'olakhir*, 1085, the foremost of his troops appeared about *Khotin*. The *Poles*, who did not expect the *Turks* so soon by a month or two, on the news of their approach, in haste abandoned the siege. Hereupon, the *Soltān* quickly recovers the city of *Khotin*; and then supplying *Kameniek* with necessaries, goes and reduces *Human*, a town of *Podolia* (I). Mean time *Doroshenko* comes unsent for, with

Kameniek  
relieved.A. D.  
1674.  
Khochim  
taken.

(I) *Ricaut* says, the *Turks* of the *Kosiks* which had not also forced the *Russians* to retreat; and by help of the captain *Pāshā*, rebuilt *Asak*, or *Asof*, which the *Russians* had destroyed. After this, falling on that part mentioned lower down.

A. D.  
1674.

four thousand *Kosaks*, to the assistance of *Mohammed*, and offers him his whole army: but the *Soltân*, suspecting perhaps the *Hetman's* integrity, commands him to return; alleging, that he had no occasion for the assistance of the *Kosaks* against the *Poles*. This highly exasperated *Doroshenko*, and proved afterwards very detrimental to the *Othmân* affairs, by their revolt to the *Czar of Russia*.

Inhabi-  
tants re-  
moved.

*MOHAMMED*, considering that he could not be sure of *Kameniek*, whilst inhabited by Christians (since they might both inform the enemy of every thing which passed, and put them in a way to take the city) commands all the inhabitants of that territory, to be removed beyond the *Danube*, and mount *Hæmus*, into the province of *Kîrk Ekklesiâk* (K), and lands to be assigned them; dividing their country among two thousand *Spahis*; who were before seated in the districts of *Bender*, *Akkierman*, and *Kili*. The season being spent in these affairs, he returns to *Adrianople*, where, despising now the enemy, of whom he had before been a little afraid, he devotes all the next year to his pleasures; and solemnizes the circumcision of his two sons, *Mostafa* and *Ahmed*, with the nuptials of his daughter (L): on which occasion he amasses a greater treasure (M), than half the revenue of the whole empire would amount to.

The Poles  
circum-  
vented.

A. D.  
1676.

THE *Poles*, imagining the long silence of the *Turks* to be only a stratagem, were cautious of making any attempt: but in 1687, the king, discovering the true reason of their inactivity, raises fresh troops, and passing by *Kaminiek*, enters *Moldavia*, in order to attack them within their own territories. *Soltân Mohammed*, who had resigned himself wholly to luxury and hunting, upon the death of *Shishman Ibrâhîm Pâshâ* (N), sends *Shaytân Ibrâhîm Pâshâ* (O), with the dignity of *Seraskier* (P), at the head of an army, against the *Poles*; who imme-

(K) A province and town, formerly called *Tessuracanta Ekklesiâ*, or the forty churches, but now it has none, and very few Christians; being inhabited by *Polish Jews*, transplanted thither by *Soltân Mohammed*. It is 38 hours from *Constantinople*, and 12 from *Adrianople*. *Cant.*

(L) To his favourite *Kûl Oglu, Pâshâ* of *Magnesia*. *Ricaut*, *Cant.*

(M) All officers whatsoever belonging to the government, are obliged to make presents on

this and the like occasions. *Cant.*

(N) *Shishmân* signifies the fat. He was a very brave general. The *Turks* say, he kept a *French* surgeon, who opened his belly every year, and took out the fat: but at last increasing so, that it could not be taken out, he burst. *Cant.*

(O) Called *Shaytân*, or Devil, from his skill and cunning. *Cant.*

(P) Vulgarly *Bâshbög*, that is, the head, or general, of the whole army. *Cant.*

diately

diately offer him battle. But he, as a man of great policy, and military skill, at first amuling the king with pretences of peace, renders the enemy more negligent: then breaking-off the treaty, on some slight occasion, circumvents the *Polish* army by a thousand artifices, and renders all their efforts ineffectual. At last, on a sudden, he besieges the king so closely in his camp (Q), that he could neither send a messenger into his kingdom, nor receive any from thence.

A. D.  
1676.

AFFAIRS being reduced to the most desperate situation, *Peace proposed*, the king sends some persons into the *Turkish* camp, to try whether the former treaty of peace might be renewed. *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ* would scarce have consented to their desires, if he had not discovered that a mutiny was ready to break out among his troops. The *Janizaries*, uneasy at the quick marches they had been obliged to make, to reduce the king to those straits, declared it great injustice, to be compelled to contend with the enemy and seasons; whilst the *Soltân* diverted himself with hunting and other pleasures. On the other hand, the *Khân* of *Khrîm Tartary*, perceiving he lost more than he gained by the war, did not cease to persuade the *Seraskier*, that it was better to accept of the conditions which the *Poles* would offer, to save themselves from imminent destruction, than to hazard the defeat of the *Othmân* army, by driving them to despair. *Ibrâhîm* at length approving of this advice, hostages were given on both sides: but the report of peace making the *Othmâns* grow remiss in guarding the passes, the king of *Poland* privately retires out of his camp, and unexpectedly attacks a body of *Tatars*, who were incamped near *Mobilow* (R), and easily puts them to flight.

AN account of this defeat being brought to the *Seraskier*, and concluded. when at dinner with the ambassadors, he severely reproaches them, for this breach of the law of nations, and immediately sends his cavalry to assist the *Tatars*; who, on the 19th of *Râjeb*, finding the enemy under *Zerauna*, rush upon them full of resentment: but, after a fierce and bloody conflict, both parties at night retire to their camps, where they skirmish for seventeen days continually, with doubtful fortune. At last, peace is concluded in the midst of arms, and signed on the 6th of *Shaabân*. The *Poles* on their return assembling the states, notwithstanding the endeavours of the emperor of

(Q) The *Poles*, whose army amounted to scarce 15,000 men, was surrounded near *Zorawno*, by well nigh 100,000 *Turks*, who yet gave them peace, when they least expected it. *Manley*.

(R) A town of *Polish* *Ukrania*, on the east side of the *Tyras*, 12 hours from *Soroka*, and 12 from *Kameniek*. *Cant.*

A. D.  
1676.

Vanity of

Germany to the contrary, ratify the conditions, and send the palatine of *Kulm*, as ambassador extraordinary to the *Porte* <sup>1</sup>.

Hej. 1088

A. D.  
1677.

THE ambassador being arrived near *Constantinople*, with 700 attendants, demanded by a letter, what had never been done before, that the *Wazir* should meet him at the city gate. This being refused, he would not enter the city (S), but retired to *Daud Pâsbâ* (T); by which unseasonable pride, the negotiation is protracted, from the month of *Rajeb* 1088, to that of *Safer* next year. However the peace is at last ratified, in the aforesaid village; and afterwards drawn up in such a manner, as the *Wazir* thought proper (U). By these articles, the *Poles* not only renounced claim to *Kameniek*, but likewise engaged to give up all authority over the *Kosâks* of *Podolia*, as subjects, and resign it to the *Othmân* court: and allowed the *Lipka-Tatars* (X), leave to depart. In short, the whole treaty was worded not as if a king was treating with a king, but a lord with his vassal. However, this did not cure the vanity of the *Polish* ambassador: for, that he might not seem to have brought so magnificent a retinue with him to no purpose, he, after the peace was confirmed, desires leave of the *Wazir* to make his public entry.

a Polish  
ambassador.

ON this occasion, besides other marks of magnificence, he orders his horses to be shod with silver, and the shoes to be fastened with only two nails, that they might the more easily fall-off in the streets, which were paved, and strike the *Turks* with admiration, at the riches of *Poland*. But, what he had designed for his honour, turned to his disgrace: for the *Wazir* (Y), when one of those shoes was brought him, is reported to

<sup>1</sup> CANT. p. 279. & seq.

(S) The obstinacy and pride of the ambassador would have put an end to all hopes of peace: had not the *Wazir* been at this time meditating the *Vienna* expedition.

(T) A place, about an *Italian* mile on the west side of *Constantinople*; where are palaces of the *Soltân*, and houses for the courtiers. There is a *Daud Pâsbâ Mekiemesi* in the midst of the city. *Cant.*

(U) The articles of this peace are inserted in a note, by prince *Cantemir*, from *de la Croix's*

history of the war between the *Poles* and *Turks*.

(X) *Lipka* is the *Turkish* name for *Lithuania*; whence the *Tatars* living there are so called. They are *Mohammedans*, and tho' derived from the *Kbrim Tatars*, yet they are naturally weaker and more infirm. *Cant.*

(Y) *Ahmed Kiaprlî Oglî* made this peace a little before his death. He died of a dropfy and jaundice, at *Churla* (or *Cbyurli*) on the way to *Adrianople*, the 23d of *October* 1676, in the 47th year of his age, and 16th of his govern-

to have said, that the infidel had indeed shoes of silver, but a head of brass; since it was incredible that any person in his senses could be guilty of such a ridiculous extravagance<sup>m</sup>.

A. D.  
1676.

HUNGARY was all this while full of discontents and troubles. However, the *Turks*, being at war with the *Poles*, did not interfere; but count *Strazoldo* having taken from the mal-contents *Debrezin*, which paid tribute to the *Porte*, the *Osbmán* governor interpreted it as an open breach of the peace. For this reason it was thought fit to give it up to the *Soltân*. Thus matters stood, when *Kara Mostafa* succeeded the famous *Kuperli*: this new *Wazîr* being wholly bent on a war in *Hungary*, gave the frontier *Pâshâs* liberty to assist the mal-contents; as they saw occasion; and the *Turks* accordingly made some incursions, which gave the imperialists great alarms. About this time also, *Apafi*, prince of *Transylvania*, having discovered a conspiracy against his life, began to declare himself, more than ever, in favour of the mal-contents, who were now grown pretty formidable.

Affairs of  
Hungary.A. D.  
1677.

THEIR army, consisting of sixteen thousand men, was Mal-<sup>con-</sup>commanded by count *Wezelini*, their palatine, who designed to besiege *Zatmar*; but *Smith*, the German major-general, marching to oppose him, was defeated there. After this, they sent to excite the *Soltân* to turn his arms against the emperor: but being then at war with the *Russians*, he declined it, yet assisted them with troops under-hand. While *Leopold*, by his ambassador, complained of this at the *Porte*, the states of *Hungary* assembled at *Altenburgh*, in order to induce the mal-contents to return to their duty, resolved that the churches which had been taken from the protestants, should be restored to them: but this article being eluded by the clergy, the parties concerned were the more exasperated; neither could they endure to see the crown of *Hungary*, as it were, hereditary in the house of *Austria*.

A. D.  
1678.

HOSTILITIES between the imperialists and the *Turks* still continued, notwithstanding the negotiations. Five hundred German horse marching to *Erlaw*, were cut to pieces by a party of the enemy; and two hundred more, by the garrison of *Newhausel*. Hereupon the imperialists, by way of reprisal, fell on the new *Pâshâ* of that city, sent thither by the *Porte*, and defeated his convoy of two hundred *Spahis*. The *Beglerbeg* of *Buda* so resented this injury (the new *Pâshâ* having had no hand in those violences before mentioned) that he

Hostilities  
continues.<sup>m</sup> CANT. p. 284. & seq.

government, and left not his fellow behind him; having been

an excellent minister both in peace and war. *Risant*.

sent

A. D. 1678. sent a party towards *Butrak*, who returned with two hundred prisoners. About the same time, count *Paul Wefelini* dying, he is succeeded in the command of the mal-contents by *Tekeli*, who, tho' young, was very vigilant and brave<sup>n</sup>.

BUT let us leave the affairs of *Hungary* for a while, to look into those of the *Russians*, as related by the *Turkish* historians. As soon as the peace was concluded with *Poland*, a fresh war broke out with *Russia*. *Dorosbenko*, Hetman of the *Sari Kamish Kazaghi*, to revenge the affront lately offered him by the *Seraskier*, as well as for other reasons (Z) of disgust against the *Turks*, with the consent of all the chief officers, offers to submit themselves to the *Czar* of *Russia*; to whose father, his predecessor *Bogdân Kiemielniski* (A) before had many years promised fidelity; but afterwards was obliged, by force of arms, to abandon their engagement. Nothing could happen more agreeable than this offer to the *Czar*; since, by this means, not only *Ukrania*, which was always liable to incursions from the *Kosaks*, was secured, but his territories were extended also beyond the *Boristhenes*, and his army increased with above sixty thousand men, of approved valour.

THE *Othmân* court was strangely disturbed at the news of this revolt, when the *Soltân*, to avoid the war if possible (not on account of the *Czar's* power, but of the difficulties attending such an expedition) and by policy recover the *Kosaks* to his obedience, releases *George Kiemielniski* (B), son of *Bogdân*,

<sup>n</sup> MANLEY contin. of RICAUT in Mah. 4.

(Z) Among the rest, for their resigning to the *Poles Bialocerkiew*, and *Pawolocz*, the chief bulwark of their country; also for passing over in silence the prohibition of commerce, and other *Polish* arts, by which they were daily exhausted, with a view the more easily to impose their tyranny on them, when they should think proper.

(A) Hetman of the *Kosaks*, who was a terror not only to the *Poles*, but also to the *Turks* and *Tatars*, who call him *Kbmil*. He was slain in battle with the *Poles*. *Cant*.

(B) He was the eldest son of *Bogdan*; who having been slain by the *Poles*, *George* succeeded,

and carried on the war with reputation, for three years: then, finding the *Kosaks* diminish, and fearing his father's fate, he changed his name and dress, resolving to retire to a monastery in *Ukrania*. In his way, he fell among a party of *Poles*, who stript and beat him; but was rescued by *Tatars*, who carried him into *Kbrim*. Being at last discovered by a *Kosak*, the *Khân* sent him to the *Porte*, where he was imprisoned in the *Seven Towers*. From thence he strangely escaped, but was taken, and cruelly beaten. He lay there from 1670 till 1677; and then, against his will, was made Hetman of the *Kosaks*; but could never



*Bogdân*, from the *Seven Towers*, and appoints him *Hetman*, in the room of *Doroshenko*; hoping those people, out of affection to his family, would submit to him: but the *Kosaks*, who had found the *Turkish* yoke too heavy, resolutely reject all offers in their favour. Hereupon, the *Soltân* finding it necessary to use force, sends *Shaytan Ibrâhim Pâshâ*, *Seraskier* of *Silistria* (C), with his whole army, to reinstate *George* in the country of the *Kosaks*; with orders to subdue *Chebrîn* (D), the capital of the province, and seat of the *Hetman*.

A. D.

1678.

Sues for  
peace.

*I B R A H I M* passing the *Danube*, on the 6th of *June* 1678, marches through *Moldavia* and *Podolia*. When he came to *Chebrîn*, he is surprised to find sixty thousand *Russians*, and *Kosaks*, strongly entrenched; so that not having force enough to attack them (for he had scarce forty thousand men) he was resolved to wait for the *Tatars*, who were three days march behind. But the *Russians* getting intelligence of their approach, plant themselves in an advantageous post, between both armies, and fall on the *Tatars* as they drew near, with such vigour, that in a few hours there were slain the *Khân's* son, eight *Mirzas*, and ten thousand men; the rest were either taken prisoners, or dispersed. The *Turks* beholding such a slaughter, and fearing that it would be their own case, if they stayed, threw away their arms; and fled with such precipitation, that they stopped not, till they had passed the river *Bog* (E).

THIS ill success, made the *Soltân* still more desirous of peace: however, to prevent any blemish on his honour, he sends an ambassador to *Russia*, in the *Khân* of *Tartary's* name,

engage them on his side, most of them saying he was a counterfeit. Three years after, he was slain at the mouth of the *Nieper*, as is related lower down. *Cant.*

(C) So the *Pâshâs* intrusted with the defence of the northern provinces are called; but they reside at *Bâbadâgbi*. *Silistria* stands on the south side of the *Danube*, opposite to *Walakbia*, and is still called in *Greek*, *Drifta*. It is inhabited mostly by Christians, and has a *Greek* metropolitan: but *Bâbadâgbi* lies nearer the *Euxine* Sea, about 20 hours from the *Danube*, directly below *Sakzen*, called formerly *Oblucziza*. *Cant.*

(D) The *Russian* merchants

who were going into *Turkey*, were on this occasion detained at *Nisna*, a mart in *Ukrania*, subject to the *Hetman* of the *Kosaks*. 'Tis situated in a very large plain, near the *Wustrow*, and defended by a good castle. *Cant.*

(E) Or *Bub*, formerly *Hypannus*, between the *Tyras* and *Borysthenes*; Tho' so deep as not to be fordable, yet it is not navigable, being full of cataracts. It falls into the *Euxine*, near the town of *Uzi* (*Osia*, or *Ussia*) commonly *Oczakow* (or *Ochakow*) and by the *Greeks*, *Olbiopolis*. There is another *Bog* which rises near *Lemberg*, and falls into the *Vistula*. *Cant.*

to

A. D. 1678. to persuade the *Czar* to make peace with the *Soltân*. This ambassador required, that *Chehrîn* should be restored to the *Turks*, as they had an undoubted right to it; and, that the *Czar* should abandon the *Kosâks* to their own evil genius: for he pretended to know for certain, that the *Soltân* would rather continue the war for twenty years, at all hazards, than lose one foot of land to which he had a right. But the *Czar*, who was not ignorant by whom the ambassador was really commissioned, sends an officer of his court with letters to *Mohammed* and the *Wazîr*, in which he advised them, not to flatter themselves that he could be imposed on by the same artifices as the *Poles* had been; since their example had made him more cautious, and taught him how to deal with them: adding, that they ought to desist from an unjust war, and leave *Ukrania* undisturbed, to which he had an undoubted right, by *Bogdân Kiemiebniski's* resignation, confirmed lately by *Doro-shenko*: but that, in case they resolved to prosecute hostilities, they might be assured he would not agree to a peace, till he had recovered the rest of *Ukrania*, unjustly taken from his ancestors, as far as the *Tyras* and *Asôf*.

The war revived. HAVING read this letter, the *Wazîr*, *Kara Mostafa Pâshâ* (F), sends for the *Mustî*, the *Kaymakân*, the *Kadibî'laskers*, and *Aga* of the *Janizaries*; and enquires what the law and reason advised to be done. The majority declare for peace; since there were little hopes of doing any thing for the *Othmân* interest, in those difficult and remote quarters. The *Wazîr* alone opposed these pacific sentiments; declaring, that so great a slaughter as the *Russians* had made of the *Tatars*, ought not to pass unrevenged. To this opinion the rest assenting out of complaisance, it is determined to renew the war with the utmost vigour; in consequence of which, the *Russian* ambassador receives an answer, breathing nothing but fire and sword<sup>n</sup>.

Chehrîn besieged. Hej. 1009 A. D. 1679. THE *Othmân* army being arrived at *Tatar Pazarjâk* (G), about the end of *Rabi'ulawel*, in 1089, *Mohammed* invests the *Wazîr* with the full command; who, passing thro' *Moldavia* in the following month, reaches the *Bog*. From thence he marches with eighty thousand *Turks*, thirty thousand *Tatars*,

<sup>n</sup> CANT. p. 288. & seq.

(F) A man of great capacity and valour, but the most covetous of all the *Wazîrs*. He was first *Pâshâ* of *Silistria*, and *Damaskus*; then admiral; afterwards *Kaymakân*. CANT.

(G) A pretty large town of *Thrace*, towards the northern foot of the mountains *Chengbe*, or *Hæmus*. CANT.

and

and four thousand *Kosaks*, whom *George Kiemielniski* had drawn to his party; and on the eighth of *Jamazio'lauwel*, comes in fight of *Chebrin*. The garrison of *Russians* and *Kosaks*, who were at that time employed in building a new fort without the city, on the unexpected approach of the *Othmâns*, retire in confusion into the town. The *Wazîr*, observing their disorder, ordered his *Kyehaya* (H) forthwith to attack the place, in hopes to terrify them into a surrender: but after fighting bravely for four hours, they are forced to retire with dishonour, and the loss of their commander, besides two thousand *Jamizaries*. Hereupon, *Kara Mostafa*, before the soldiers had pitched their tents, orders the city to be surrounded, and trenches to be dug, ramparts thrown up, and batteries to be planted. When he found these endeavours did not succeed, by reason of the sandy soil, he, by advice of a *Pole*, causes bridges to be made on the other side, where the town was defended by a morass: but this work also failed of the desired effect.

ABOUT the same time the *Russian* army, under the command of *Romadanowski*, having passed the *Beristhenes*, before the *Wazîr* had any intelligence of it; that minister, to obviate their designs, sent *Kara Mehmed Pâshâ*, governor of *Hâlep*, with great part of his army to fight them, in case he found a good opportunity: but, as he could not draw the *Russians*, tho' superior in number, to a battle, the *Wazîr*, suspecting that the enemies intention was either to destroy the *Othmân* forces by delay, or reinforce the garrison of *Chebrin*, commands *Koplân Pâshâ* (I), to encamp with the rest of the army, between that city and the *Russians*. When *Româdanowski* perceived that all communication with the town was cut off; he, on the 22d of *Jamazio'lakbir*, attacks *Koplân Pâshâ*'s troops with such vigour, that the foremost ranks being broken at the first onset, the rest fly for safety thro' the midst of the morass: while the *Pâshâ*, finding it impossible to rally his terrified soldiers, sets fire to the bridges, to prevent the enemy from pursuing, and destroying the whole *Othmân* army.

The Turks  
defeated.

(H) Or more elegantly *Ketchadabeg*, that is, the *Wazîr*'s deputy. His office is the most considerable in the *Othmân* empire, and his authority very great; for nothing can be done, or ordered, but it must pass through his hands; and be confirmed by his letters. *Cant.*

(I) Called *Koplân*, that is *Tyger*, from his courage. He is celebrated for his bravery in the *Polish* wars; and of so great authority among the *Turks*, that the *Wazîr*, tho' his mortal enemy, could never destroy him. *Cant.*

AT

A. D.  
1678.

The city  
taken,

AT last winter approaching, the *Wazîr*, in order either to conquer or retire, causes three mines to be sunk under the walls of the castle; and springing them, on the 21st of that month (K), commands the men to surround the city, and enter the breaches. Hereupon, the garrison finding it impracticable to defend the place, since the walls were demolished, fly out of the gate, towards the *Boristhenes*, after they had laid a train under the magazine of powder; by which means, several thousands of the common soldiers, who had flocked in to plunder, were blown up (L). Next day the *Wazîr*, accompanied by the chief officers, views the city, which had cost so much labour and blood: but, as it appeared very difficult to repair, as well as to defend it, he commands the walls and houses to be levelled with the ground; then giving his soldiers some days refreshment, he endeavours to provoke the *Russians* to a battle; but they being unwilling to quit their trenches, and at the same time preparing for their retreat, he orders *Koplân Pâshâ*, with some light troops, to follow and attack them in their march. But as the *Russians* retired with close ranks, and were defended by a chain of waggons, they vigorously repelled the assaults of their pursuers. At length, the *Wazîr* himself is obliged, for want of provisions, to return; and in his march loses, besides almost all his baggage and larger cannon, a greater number of men than had been destroyed by the enemy; so that at his entrance into *Adrianople*, in the beginning of *Ramazân*, the army appeared rather to have been defeated, than victorious.

with

great loss.

FAR from being inspired by the conquest they had made, to renew the war in *Ukrania*, they rather considered those who mentioned it to be their enemies. Their having taken the ruins of *Chebrîn*, and seen some hundreds of their enemies heads placed round the *Wazîr's* tent, could afford them but little joy, after the loss of thirty thousand of their companions, and the fatigues they had sustained in their march. The *Wazîr* himself, finding how difficult it was to carry on war, in places unknown, barren, and full of marshes, as well as rivers, repented too late, that he had opposed the motions for peace; and would have desisted from the war, had not the perpetual incursions of *Kosaks*, who laid waste all the countries along the *Euxine Sea*, prevented his pacific designs.

(K) Perhaps it should be the next month, for the 22d is mentioned before.

(L) *Manley* says, the *Turks* took the city by springing 8 or

9 mines, and then put the garrison to the sword. But the *Turks*, we think, ought to be believed in this case.

HE resolves, therefore, to build a town and castle at the mouth of the *Borysthenes*, not far from *Ochakow* (M), in hopes that, by this means, the *Kosák* ships might be hindered from entering the *Euxine Sea*, and the *Zaporovi Kosáks* be obliged, for want of salt, to submit to the *Othmán* empire. The execution of this affair he commits to the *Mimâr Aga* (N), for whose defence, till the work should be finished, he sends *Kop-lân Pâshâ*, with six regiments of *Janizaries*. But this politic design of the *Wazîr* is ruined by a sudden and unexpected accident: for the foundations were scarce laid, when *Cirko*, general of the *Zaporovi Kosáks*, returning from an expedition into *Tartary*, with fifteen thousand men, by chance passed through the neighbouring parts; and hearing that a new fort was building, approaches to view it, and see who were the projectors. When he finds them to be *Turks*, he immediately surrounds and kills all the workmen, and their guards, with *Kielmielniński* (O), who had been made *Hetman* of the *Kosáks*, by the *Turks*: then pitching his camp upon the spot, sends a messenger to inform the *Czar* of what had been done. Hereupon, that prince dispatches orders to *Dolhoruki*, who succeeded *Romadanowski* in command of the army, to join all his forces as soon as possible with *Cirko's*, in order to oppose the attempts of the *Turks*.

THE *Wazîr*, judging it madness to exhaust in those countries the strength of the *Othmán* empire, which might be employed to advantage in other parts, agrees to a peace, which was extremely desired on both sides: not that the *Soltân* wanted either inclination, or force, to carry on the war; but he had not an army inured to cold, hunger, and other hardships, too severe for mortals: besides, fortune seemed now inclinable to abandon the *Othmán* arms. However, all this could not have diverted the *Porte* from prosecuting their first

Peace concluded.

(M) In the year 1679, the captain *Pâshâ*, *Kâra Kiaja* (who, next to the *Wazîr*, made the greatest figure at the *Porte*) was sent with sixty galleys, to build two castles upon the *Borysthenes* (or *Nieper*); the *Czar* complained of this by letter, but was not answered. *Manley*.

(N) The *Mimâr Aga* is the chief architect; his chief business is to oversee all the new buildings in *Constantinople*, and take care that they do not exceed the height allowed, or come out the least further than they ought into the street. In this case he can punish the common builders, who are called *Kalfa*, or *Kbalife*. It often happens that this officer knows nothing of his art; the place being given by the *Wazîr* to whom he pleases. *Cant*.

(O) This is *George Kielmielniński*, before mentioned, sent to cover the workmen.

A. D. 1679. design, if new commotions in *Hungary* had not induced them to turn their arms that way °.

Count Tekeli revolts. *EMERIK Tekeli* (P) had about this time revolted from the emperor of *Germany*, and in a few months drawn into his rebellion almost all the people in that part of *Hungary* which belonged to the imperial crown. But finding himself unable to withstand that monarch, who, having made peace with the *French* (Q), had assembled all his forces, to extinguish the flame, he applied to *Soltân Mohammed* for his aid; promising to pay forty thousand rix-dollars yearly tribute (R), and assist him with thirty thousand *Hungarians*, whenever he should demand them. It was long deliberated at the *Othmân* court, whether *Tekeli* should be assisted openly, or only under hand, till the twenty years truce, made in 1075, should be expired. The latter opinion was approved by all the *Vlema*, with the *Valide Soltána*, or queen mother (S); de-

A. D.  
1680.

° CANT. p. 292. & seq. Manley ubi supra.

(P) After he had lost his estate in *Hungary*, he received a daily pension of 80 *Leonines*, from the *Turks*. And being released from his imprisonment, by *Ancji Soley-mân Pâshâ*, he was held in great honour by the *Turks*, all the while they were engaged in war. Whenever *Soltân Mostafa* was in the camp, he took him along for his companion, and generally made use of his counsel. After the peace of *Carolowitz* (in which it was stipulated, that such persons as were inclined to raise commotions, should be hearkened to by neither party) he was sent away by the same *Soltân* to *Nikomedia*, where he was presented with a country house; and being very much afflicted with the gout, he died there soon after. *Cant.*

(Q) The Christian historians say, that in the year 1679, the emperor *Leopold* (notwithstanding an armistice and treaty the year before) retracts his former offers, thinking now he had secured a peace with *France*. However *Tekeli*, out of love to

the daughter of the princess dowager *Ragotski*, revolted to the emperor; but being slighted, returned again to his old friends, and returned to the command of his deserted troops; with three hundred of whom, he surprised *Kromnitz*.

(R) *Manley* says, eighty thousand crowns.

(S) The title is appropriated to the mother of the reigning *Soltân*, who can lie with no women in the *Saray*, without her consent. Every day during the feast of *Bayrâm*, she presents him a beautiful virgin, for his use. Her revenue is 1000 purses.

If the *Soltân* lies but once with any woman, she is separated from the rest, has attendants given her, and called *Khasiki*; but has no access to him, unless sent for, not to her on whose head, out of love, he has set the crown. She has also guards, a revenue of at least 500 purses, and is called *Khasiki Soltána*. *Cant.*

claring,

claring, it was unjust to wage war with a prince, who had given no cause of complaint, but, till then, strictly observed the conditions of the truce. A. D. 1680.

THE *Soltân* and *Wazîr* were inclined to the former opinion, alleging, that so fair an opportunity of propagating the *Türks*, *Mohammedan* faith could never happen again, since *Hungary* submitted, and *Germany* was exhausted with the *French* and *Swedish* wars; so that nothing could hinder the reduction of all the countries formerly subject to the *Roman* empire. Farther, that the war might not seem too great a burden upon his subjects, the *Soltân* declares, that he has ready for this design, seventy thousand purses in his treasury, a complete army, and all other necessaries for several expeditions. The *Janizaries*, instructed by the *Wazîr* (T), demand a war, and the *Soltâna* mother, now gained by that minister, with the hopes, that out of the conquests, her *Pashmalik* (U) would be increased to three hundred purses, votes likewise for it. Hereupon the *Mufti*, who had long concealed his sentiments, approves of the *Soltân's* designs by a *fatwa*: for all this, the opposite party disperse libels against the divân, advising the people not to consent to an unjust war.

THIS made it necessary at least to find out some pretence <sup>who seek</sup> to remove their scruples, and make them more readily engage <sup>pretences</sup> in the expedition. The emperor having disturbed the peace with *Poland*, afforded indeed a plausible ground for breaking the truce: but, because this had not been done openly, it was not deemed sufficient. At last they contrived that the emperor, and not the *Soltân*, should appear to be the aggressor. To this end, letters are sent in the *Soltân's* name to *Leopold*, declaring, that as *Tekeli*, and the other *Hungarian* lords, had been forced, by his oppression, to subject their country to the *Othmân* empire, therefore, the emperor was required to recall his troops sent against them, and restore what he had taken from them, otherwise, he would be considered as guilty of an infraction of the peace, and draw on himself the punishment due to his rashness.

(T) They who are best acquainted with the counsels of the *Othmân* court, at that time affirm, that none but the *Soltân*, and the *Wazîr Kâra Mostafa*, were for a war with the emperor of *Germany*, till the rest were drawn in, by the motives of interest. *Cant.*

(U) This is the usual revenue assigned to the *Valide Soltana*,

and other *Kbafski*; the name is derived from *Pashmak*, a *Sandal*, because said to be granted to buy sandals (or as pin-money with us). In all towns taken by the *Türks*, some street is assigned for the *Pashmaklik*, as *Pera* in *Constantinople*. Hence the *Valide Soltâna's* revenue is very large. *Cant.*

A. D. 1681. *LEOPOLD*, rightly suspecting that the *Turks* were only seeking an occasion of commencing a war, which he was not capable of supporting, sends count *Albert Caprara*, as ambassador extraordinary to *Constantinople*; with orders, to spare neither persuasions nor bribes, that the peace might be continued, and hostilities diverted. But the *Wazîr Kâra Mostafa*, without waiting that minister's arrival, in the same year 1093, sends *Ibrâhim Pâshâ* (Y), *Beglerbeg* of *Buda*, with six thousand men, to *Tekeli's* assistance; and orders *Apâsti*, prince of *Transylvania*, with his forces, to join the *Hungarians*. *Tekeli*, strengthened by these supplies during the summer, takes (Z) *Kassovia*, *Eperies*, *Leutsch*, *Levent*, *Lipschet* and *Tillek*; whose garrisons retired, with design to reserve themselves for a more favourable opportunity.

Hejrah 1093. A. D. 1682. *THE Othmâns*, imagining from these beginnings that the expedition would prove fortunate, keep no farther measures, but, by the *Pâshâ* of *Buda*, declare *Tekeli* king of *Hungary*, (A), and attack the isle of *Schut*, tho' not with the desired effect. Mean time the *Wazîr* amuses the imperial ambassador with false hopes of peace, in order to retard the enemy's preparations. At length, when he was informed of the new king's success, he sends for *Caprara*, and acquaints him, that the *Soltân* would grant the emperor peace on no other conditions, than the restoration of *Hungary* to the state it was in 1067; a yearly tribute of five hundred thousand florins; the demolition of *Leopoldopolis* and *Gutta*; the resignation of *Neutraschnita* and *Ekolt*, with the island of *Schut*, and the fortress of *Muran* to *Tekeli*; a general amnesty to the *Hungarians*, with the restitution of their estates and privileges. *Kâra Mostafa*, on finding these terms rejected by the emperor, immediately proclaims war against him, and orders the horse-tails to be set up before the palace in the month of *Shawal*.

The army sets out. A FEW days after he departs for *Adrianople*, there to prepare for the *German* expedition. But at *Chirpiji Chayri* (B),

P CANT. p. 295. & seq.

(Y) A man so very eminent both in war and peace, that he is reckoned by the *Turks* one of the greatest men of his age. Cant.

(Z) He likewise took *Zatmar* first of all. Afterwards the *Turks* acting for themselves, *Tokay* surrendered to them on their appearance, and the *Pâshâ* of *Waradin* took *Tilek*, *Leventz*, and *Neutras* - Manley.

(A) *Tekeli*, going to *Buda* to take his measures from the *Pâshâ*, was received with great honour, and presented by him, as from the *Soltân*, with a sword, pole-ax and standard. Some say he declared him king of *Hungary*, and invested him with the royal robes and crown. Manley.

(B) Near *Daud Pâshâ*.

a meadow,



A. D.  
1682.

a meadow, one mile from *Constantinople* where he encamped; there happened such a violent storm and whirlwind, mixed with rain and hail, that the tents of the *Soltân*, prime *Wazîr*, *Muftî*, and the *Pâshâs*, were overthrown. Five days after at *Silbëbria*, on the sea shore, another tempest arose, while so great a torrent of water rushed from the mountains, that the tents, baggage, horses, cattle, and the very soldiers themselves were overwhelmed, or carried with the stream into the sea. These two accidents struck no small terror into the superstitious *Turks*; who accustomed to judge of the success of actions from the beginnings, interpreted these accidents to be marks of divine vengeance, and God's displeasure against the *Othmân* arms: but the *Soltân* despising such vulgar reflections, as unworthy a great mind, pursues his intended march, and reaches *Adrianople* about the end of the year. At length having in the winter finished his preparations, he in *Rabî'ul-akbir*, 1094, sets out with his whole army towards *Bel-Hej. 1094.*  
*grade*; but altering his resolution, stops at *Hesarijik*, a town A. D.  
about eight hours from *Adrianople*. Here, after a se- 1683.  
cond review of his forces, he delivers the command of his army to the prime *Wazîr*, with *Mohammed's* standard (C), and then returns to *Constantinople*, hunting all the way.

THE *Wazîr* pursuing his march, passes the *Save* at *Bel-Tekeli's*  
*grade*, and at *Esfak* is met by *Tekeli*, with about three hun- *argumens*  
dred *Hungarian* nobles, who is received with great marks of respect. A few days after, altho' he had a full power of acting from the *Soltân*, yet he called a council of the chief officers, with a view not only to gain their affections by this condescension, but also to lay the blame on their advice in case any thing went wrong. As *Tekeli* was supposed to have the most perfect knowledge of the state of *Germany*, he was ordered to deliver his opinion first (D), and declare what

(C) 'Tis a standard of green silk, long and large, made like all other *Sanjâki*. The Christians thought they had taken it at *Vienna*, but were mistaken, for the *Wazîr* himself carried it off. It is never brought out of the camp, or exposed in battle. 'Tis very old and tattered, rolled round a spear, on the top of which is the word *Alem*. 'Tis carried in a chest on a camel before the *Soltân* or the *Wazîr* when going to war. Whether *Mohammed's*, or another, I cannot say. *Cant.*

writers ascribe the siege of *Vien-na* to *Tekeli's* counsels, yet prince *Cantemir* affirms it was not so: that *Aynji Soleymân Pâshâ*, when *Wazîr*, publickly demonstrated his innocence, and that *Haxnader Ibrahim Pâshâ*, governor of *Belgrade*, who was present at all the consultations, assured him, that *Tekeli* was against the siege, and gave advice, such as is set forth in the text. He adds, that *Tekeli* told him *Maurocordatus* invented that calumny, and also provoked the *Wazîr Kara Ibrahim Pâshâ* to imprison him.

(D) 'Tho' most of the Christian

M m 3

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A. D. 1683. part of it ought principally to be attacked ; and whether the siege of *Vienna* should be undertaken this year, or deferred till the next.

against be-  
sieging  
Vienna :

ON this occasion the new *Hungarian* king made a pathetic speech, wherein he shewed, from cogent arguments, " That it would be greatly detrimental to the *Othmân* interest to besiege *Vienna* ; that being too remote from the borders of the *Othmân* empire, the army would be wasted by the garrisons of the country they were to pass thro', before they could reach the city : that if the siege should be prolonged by the bravery of the defendants, the besiegers must be starved for want of provisions, which would be intercepted by the enemy, who at the same time would weaken the army by their incursions : that in case they should take *Vienna*, all the Christian princes, even the king of *France* himself, would unite to recover the city, which they consider as the bulwark of their religion : that if the *German* princes found there were no other hopes of safety, rather than submit to the *Soltân*, they would call in the king of *France*, and declare him emperor ; who joining even the remains of the *Germans* to his own army, would, he feared, become more powerful than was imagined."

for subdu-  
ing Hun-  
gary.

ON the other hand he urged, " That the war might be carried on in *Hungary* with less hazard and more advantage : that the part under his banner, now voluntarily offered to submit to the *Soltân*, and that the other part, subject to the emperor, was weary of the *German* tyranny : that *Hungary* being once brought under, it would be easy to subdue not only *Vienna*, but all *Germany* ; and that the country would prove a magazine of provisions and stores for future expeditions into any other parts : that the *Wazîr* should encamp about *Buda* or *Belgrade* with the greater part of the army, in order to march against the enemy, if they appeared in the field ; and in case they retired into the cities and castle, to send the *Tatars*, and other light armed troops, to lay waste *Austria*, *Moravia*, *Bohemia* and *Silesia* ; that by this means, the imperial army being without difficulty dispersed, and unable to subsist for want of corn, the whole *German* empire would be reduced in a single campaign."

The *Wazîr*  
dissembles.

THE *Wazîr*, too confident of his own power, and meditating greater designs, did not like this wholesome advice ; but concealing his sentiments, lest he should disoblige the *Hungarians*, commands the other *Pâshâs* to declare their opinions. *Ibrâhim*, *Pâshâ* of *Buda*, and *Abmed Pâshâ*, high treasurer, (both eminent for their warlike conduct, and of great autho-

rity in the camp) partly guessing at the general's opinion; and knowing he would prove an enemy to those who should be against the intended siege of *Vienna*, which they looked upon to be dangerous, as *Tekeli* had represented it, delivered their minds directly, neither on one side nor the other; saying, it ought to be left to the well-known wisdom of *Kâra Mostafa*, to determine whether the war was to be carried into *Hungary* or *Germany*. The *Wazîr*, perceiving that even these two *Pâshâs* were not entirely of his opinion, the better to conceal his designs, pretends to approve of *Tekeli's* advice; and ordering the army to march for *Yavarin*, (or *Raab*), sends the imperial ambassador, whom he had hitherto amused with the hopes of peace, to *Buda*, that he might not be an observer of his proceedings <sup>9</sup>.

At the same time all his forces being assembled by the arrival of *Selim Gyeray*, *Khân* of the *Tatars*, the *Wazîr* passes the *Raab*, after the *Hungarians*, left to guard the ford, had shamefully abandoned their post (E), and encamps under the walls of *Yavarin*. But he had scarce began to batter the place, when he was informed by his scouts, that the emperor was fled from *Vienna* to *Lintz*, that every thing there was in confusion, the walls ruinous, the magazines empty, the garrison weak and seized with fear, as well as the citizens. This encouraged him to prosecute his design; and having by large promises gained over the *Janizaries*, with their *Aga*, he sends again for the chief *Pâshâs* to deliver their opinion: but they now perceiving the *Wazîr* to be wavering, unanimously advise against the siege of *Vienna*, till the cities in the way were all subdued. *Tekeli* above all opposed that scheme, foreseeing that if the *Wazîr* persisted in it, all his hopes of the kingdom of *Hungary* would be destroyed.

*KARA Mostafa*, finding he could not prevail by his speeches, at last produces the *Soltân's Khâtî Sharîf*, (or order) by which he was empowered to act as he should think fit. On sight of this the *Pâshâs* having no more to say, promise to execute his commands with cheerfulness. The *Wazîr*, having thus gained his point, leaves a few troops under *Kior Husseyn Pâshâ* (F), to block up *Yavarin*; and taking the rest of the forces, moves with the utmost expedition towards *Vienna*. In their march they seize the baggage of several imperial of-

<sup>9</sup> CANT. p. 299. & seq.

(E) Some say count *Buddan* treacherously gave the *Turks* a free passage; but his crime was never clearly proved. *Cant*. (F) *Kior* signifies one who is blind, or has but one eye, in the *Persian* and *Turkish* languages.

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ficers (G), kill the troops which convoyed them, and take a great many prisoners, with whom they appear before *Vienna* on the 18th of *Jomazio'lakbir*. The trenches being opened, and every thing necessary for the siege prepared, the *Wazîr* soon makes himself master of the out-works, beats down the walls with his cannon and mines; and then assaults the city with such vigour, that although the garrison, assisted by the citizens, bravely disputed every inch of ground, yet in all probability the place must have been quickly taken, had the general continued the siege as vigorously as he began it.

His ambitious views.

BUT *Kara Mostafa*, tho' otherwise a man of great prudence and experience, being infatuated with ambition and the power he saw himself invested with, imagines it for his interest to prolong the siege. He fancied he was able to throw off the *Othmân* dominion, and having seized the metropolis of all *Germany*, found a *Mussulman* empire in the west (H), which should rival that in the east. He thought he had nothing to fear from the *Soltân*, since all the disciplined troops of the empire were under his command, and it would be difficult for *Mohammed* to bring such an army against him. The emperor of *Germany* seemed less formidable to him, as he hoped to be master of his capital city, before the troops expected from *Poland*, whose proceedings were known to be dilatory, could possibly arrive. He had brought with him a great treasure, and resolved to encrease them with the riches of the *German* princes, which he supposed to be repositied in the city besieged by him.

Corrupts the Pâlhâs.

HE knew that the *Pâshâs* and other governors in *Hungary*, appointed by him during his seven years *Wazîrship*, were attached to his interest, and imagined would prove no obstacle to his advancement. It remained only to gain *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, *Beglerbeg* of *Buda*, a man of great authority with the principal officers of the *Janizaries* and *Spahis*. These latter he prevailed on by large presents. He promised *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ* the kingdom of *Hungary* for ever, to divide all the provinces of it among the *Spahis*, by way of *Timâr* (I); and to settle the whole army in the cities and lands of that country, as new colonies, after driving out or enslaving the old possessors. But he reserved for himself, under the title of *Soltân*, all Ger-

(G) These were the duke of *Saxenburg*, prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, counts *Caprara* and *Monticuculi*. *Manley*.

(H) The Christian historians relate his aspiring to found an empire in the west, as one cause of his fall. See *Manley* in *Mab.* 4. ad ann. 1683.

(I) *Timâr Spahi* are the nobles or old *Spahi*, who for their stipend have villages assigned them in the provinces, and are obliged, in proportion to their income, to carry slaves to the wars, but three at least.

many,

many, as far as the borders of *France*, *Transylvania* and *Poland*, which he resolved the next year either to subdue or make tributary <sup>1</sup>. A. D. 1683.

LET us now leave the *Wazîr*, big with these great designs, Leopold in the camp before *Vienna*, and see what measures were taken by the emperor to repel the enemy. While count *Caprara* was in vain waiting at *Constantinople* for a confirmation of the peace, Leopold's ambassador in *Poland* had much better success in his negotiations. The states of that kingdom, excited either by the common danger, or the pope's exhortations, laying aside their intestine divisions, unanimously resolve to raise an army, and oppose the enemy of the cross. Accordingly an alliance is quickly concluded between the emperor and *John Sobieski* (K); of which one of the principal articles was, that in case the capital of either monarch should be attacked by the *Turks*, both princes should march in person with their whole army to its relief.

LEOPOLD being strengthened on that side, in the following year declares *Charles* duke of *Lorraine* general of his army; and as soon as he heard war had been proclaimed at *Constantinople*, ordered him to march with what forces he had ready into *Hungary*, and there, before the *Turks* could arrive, make himself master of some castle, which might serve as a bulwark to *Germany*. The duke first attempts *Gran*, the garrison of which he had been assured was very weak: but finding that a large reinforcement of *Turks* from *Wywar* had entered the city, he sets fire to the bridge, which joined the two places, and on the 7th of *Jamazio'lakbir* invests *Wywar* (L). There for eight days both sides fight with equal bravery, yet not with equal success: for the imperial general being informed that the *Wazîr* was advancing against him with a powerful army from *Belgrade*, on the 14th of the same month abandons the siege, tho' the city could not long have held out. Then supplying the garrison of *Vienna* with several regiments, he encamps with the rest of his army near the city, on the borders of *Hungary* and *Austria*, in such a manner, that he might provide for the exigencies of both

<sup>1</sup> CANT. p. 303. & seq.

(K) In the year 1679, both the czar of *Russia* and king of *Poland* offered to enter into leagues with *Leopold* against the *Turks*; but the emperor, tho' he apprehended a war from that quarter, yet not having force enough to reduce the mal-

contents, he did not think proper to begin first with the *Porte*. *Manley*.

(L) The Christian historians say *New Hausel*, and that he raised the siege the 3d of *June*, and marched towards *Raab* to observe the enemy's motions.

countries,

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countries, and safely wait for the forces of *Poland* as well as of other states. When *Leopold* heard that *Hungary* was abandoned by his troops, and that the *Turks* were preparing to besiege *Vienna*; not thinking himself secure within the city, he commits the defence of it to count *Staremburg*, a man of approved integrity, valour and prudence, and retires to *Lintz* on the *Danube*, as before mentioned, and from thence sends letters to all the neighbouring princes to desire their assistance<sup>3</sup>.

State of  
both ar-  
mies.

THIS is in substance much the same with what is related by the Christian writers, from whom it will be proper to add a few particulars. According to them *Tekeli*, in *February* 1683, blocked up all the emperor's towns in *Upper Hungary*, and the *Turks* in *March* posted fifteen thousand men to secure the bridge of *Essek*. On the 7th of *May*, *Leopold*, attended by the dukes of *Bavaria* and *Lorraine*, reviewed his army, which did not consist of more than forty three thousand men: but in these are not reckoned six thousand hired *Poles*, commanded by prince *Lubomirski*, a great number of volunteers, and the forces of *Alsatia* with those of the *Rhine*. The cannon consisted of seventy great pieces and fifteen mortars, under the care of count *Staremburg*, general of the artillery. The *Turkish* army, according to a moderate computation, amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand effective men, besides miners, gunners, sutlers and other attendants, which might well make forty thousand more.

The city  
besieged

UPON the march of the *Wazir* towards *Vienna* and the emperor's retreat to *Lintz*, every thing was in the utmost confusion, till the duke of *Lorraine* arrived; who with count *Staremburg*, the governor, set all things in order for a vigorous defence. The whole garrison (including 2717 train'd bands, officers and volunteers) consisted of thirteen thousand men. The *Turks* beginning to approach the city, the duke on the 14th retreated over the bridges, and encamped: but the isle of *Tabor* in the *Danube* being judged no proper place for the cavalry, he passed that river, leaving the bridges to be defended by *Schultz's* dragoons. On the 16th the *Wazir* entered the camp, and began to open his trenches about fifty paces from the counterscarp, in the suburbs of *Ulrick*; ordering a writing or summons, wrapped in a linen bag, to be thrown on the covered way wherein he exhorted the governor and people to turn *Mohammedans* and surrender the city, otherwise to expect no mercy.

and bat-  
tered.

AFTER this the *Turks* and *Tatars* obliged the troops which kept the bridges, to retire. One of the first misfortunes which

<sup>3</sup> CANT. p. 305. & seq.

besel the besieged was, their governor's being wounded in the head with a brick bat. Mean time the *Turks* having drawn two parallel lines, and a third on the *lobel* bastion, with a line of communication between both, here raised their batteries of thirty pieces of cannon. The prime *Wazîr* took his station on the side of the ravelin, with his *Kyehaya*, the *Janizar Aga* and *Pâshâ* of *Rumeli*, who was killed with a cannon ball. The attack of the court bastion on the right was given to *Hussayn Pâshâ* of *Damaskus*; that of the *lobel* bastion on the left of the *Wazîr*, to *Ahmed Pâshâ* of *Temeswar*. But altho' they were disturbed in their lines by a brisk fall of the besieged; yet on the 23d of *July* a strong gale of wind blowing towards the city, they threw several bombs into it, and the same day sprung a mine near the *lobel* bastion with very little effect: however they made a furious assault upon it, but came off with loss. Next morning a messenger from the duke, having swam four times over the water with a letter in a bladder, hung about his neck, with much difficulty got into the city, and gave the besieged hopes of relief, as the army was now daily encreasing<sup>t</sup>.

MEAN time the *Wazîr Kâra Mostafa* continues the siege *The Wa-*  
of *Vienna*, not as prudence, but his vain imagination, sug- *zîr's ava-*  
gested: for, in a persuasion that the city could not avoid fall- *rice.*  
ing into his hands, he would not suffer it to be closely blocked  
up on all sides, or the breaches to be attacked every-where  
with equal vigour; but orders the soldiers daily to assault in  
small parties only, that the garrison being exhausted with con-  
tinual watching and loss of their men, might be obliged, at  
length, to surrender the castle. When the *Janizaries*, igno-  
rant of the general's designs, began openly to complain of  
these proceedings, and that more were destroyed by the skir-  
mishes than by a general assault of the whole army; he un-  
warily discovers part of his projects, telling those who ac-  
quainted him with what was said, that he could not satisfy  
the desires of the army, because he knew there were great  
treasures in the city, which it would be improper, and con-  
trary to the *Soltân's* command, to give up for plunder.

BESIDES, lest the soldiers should happen to break into the *Provision-*  
city, and in the first heat to seize on those treasures, he com- *fail.*  
mands proclamation to be made in the camp, that if any  
*Othman* troops should force the walls, they should immedi-  
ately secure themselves with a trench, and not presume to ad-  
vance farther, or enter any house, before he should come and  
give them fresh orders. Lastly, that, after taking the city,  
the want of corn should not oblige him to change or defer his

<sup>t</sup> MANLEY, ubi sup. JONES in Mah. 4.

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designs, he very sparingly distributes the provisions, which he had brought with him in great plenty; alleging, that good part of it was to be reserved for the troops, to be left in garrison, when the city should be reduced. In the mean while, all the provisions expected from Hungary were intercepted by the garrisons of *Presburg*, *Yavarin* and *Komorra*, as *Tekeli* had foretold the *Wazîr*. Hence so great a scarcity arose; that, a thing before unknown in the *Turkish* camp, ten drachms of bread, and even without salt, were sold for one *Rhub* (M), with other eatables, and liquors in proportion.

in the  
camp.

THE general, to remedy this inconvenience, before the famine caused a sedition in the army, sends a *Pâshâ*, with twenty thousand men, to the aid of *Tekeli* (N), with orders to attack *Presburg*, because that was the city least able to make resistance; and see the provisions, with the military stores collected at *Buda*, safely conducted to the *Othmân* camp. But duke *Charles* being informed of the *Wazîr*'s intentions, sends prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, with several regiments, who first meeting with *Tekeli*, quickly disperse the *Hungarian* troops; which struck the *Turks* with such terror, that, besides a thousand killed, and many taken, they leave a thousand waggons laden with provisions, and warlike engines, as a booty to the victors.

The soldi-  
ers desert.

THE *Janizaries*, on the news of this defeat and loss, exasperated against their general, began to exclaim, that they came to fight, not against famine, but the enemy; and growing negligent in their duty, allow the garrison, now reduced to the utmost extremity, time to resume their courage, and repair their breaches. The officers likewise, discouraged by the obstinacy of the *Wazîr*, and difficulty of the siege, grow careless of their affairs; and would have been surprised by the imperial army, if one of the enemy's couriers, who was taken, had not shewn them to what danger they were exposed. But this indolence had taken such deep root in the minds of the soldiers, that they were heard frequently to say, "O! infidel, if thou wilt not come thyself, at least shew thy cap, at the sight of which, we will fly in an hour." And, on the approach of the *Polish* auxiliaries, altho' it was easy for them to have hindered the junction of the two armies, yet not a single man would stir, to divert that imminent danger. Shortly after, the night before the battle, almost a fourth part of the

(M) It is the fourth part of a  
league, as a mile is the third.  
Cant.

(N) The Christian writers  
reckon in the whole 28,000  
men.

army



army dispersed themselves ; and those who remained, seemed to want resolution to fight\*.

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By this account one would imagine, that the *Turks* remained quite inactive before *Vienna*, after the defeat at *Presburg* ; but, according to the Christian accounts, they pressed the siege with great vigour. On the 26th of *July*, they designed a furious assault, and ordered all their warlike musick to sound : but just as they were beginning the attack, the besieged sprung a mine, which blew up many of the enemy : and, tho' the rest pressed hard to gain the ground, which the mine had laid open, they were valiantly repulsed with considerable loss. However, they gave the besieged no rest till the 6th of *August*, when springing a mine, which opened the earth very much, as far as the counterescarp, towards the court bastion, they there began a terrible fight, which lasted five hours : and, notwithstanding the great valour of count *Lesley* the younger (slain in this action) they at last, like a violent torrent, became masters of the ditch, of the court ravelin ; tho' with the loss of one thousand men, to one hundred and eighty of the besieged.

*The Turks  
advance*

On the 8th, the *Turks* sprung a mine at the point of the court bastion, which they seconded with an assault ; so that the governor, judging it impossible to defend the ravelin, caused the cannon to be withdrawn from thence, and then in a sally, driving the enemy out of their galleries, burnt all their works. The *Turks* at length, by their assiduous labours, on the 13th, blew up the flanker of the ravelin : but the quantity of powder being very great, the mine reversed on themselves, with such execution, as abated the courage of the assailants. However, the besieged being much distressed with their daily losses, sent the duke of *Lorraine* an account, by one *Kotlinski* : who disguising himself like a *Turk*, silently passed the pallisadoes, and went confidently, singing a *Turkish* air, thro' their camp. The same messenger returning with letters, promising speedy relief, they signified the receipt of them to the imperial camp, by firing three rockets, while they rung the bells for joy, and fired all the guns in the city on the enemy.

It would be tedious to relate every day's action. But while these things were going forward before the city, divers encounters happened abroad ; in which considerable bodies of *Tatars*, *Turks*, and malecontents, were defeated with great slaughter, and convoys of provisions from time to time intercepted. Hereupon, the *Wazîr* orders *Tekeli* to repair with his forces to the siege ; but he excused himself from that service. Mean time, altho' the *Turkish* camp began to be some-

*bravely  
repulsed.*

\* CANT. p. 306 & seq.

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what discouraged, for want of forage, yet they still persisted vigorously to push on the siege. On the 23d of the same month, they carried a third part of the ravelin, where they made a lodgement: next day they sprung another mine, without success; at which time, a messenger brought news to the besieged, of speedy relief. Hereupon, they made a sally on the 25th, with so much resolution, that they drove the *Turks* out of the ditch, overthrew their galleries, and gabions, nailed fix of their cannon, and discharged one of their mines of its powder.

*Renew**the attack.*

HOWEVER, the 27th in the evening, sixty rockets were fired from St. Stephen's tower, as a signal of their great distress: while the *Turks* fired incessantly upon the place, sprung a mine, and were within a little of taking the ravelin; which caused the besieged, for fear of the worst, to make another retrenchment, at the foot of the court bastion. On the first of *September* they made a sally, tho' not with the desired success: but in another, on the same day, they burnt the enemy's galleries; and ruined so much of their works, that they could not repair the same in less than three days. However, on the third the governor thought fit to quit the ravelin to the enemy; who having sprung a mine next day under the court bulwark (which made a great breach, and shook the whole city) five thousand *Turks*, with their drawn simeters, immediately entered, and crying *Allah! Allah!* planted four of their standards upon the breach.

*Repulsed  
again.*

THE besieged here acted even beyond themselves; and after a fight all day long, repulsed the enemy, with the slaughter of twelve hundred. They beat them also next day, in the ditch: and altho', on the 6th, they with two mines made a breach in the *lobel* bastion, and vigorously assaulted it for two hours, yet they were beaten off; and in their retreat, lost two thousand men, slain by the cannon, grenadoes and other engines. The joy for this success was increased by five rockets, fired the same evening, from the mountains of *Kalemberg*, as signals that relief was at hand. The *Turks* being not insensible hereof, took an account of their army, which, from one hundred and sixty-eight thousand, was now reduced to one hundred and nineteen thousand four hundred and fifty-six. Therefore, on the 9th, they resolve to make their last effort against the city, which they judged was now reduced to the utmost extremity, as in reality it was.

*Prepare**for battle.*

ACCORDINGLY, they redoubled the firing of their cannon and mortars, tho' it was but like the last struggle before death: for in the afternoon the *Turkish* camp began to move, and their cavalry to ride in a confused manner from one side to another, in order to change their situation for fighting: while those who were left to carry on the siege, still went forward with

with their works, and sprung nine several mines under the *label* bastions, but without much execution. Other mines were discovered on the 10th; and next day, they cannonaded the place, with as much violence as ever: but the noise, occasioned by the approach of the Christian army, at last silenced their roaring. This indeed happened very seasonably, for the besieged were now reduced to great extremities, as well as necessities; and the appearance of smoke, in three different places, on the *Kalemburg* mountains, cheered their spirits, as being the signal that the duke was hastening to their relief.

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BEING come now to the eve before the battle, it is time to return to the *Turkish* historians, and see what resolutions were taken in the *Othmân* army. While the desertion of their soldiers, before-mentioned, struck the *Pâshâs* with dread, the *Wazîr* alone continues fearless. However, he assembles the other officers to hear their opinions. *Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, *Beglerbeg* of *Buda*, first delivers his thoughts, and advises the raising of the siege; then, marching against the enemy, to make a rampart with the trees of the neighbouring woods, and fortify it with cannon, in order to receive the first attack: that afterwards, the horse should fall on the enemy in flank, as they retired, and thus obtain an easy victory. All the *Pâshâs*, excepting a few, approve this advice: but the *Wazîr* obstinately opposes their admonitions; alleging, that if he raised the siege, the garrison would destroy the works raised against them, repair their walls, and recover their strength: that the small forces of the enemy, which scarce deserved the name of an army, would refuse to venture a battle; which, as things then stood, they could not avoid, without hazarding the loss of their all: that even after a victory, it would be difficult to get the *Janizaries* to return to the siege, and again enter the trenches, where they had suffered so much already; and, that in case it should not, yet the autumnal rains were approaching, which formerly obliged *Soleymân* to withdraw with his army from before the same place. For these, and other reasons, he concluded it best to continue the siege, without drawing-off to fight the enemy.

WHEN the *Wazîr* had done speaking, the *Pâshâs* answered, that the garrison, being so much exhausted with sickness and labours, would be more solicitous to defend the fortifications still left, than to recover what they had lost: and, that as the trenches, and other works, were stronger than the city, if one or two regiments were left to defend them, it would be more difficult for the garrison to seize them, than for the *Janizaries*

7 RICAUT, MANLEY, ubi supra.

to

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fought.

to take the city. But nothing could divert the *Wazîr* from his purpose, which he resolved to execute, by virtue of the power given him by the *Soltân*.

THE Christian army therefore advancing, on the 20th day of *Ramazân*, *Kâra Mostafa*, orders first all the prisoners, amounting to near thirty thousand, to be massacred. Then dividing his forces, which were not employed in the siege, into three parts, he gives the command of the left wing to *Ibrâhim Pâshâ* of *Buda*, and of the right, to *Kara Mehemed Pâshâ* of *DiARBeker*; the body of the army, with the *Agâ* of the *Janizaries* and *Spahis*, he reserves for himself. The rest of the *Janizaries*, he leaves under the command of his *Kyehaya*, in the trenches, to attack the city in the mean time. Altho' the officers seemed to execute these orders with great vigour, yet the *Wazîr* soon found, what *Ibrâhim Pâshâ* had told him was true, and now too late repented that he had not followed his advice: for, upon the first charge of the *Germans*, those who were placed in both wings, quit their ranks, and refuse to obey the orders of their generals. The *Janizaries*, who were left in the works, observing what was done in the battle, of their own accord abandon the siege, and remove out of their trenches; under pretence of assisting their companions, who were in distress, but in reality to withdraw themselves from the danger. The *Polish* forces soon after coming up, and attacking the body of the army, which was intirely unsupported, the rest of the *Janizaries*, and *Spahis*, betake themselves to flight with the utmost precipitation.

The Turks  
over-  
thrown:

WHEN *Kâra Mostafa Pâshâ* saw his soldiers scattered on every side, and no possibility of renewing the battle, he returns also himself to the camp; and finding no man in his tent, laments his ill fortune with a flood of tears, takes up alone the standard of *Mohammed*, and follows the remains of his army with all possible speed. Night coming on, the darkness covers the fugitives from the enemies sword, but does not remove their fears; which had so deeply possessed them, that, insensible of hunger, and the fatigues of the way, they never stop till they reach their companions, who had been left at the siege of *Yavarin*, twenty-five *German* miles from *Vienna*: thus travelling in one day and night, without meat or drink, the space of fifty hours.

their pre-  
cipitate  
flight.

MEAN time the imperial army, finding that the *Othmâns*, after a short skirmish, retreated to their camp, and not knowing what passed there, imagined the *Wazîr* had laid an ambuscade for them: because they could not believe that such a numerous army would take to flight, upon so slight an attack. As the darkness encreased their apprehensions of danger, they resolved to stop, and to assault the camp next morning: but, when

when they were informed by their scouts, that the *Turks* were fled (O), the *Poles*, chiefly induced by the hopes of plunder, enter their camp in the night; and find there, besides one hundred and eighty large cannon, with other warlike stores, a great booty and provision, enough for several months <sup>2</sup>.

To this account of the *Turkish* historians, let us add some particulars from the Christian. *September* 12, being the day appointed for the relief of *Vienna*, which could not have held out twenty-four hours longer; the confederate troops joined the imperialists at the foot of the *Kalemberg*, or mountain of *Kalem*, amounting by computation, in the whole, to sixty-five thousand men. In their march over this mountain, the prince of *Saxe Lawenburg*, general of the cavalry, with eight regiments of horse, two of dragoons, and one of *Kroats*, belonging to the emperor, with all the cavalry and dragoons of *Bavaria* and *Frankonia*, marched on the right; and next to them the king of *Poland*, with his army. In the middle was the infantry of *Bavaria* and *Frankonia*, commanded by prince *Waldek*, near whom, the elector of *Bavaria* kept all that day. The imperial foot, with the *Saxons*, under prince *Herman* of *Baden*, were drawn-up on the left, and marched along the *Danube*, towards *St. Leopold*: next to these, on the left, marched count *Caprara*, with seven regiments of imperial horse, joined by the *Poles*, under *Lubomirski*; with all the cavalry and dragoons of *Saxony*, commanded by the elector himself.

Order of  
battle.

BOTH armies began with the opening of the morning, to take a view of each other; and the generals supposed by the disposition of the *Turkish* camp, that they intended to dispute every inch of ground with them. This they might easily have done, had they possessed themselves of the forest of *Vienna*, which could have hindered the descent of the confederate army from the mountains. Therefore, the king of *Poland* got four battalions of *German* foot to flank his horse; and count *Lesley*, general of the artillery, having raised a battery

<sup>2</sup> CANT. p. 308. & seq.

(O) Happy is the Christian general who sustains three onsets of the *Turks*: for at the third, or at most the fourth repulse, they will certainly turn their backs: and if he advances upon them with a slow pace, they will not only abandon their camp and cannon, but also put the whole army in disorder, by the confused cry of *Gyawr Ghildi*, the infidel is coming. The *Janizaries* are not obliged to make above three charges: once indeed in a battle with the *Russians*, in 1711, they renewed the attack seven times; but it was because the *Russian* general dared not pursue them, when they gave way. Cant.

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at the coming-out of the wood, the *Turks* early in the morning detached some forces to demolish it. In the mean time, the duke of *Lorrain*, observing the motion of the enemy, from *St. Leopold*, sent some battalions, under the duke of *Croy*, to attack them ; which he did with such gallantry, that he made them retire to their main body, altho' himself was wounded in the action.

attack the  
Turks.

THE whole *Turkish* army beginning now to move, the duke of *Lorrain* ordered his left wing to advance ; and the princes of *Waldek* and *Saxe Lawenburg*, to fall out of the woods upon their front, at the head of their intrenchment, while the king of *Poland* rode in among the ranks of his army, encouraging them to conquer, or die martyrs to their religion. By this time the *Kalemberg*, and neighbouring forests, resounded with the peals of cannon, and volleys of shot ; which invited the inhabitants of *Vienna* to the tops of their houses and rampiers, to behold the long wished for sight of their deliverance. However, they did not so neglect their own defence, but that the *Turks*, who attacked them now more closely than ever, were bravely repulsed.

The Jani-  
zaries fly.

MEAN time, the confederate army advanced boldly upon the enemy, who began to shelter themselves behind trees, rocks, and rugged places ; and the imperialists left wing, without much resistance, possessed themselves of the post at *Holstad*, while prince *Waldek* compelled them on the other side to give way. The king of *Poland* also detached several *Hussars*, to skirmish with the front of the enemy : but, being overpowered, they were forced to retreat to a place, where *Waldek* had seasonably ordered some troops to advance, who put a stop to the pursuit of the *Turks*. The king seeing the disorder of the *Hussars*, caused the first line of his army to march, who forced the gros of the enemies to retire to the top of the hill. And now the whole *Polish* army moved, opposing the *Othmâns* in several places, while the duke of *Lorrain* advancing with the left wing, the *Turks*, to avoid the attack upon their right, drew into battalia before their line of circumvallation, and there fortified themselves with some cannon : but, after all, making no resistance, the duke commanded the whole left wing to wheel about to the right, without breaking their ranks, or falling to plunder.

The camp  
entered.

THE king and *Waldek* entered the *Turkish* camp about seven in the evening ; and the duke soon after mastered the counterescarp, and suburbs of the city. Night put an end to the battle ; which favoured the retreat of the *Janizaries*, and gave the confederates a complete victory : for the enemy abandoned all their tents, baggage, ammunition, and provisions, with all their artillery ; and they so hastened their retreat,

that

that the van of their army had passed *Raab*, before next day in the evening. The *Wazîr*'s rich tent fell to the king of *Poland*; who made the emperor a tender of one half of the booty (P), which he generously refused: but at the bishop of *Vienna*'s instance, took down the crescent from the spire of the cathedral, and set up the cross. This crescent was erected in 1529, when *Soleymân* besieged the city, and was there by compact to remain, on condition that the *Turks* should not batter the steeple with their cannon; which compact they had now broken.

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To give our readers a general estimate of the booty taken *Booty* on occasion of this signal defeat: there were 6500 tents: *found* 4500 barrels of powder: 6000 weight of lead: 20,000 *grains* *there*. nado shells: 8000 hand granadoes: 11,000 shovels and pickaxes: 1600 weight of match: 2500 fire balls: 5200 weight of pitch: 11,000 weight of oil of petroleum and tar: 500,000 of linseed oil: 9500 of salt petre: 5100 pieces of coarse linen: 200,000 hair sacks, for carrying earth and sand: 810 weight of iron bars and horse-shoes: 100 ladles for melting pitch: 200 weight of packthread, with thongs made of camels hides, and bufler-leather, for binding: 4000 sheep skins: 52 sacks of cotton: 1500 empty wool-sacks: 2000 halberts: 400 scythes and sickles: 5600 barrels of guns, for the *Janizaries*: 2000 plates of iron, for covering targets: 123 hundred weight of grease and tallow: 230 powder horns: 2600 bags for powder: four pair of smiths bellows: 8000 carts: 1000 great bombs: 18,000 cannon balls: 180 cannon, and mortars <sup>a</sup>.

### S E C T. III.

*Transactions from the Siege of Vienna, to that of Buda.*

NOW let us break-off, to return to the *Turkish* historians. While the Christian camp resounds with joy, at *The Wazîr* this so unexpected a victory, and all *Europe* congratulates the *destroys* confederates, upon the relief of *Vienna*, there appears a very different face of things among the *Turks*, who had escaped from the defeat. The *Wazîr*, when he comes to *Tavarin*,

<sup>a</sup> RICAUT & MANLEY, ubi supra.

(P) We are told also that he *Mohammed's* standard to the sent him one of the three horse pope: but it has been observed, tails, with a brass knob on the in a former note, that it was top, which were carried before not *Mohammed's* standard. the *Wazîr*; and that he sent

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the chief  
officers.

earnestly studies, not to repair his loss, but to turn upon others the danger, to which, according to the *Turkish* custom, himself lay exposed. He perceived it was not possible to do this, so long as *Ibrâhîm*, *Pâshâ* of *Buda*, and the rest, who were privy to his councils, were alive; since they might, by their testimony, add great weight to the charge, which would be preferred against him, and discover his designs against the *Othmân* empire. He therefore sends, on some pretence, for all those who had opposed him in the last consultation, and commands the *Pâshâs* to be strangled (Q), and the other officers of the army to be put to death; giving out, that they, in conjunction with *Tekeli*, had first devised the siege of *Vienna*, and in a manner constrained him to undertake it, contrary to his inclination: that, notwithstanding, they were afterwards very dilatory in obeying his orders, and the first who in the battle betook themselves to flight. After this, he encamps under the walls of *Buda*, of which he makes *Kâra Mehemed Pâshâ* the governor; a man who had always implicitly followed his opinion.

The Poles  
defeated.

In the mean time, the confederate army, resolving to reap in *Hungary* some farther fruits of their victory, move towards the east. The *Poles*, who assumed the greatest share of that success, claimed the right of marching in the van, being farther puffed up with the pride of having routed some of the flying troops, wander about the country without any order, as if they had now subdued all the *Othmân* forces. In this manner ranging, they happen, in the month of *Shawal*, to meet near *Gran* with six thousand horse, and two thousand *Janizaries*, drawn together by two *Pâshâs*. These they attack boldly, thinking to rout them at the first onset: but the *Turks*, who were at first inclined to fly, perceiving them to be separated from the rest of the army, make a stand, and, after repulsing, hem them in: so that, had not the *Germans* seasonably come into

Seasonably  
relieved.

their assistance, they must all have been destroyed by the *Othmâns*, who killed a thousand of them, with the son of general *Yablownowski* <sup>b</sup>.

THE Christian writers inform us, that the design of the confederate army being to besiege *Barkan*, a palanka, or fort, opposite to *Gran*, the king of *Poland*, in haste to get thither, marched forward, leaving the infantry behind, contrary to the advice of the duke; who thereupon marched away, with most

<sup>b</sup> CANT. p. 311, & seq.

(Q) They were the *Pâshâs* *raged* heret; the *Pâshâ* of *Buda* of *Buda*, *Esseck*, and *Possiga*, being very well beloved by with the *Aga* of the *Janizaries*. them, as well as the *Aga*. The soldiers were mightily en- *Manley*.

of



of the horse to attend him. The *Poles* being come within sight of some squadrons of the enemy, forced them to retreat: but being supported by fresh troops, the king with all his cavalry came to be engaged; when six thousand *Turks*, concealed behind a hill, suddenly appearing, the *Poles* were charged both in front and rear with such bravery, that they were put to flight. The duke of *Lorraine*, on advice of this, hastened his march to the opening of a plain, where the *Turks* were in hot pursuit of the *Poles*; but on his appearance they retreated. The *Poles* were so discouraged with the repulse and loss they had sustained, amounting to 2000 men, that the duke had some difficulty to bring them to resolve upon another engagement<sup>c</sup>.

NEXT day, the *Polish* and *German* armies, being united, *The Turks* attack the *Turks* near *Barkan*; and after a fierce battle, defeat *defeated*, them. In their flight, passing the *Danube* hastily, they with their weight break down the bridge, before one fourth part could get over, and are carried away by the stream; the rest flying to *Barkan*, on the approach of the confederates, deliver up the town, and their arms, with both the generals. There fell in the battle about three thousand *Turks*: the remainder were either drowned in the river, or taken prisoners<sup>d</sup>. In this battle, prince *Lewis* of *Baden* commanded the right wing, *Dunewaldt* the left, and *Staremburg* the main body. The king of *Poland* posted himself on the right wing, between the imperial cavalry and dragoons; *Jabloneski* in the left; and the rest of the *Polish* army made a third line. In this order, being come near the enemy, the *Turks* right wing charged the left of the confederates with such fierceness, as if they had a particular resentment against the *Poles*. At the same time, those on the rising of the hill advanced, as if they intended to attack the main body of the confederates; but they suddenly wheeled, and fell upon the left. This being observed by the duke of *Lorraine*, he crossed the line of the cavalry on the left wing, and with all the first line which had not yet been engaged, charged the enemy in flank with such bravery, as to put them to a *with great slaughter*. general rout, so that they could not rally again; *Dunewaldt* was ordered to pursue them; and with the first line, and *Poles* of the left wing, advanced to the very gates of *Barkan*; where many were killed, and perished in the marshes of *Gran*. Hereupon, prince *Lewis* attacked, and took, the fort of *Barkan*; and of the vast multitude of people who were in that place, none escaped the sword or drowning, excepting about seven or eight hundred, who were in a redoubt, and obtained

<sup>c</sup> RICAUT & MANLEY, ubi supra.      <sup>d</sup> CANT. p. 311.

A. D. 1683. quarter. The *Turks* in this battle lost above ten thousand of their best soldiers, and had about one thousand prisoners taken, among whom were the *Pâshâs* of *Hâlep* and *Silistria*, with several *Agas*. The *Poles* and *Germans* were ready to come to blows about the plunder: but count *Staremburg* interposing, the place, with all the spoil, was yielded to the *Poles*.

*Gran befieged,* THE *Turks*, on this defeat, grew very mutinous, so that the prime *Wazîr* himself dared hardly shew his head: while *Tekeli* and his associates sent deputies, with proposals of accommodation, to the duke of *Lorrain*; who would agree upon no terms, but an absolute submission. Soon after this, *Wesbrin* and *Leventz* received *German* garrisons: the countries also of *Trinschin*, *Tirnaw*, and *Nitria*, declared against the malcontents. Mean time, the duke induced the king of *Poland*, after some hesitation, to undertake the siege of *Gran*<sup>d</sup>. The *Turkish* historians tell us, that the christian generals were at first diverted from this design, by a report, that the *Wazîr* was advancing with an army of fourscore thousand men, to wipe off his late disgrace: but that the report proving false, they, in the beginning of *Zilkaadeh*, attack this fortrefs with so much fury, that the *Turks* were seized with terror, and the governor *Bekr Pâshâ*, tho' he had above four thousand men, on the fourth day of the siege, surrenders, upon capitulation, a city which had resisted a much larger army for as many months<sup>e</sup>.

THE taking of this strong place was owing much to the bravery of the *Bavarian* troops. Three batteries raised against it, began to play on the 25th of *October* early, and much battered the castle, on the side towards *Buda*: they threw in likewise many bombs; whilst the imperialists advanced to the very ditch, and there made a lodgment, in spite of the great efforts of the besieged, to hinder them. They likewise stormed, and soon took, the lower town on *Barkan*-side, from whence the inhabitants retired to the castle. However, that night they undermine the hill, on which it stood, and there being also a wide breach made in the wall, the garrison was summoned to surrender, on condition of safety for their lives and goods, which next day, being the fifth of the siege, they, for fear of the utmost extremity, accepted of. The governor, *Bekr Pâshâ*, and some others, having a great desire to wait on the duke of *Lorrain*, were treated by him with great civility.

*Other advantages.* AFTER this success, the troops began to retire into winter quarters. In their way thither, *Leventz* yielded to them; the *Kroats* also took the castle of *Rabonitz*; the town of *Pro-*

<sup>d</sup> RICAUT & MANLEY, ubi supra.

<sup>e</sup> CANT. p. 312.

*benz* on the *Drave*; the castle of *Essegbet*, with the city and castle of *Brevenitz* near *Kanisia*. The citizens of *Setzin*, which was attacked by the *Poles*, opening the gates before the articles were agreed on, a miserable slaughter was made of them; among whom were slain twelve hundred *Janizaries* and two thousand other *Turks*. After this the king returned home with his army. For all this separation of the confederate forces, the imperial arms gained such reputation, that several castles belonging to the mal-contents surrendered at discretion; and count *Zabbar*, commander in chief next to *Tekeli*, submitted to the emperor <sup>f</sup>.

WHILE these things are doing in *Hungary*, *Petreczeicus*, Moldavia-  
(O), prince of *Moldavia*, after the departure of the king of an cruelty  
*Poland* for the relief of *Vienna*, joining those of his party with  
*Konikki* (P), general of the *Kosáks*, passed the *Tyras*, and  
marched into *Bessarabia*. When he found the country with-  
out any defence (for the *Buják* and *Krim Tatars* were almost  
all employed in the siege of *Vienna*) leaving the *Kosáks* to  
guard his camp, he with his *Moldavian* troops destroys the  
country on all sides, with such cruelty, that he spared neither  
age nor sex. He empaled alive or dashed out the brains of  
the *Tatarian* children; caused the virgins to be ravished and  
then murdered; the women with child to be ripped up; and  
the old men to be put to the most dreadful tortures, to make  
them discover their riches; in a word, he omitted no kind of  
barbarity which had ever been before invented.

WHILE the *Moldavians* (Q) are thus performing the part severely  
of executioners, rather than of soldiers, the *Tatars*, who revenged.  
had escaped from the battle of *Vienna*, return; and finding  
themselves inferior to the enemy, lie concealed in the borders,  
where being reinforced, they suddenly attack them, dispersed  
over the country, and take a severe revenge for the slaughter  
of their companions. Then they inclose the *Kosáks*, who  
not daring, on account of their fewness, to venture an engage-  
ment, defend themselves with a chain of waggons, and pro-

<sup>f</sup> RICAUT & MANLEY, ubi supra.

(O) Who in the battle of *Chebrin* had revolted from the *Turks* to the *Poles*.

(P) He was, after the defection of *Doroshenko* and *Circo* to the *Turks* and *Russians*, made by the *Poles* Hetman of the *Kosáks* dwelling between the *Tyras* and *Borysibenes*, who had not yet shaken off the *Polish* yoke. Cant.

(Q) This was not the fault of all the *Moldavians*: for all the old and principal barons had retired to the mountains, and into *Walakhia*; but it was done by some of the younger, who had been allured by the fallacious promises of *Petreczeicus* and the *Poles*. Cant.

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ceed slowly to the river *Hierafas*. But their number daily decreasing, and provisions failing, they are dispersed by famine and the snows, rather than by their pursuers. In their flight many are slain, and more taken prisoners: so that of the whole army, only a few troops of *Kosaks*, with *Petreczeicus* and *Konikki*, escape with great difficulty into *Poland*; nor could they have escaped, if the horses of the *Tatars* had not been quite spent.

Prince  
Dukay's  
fate.

*DUKAY*, prince of *Moldavia*, underwent a much harder fate: for at his return from the *Vienna* expedition, when he sees the country in confusion (almost all the nobles having either revolted to *Petreczeicus*, or fled into the neighbouring provinces) and finds *Jassi*, his capital, desolate, he retires with a few followers to *Domnestim*, a village in the district of *Putna*, in expectation of better times: but here, while he is intent on settling the affairs of the nation, he is suddenly attacked by *Bainski* (R), a *Moldavian*, related to *Petreczeicus*, who takes and carries him into *Poland*; where soon after he dies in close confinement at *Warsaw*. In his room the *Turks* appoint *Demetrius Cantacuzenus* (S), a man of noble extraction, but weak, and fitter for times of peace than war; for which reason he did not long enjoy his dignity.

The Wazir's artifice

LET us now see what was doing in the mean time at the *Othmân* court. The *Soltân*, who knew nothing of what passed either in the army or state, but as he was informed by the *Wazir*, having been assured by that minister, that *Vienna* could not hold out many days longer, as hath been before related, removed his hunting nearer to *Constantinople*; with design, as soon as news was brought him of its surrender, to celebrate his triumph with great magnificence: but when he heard of his army's defeat, he returned to his capital, to prevent any sedition which might be raised on that occasion. Not long after he received letters from the *Wazir*, wherein he imputed his ill success to the artifices and treachery of his officers, especially *Ibrûhîm Pâshâ*, who first advised the siege, and then refused to obey his orders, prejudicing the rest by his ill example. With the letters he had sent rich presents to the *Valide-Soltâna*, and all the officers of the court in favour with the *Soltân*; who, by their representation of matters, was so fully persuaded of *Kâra Mossafa's* innocence, that he

to destroy  
others.

§ CANT. p. 312. & seq.

(R) After *Petreczeicus's* death, he returned to *Moldavia*, and was appointed *Serdar*, or general of the army, which was beyond the *Pruth*, by prince *Cantemir's*

father, who was then *Fayod* of *Moldavia*.

(S) The son of *Mikbaul*, of the *Constantinopolitan* family.

not only approved of his putting *Ibrâhim Pâshâ* and the rest to death, but also confirmed him in the *Wazîrship*, and the command of his new army.

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THE *Wazîr* had not ventured to put all the officers to death who were privy to his designs, for fear the great number of executions should raise a suspicion in the *Soltân*, without whose knowledge they had been done: but now, encouraged by the success of his presence, privately intimates to *Mohammed* by letters, that the *Aga* of the *Janizaries* and other *Pâshâs*, whom he named, had again shewed themselves disobedient to his orders; yet, that he was unwilling to use the power which his majesty had given him, lest his enemies should malign him, and therefore desired to know his pleasure concerning them.

BUT this step, instead of obtaining his ends, proved his ruin: *Detected*, for the court was by this time much changed; and the other *and strang-* officers, who had been present at the siege of *Vienna*, had *led*. transmitted a more faithful account of the transactions, whereby the artifices and designs of the *Wazîr* were discovered. This, with the news which arrived of the taking of *Gran*, and defeat of the forces at *Barkan*, gave the patrons of the persons accused an opportunity to set forth the treachery of the *Wazîr* in such strong colours to the *Soltân*, that he orders the *Kyehaya* of the *Kâpiji*, to go and put him to death. That officer finds him at *Belgrade* in the hords of *Mohama*, intent on recruiting his army, and seizes him in his own house; where being shewn the mandate, and making no resistance, but affirming himself crowned with martyrdom, he is strangled by four executioners, and his head carried to *Constantinople*. The *Soltân* appoints in his room *Kâra Ibrâhim Pâshâ*, the *Kaymakan*, and charges him to take a severe revenge on the enemy, for the disgrace which the empire had suffered by his predecessor's ill conduct: but *Kâra Mostafa* had, by injuries offered to the Christian princes, raised too many enemies for the *Othmân* empire to contend with<sup>h</sup>.

Hejrah  
1095.  
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1684.

WE are told by the Christian historians, that this *Wazîr* having in 1680 married the *Soltân's* daughter, a child of but eight years old, rapine and violence were necessary to support the charge. One way to raise money was by false demands or allegations against the ambassadors or residents of Christian princes. They began with the *French* minister, to whom they denied the privilege of sitting on the *Sofa* when admitted to audience. But the ambassador, by his master's order, resolutely standing on his privilege, the *Wazîr* called him to account for what some *French* men of war had acted

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against the *Tripolines* in the *Soltan's* port of *Scio* (T); and without so much as seeing, committed him prisoner to the custody of the *Cbaush Bâshi*, demanding, besides satisfaction for the affront, two hundred thousand crowns reparation for the damage.

*The Chris-  
tian am-  
bassadors.*

WITH this the ambassador was forced to comply; altho', to save his master's honour, the submission was made (U) by his secretary and agent of the *French* nation. Nor did the *English* ambassador, Sir *John Finch*, fare much better: for the *Wazir* demanded seventeen thousand dollars, under pretence that a great sum of money, which was imported to *Turkey*, was not good; and then having borrowed the capitulations from Sir *John*, under pretence of perusing them, would not part with them till the merchants paid him fifty purses, twenty of which were afterwards returned. The *Venetian Bailo*, thinking to run some goods, was detected, and fined thirty thousand dollars: but it cost the republick two hundred thousand to make amends for some damage done to *Dalmatia*. Lastly, the *Dutch* president having had a dispute with the customer, was obliged to pay seventy purses, in order to have his capitulations rendered more explicit<sup>1</sup>.

*Two Bai-  
los*

THE affair of the *Venetian Bailo* is set in a more advantageous light by the *Turkish* historians. According to them, *Pietro Ciurani*, arriving at *Constantinople* with two men of war and three merchant ships, upon his landing, ordered the goods to be carried to his house. The receiver of the customs suspecting, from the quantity, that the effects did not all belong to the ambassador, visits the ships, and finding that great part of the freight was consigned to merchants, who refused to pay the customs, confiscates and sends them to the *Soltan's* warehouses. The *Bailo*, to recover what was taken from him, shews from publick records, that it was the privilege of all foreign ambassadors to bring to *Constantinople*, custom free, whatever goods they pleased, as well on the mer-

<sup>1</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

(T) This affair is placed by *Manley* in the year 1682.

(U) These prostrated themselves with their presents before the *Soltan*, while the usher of the imperial presence proclaimed with an audible voice: *Behold the agents sent from the king of France, to humble themselves before our magnificent emperor,*

*and in the name of their king to offer their presents, in satisfaction for that affront and insult which the French ships offered at the port of Scio.* Then the presents were produced one by one, and rated at ten times the value each. Thus writes *Jones*, but *Manley* does not make such a farce of the matter.

chants

chants account, as their own (X) : but finding reasons were of no effect, he redeems the ships which had been seized, by promising the receiver a large sum of money. A. D. 1684.

A FEW days after a *Venetian* nobleman, who had formerly seized and been taken prisoner at sea, escapes to the ships sent to convoy *fined*. home *Morofini*, the former *Bailo*. His patron, being informed of this, petitions the *Wazîr* by an *Arzubah* (Y), that the fugitive might be restored to him. Hereupon the *Bostânî Pâshâ* is sent to search the ship; but the captain, denying he had any fugitive on board, opposes him by force. However, numbers prevailing over courage, the ship is searched, the captive found, and the sailors, who had taken arms, are partly killed, and partly left on board, under strict guard. The *Soltân* also, hearing that a *Venetian* ship had presumed to make use of arms in the very port of *Constantinople*, arrests both the ambassadors, *Ciurani* and *Morofini*; refusing to discharge them, till they had paid several purses to redeem the sailors, and atone for their crime.

As *Vienna* was at that time besieged by the *Turks*, and the *Venetians* event doubtful, the republic of *Venice* take no notice of the declared affront : but when they hear of the defeat of the *Turks* before *war*. that city, they boldly demand satisfaction. This being refused, they make an alliance with the emperor of *Germany* (Z) and king of *Poland*, and then proclaim war against the *Othmân Porte*. The declaration is delivered to the *Kaymakân* by the *Venetian* ambassador, who afterwards changing his habit, flies from *Constantinople*. So unexpected a blow struck the *Turks* with more than ordinary terror : for since it was necessary to employ their whole strength against the *Germans* and *Poles*, they were at a loss how to supply all the maritime places with garrisons, which would require a number of men equal to a powerful army : nor was there any fleet on foot, excepting six *Soltânaş*, old and leaky ; nor any hopes of procuring one soon ;

(X) The Christian writers accuse the *Bailo* of running goods; the *Turkish* (perhaps to criminate the *Wazîr*) acquit him.

(Y) As much as to say, the opening of the cause ; so those petitions are called, which are presented to the *Wazîr* in the *divân*, about judiciary matters. They must be penned so concisely, tho' the cause be ever so great, or intricate, as not to fill up above half an octavo page :

for the *Wazîr's* resolution, with the opinion and sentence of the judges, must be written on the other half of the page. *Cant*.

(Z) The emperor, by way of opening a door to a treaty, published a general act of pardon to the mal-contents : but, as no mention was made of liberty of conscience, very few accepted of it ; and *Tekeli* ordered count *Humanai*, who did, to be beheaded.

because

A. D. 1684. because the *Hungarian* expedition would employ all the money in the treasury.

Turkish  
preparati-  
ons.

FOR these reasons, *Kâra Ibrâhîm, Pâshâ*, uses all his endeavours to pacify the *Venetians* (A), declares, that the injuries complained of were not done by the *Sultân's* orders, but thro' the avarice of his predecessor; and promises to restore what had been seized, in case they would desist from the war. But the *Venetians*, deaf to those flattering speeches, answered, that they had suffered injuries long enough already, and now the time of revenging them was come. The *Wazîr*, finding that the storm, which threatened the *Othmân* empire, cannot be diverted, applies his whole care to resist the shock. He appoints *Skaytân Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, a man of approved valour, *Seraskier* against the *Germans*, and *Ayneji Soleyman Pâshâ* (B), against *Poland*. He orders the high admiral to observe the motions of the *Venetians*; and continues himself at *Constantinople*, under pretence of indisposition, directing the general to inform him faithfully of the progress of affairs: but to acquaint the *Sultân* only with their good success, and conceal the bad as carefully as they could.

Vice-  
grade  
taken.

WHILE these things are transacting at *Constantinople*, the imperial army, under the command of the duke of *Lorraine* (C), in *Jomazi'olakbir*, marched into *Hungary*; and about the end of that month besieged *Vicegrade*, which in a few days surrendered on conditions (D). In their march from thence, they meet, and overthrow with great slaughter, the *Beglerbeg* of *Buda*, sent to retard their progress; and then besiege *Vacia*; which *Badân Pâshâ* coming to relieve, he twice attacks the imperial camp, and is twice repulsed, with the loss of fifteen thousand men. Hereupon, the governor surrenders the city, upon the same conditions which had been granted to *Vicegrade* <sup>k</sup>.

The Turks  
defeated.

INSTEAD of *Vacia*, the Christian historians mention *Witzen*. They tell us, that after the reduction of *Vicegrade*, the imperialists having performed a difficult march, on the 27th of *June*, encamped near *Witzen*, in sight of fifteen thousand *Turks*, and eight thousand *Tatars*, drawn up on the side of a

<sup>k</sup> CANT. p. 316. & seq.

(A) He also restored to the *English* and *French* the privilege of sitting with him on the sofa. *Manley. Jones.*

(B) *Ayneji* signifies, the deceitful; a name given him on account of the many artifices, he used to deceive both friends and

enemies. He was the son of *Bosnian Christians*. *Cant.*

(C) It did not exceed 40,000 men, altho' the emperor had in all, for garrisons and the like, 104,880 forces. *Manley.*

(D) In the middle of *June*.



hill, of difficult access ; for on the right they had the *Danube*, and on their left a morass. The imperialists had their right towards the *Danube* also, and left towards the mountain, extending largely in front. The way to the enemy was very rugged, and defended by four pieces of cannon ; yet the prince of *Baden*, and count *Staremburg*, forced their passage thro'. Hereupon the *Turks* attacked *Taaff's* regiment in the middle of the line, and the duke of *Lorraine* had his horse killed under him, by a pistol shot : yet, not being able in three charges to break the imperialists, who moved regularly, and kept close together, they began to give way : but, rallying again, made a fourth charge without success, so that the Christians pressing on them, they took to flight with considerable loss, altho' most of their cavalry escaped to *Pest*.

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THE consequence of this victory was the surrender of *Witzen* at discretion ; when, *July* the 10th, the army passed the *Danube*, without opposition from twenty thousand *Turks*, who were within three miles of the river, and might easily have hindered them. After this indeed, the *Seraskier* advanced against them, with all his horse, and some *Janizaries* ; making so sudden an attack, that the imperialists had scarce time to draw into order of battle : but the duke of *Lorraine*, at the head of his cavalry, leading the van, sustained the first shock with carbine shot ; so that no breach being made in their ranks, and at the same time, the rest of the army having drawn up, the *Turks*, upon their motion, were terrified into a disorderly flight, to the place where the *Janizaries* and cannon were left, and pursued by the *Polish* horse, with no small slaughter <sup>1</sup>.

THE *Turkish* historians before us do not speak of this battle previous to the siege of *Buda* : they only say, that *Vacia*, and the neighbouring towns, having been reduced, the duke of *Lorraine* marched with his army to *Buda*, on the first of *Shaaban*, and encamps under the very walls. The first attack was upon *Pest*, a town opposite to it on the *Danube*, which was taken in a few hours (E). But whilst they were intent on the siege of *Buda*, the *Seraskier*, *Shaytân Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, advances with the whole *Othmân* power (F), and endeavours to break thro' the lines, with which the imperialists had fortified their camp ; at the same time, ordering a body of *Janizaries* to attack the enemy another way, and try to throw sup-

Buda be-  
sieged.

<sup>1</sup> RICAUT & MANLEY, ubi supra.

(E) Our historians say the men, besides 15,000 left to guard the bridge of *Esseck*.  
*Turks* burnt it.

(F) Consisting of 80,000 *Manley*.

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The Pâshâ  
slain.

plies into the garrison, by penetrating through their camp: but, being repulsed in every attempt, he pitches his tent opposite to theirs, and annoys them with continual skirmishes <sup>m</sup>.

FOR more particulars of the siege, we must have recourse to the Christian writers. According to them, the confederate army sitting down before *Buda*, on the 14th of *July*, the *Turks* burnt the lower-town next day, situated on a hill, and defended by a strong castle, with regular works, and eight thousand men, furnished with all kinds of necessaries. On the 12th of *August*, the besiegers sprung a mine near the great tower, without much effect; and *Kâra Mohammed*, *Beglerbeg* of *Buda*, dying on the 14th of a wound in the face, he was succeeded by *Ibrâhim Pâshâ*; who soon after was slain also. On the 16th, the besieged made a sally, and were beaten off with some loss; but had better fortune in several others, which succeeded. Mean time, endeavouring to open a wider breach in the wall; they were not a little disturbed by the approach of the *Seraskier*. But while the duke of *Lorraine* drew off part of his army to oppose him, some of his foremost troops fell violently into the trenches on the right, and were seconded by a sally of the *Janizaries*, from the city, on the left. Their charge was so furious, that they gained the two first posts, and proceeded to the third, even under one of the batteries: but they were at length driven back, and had a fort on the *Danube* taken from them. At the same time the cavalry of their left wing was so warmly charged by the imperialists, that they fled in disorder, without staying for the foot to advance upon them. This done, the duke stormed the upper town, and carried it. Many of the *Turks* fled to the castle, which being shut against them, fell by the sword, whilst others who retired to their houses, were burnt along with them. It is said that twelve hundred *Janizaries* fell on this occasion, to about fourscore imperialists, killed and wounded.

Turks de-  
feated.

The Seraf-  
kier at-  
tempts,

THE same night, batteries were raised against *St. Gerard's* mount: however, the besiegers began now to labour under many inconveniencies: and at the beginning of *September* the rains fell in such abundance, that in some trenches the soldiers remained a whole day up to the middle in water. This increased the diseases of the camp, and helped to give the *Turks* successful sallies. At this time, the *Bavarian* infantry coming to reinforce the imperialists, the duke summoned the governor to surrender, threatening otherwise to give no quarter. The governor answered, that he expected none; and to shew that he resolved to give none, ordered forty prisoners

to be slain on the walls. But, for all this boasted resolution, he depended not so much on the strength of his garrison, as the assistance of the *Seraskier*; who at length marched with about twenty thousand men, to *Alba Regalis*, with an intention to disturb the siege: but on the advance of the duke of *Bavaria*, he moved towards the bridge of *Esseck*, in order to hinder count *Lesley*, the general of *Kroatia*, to burn that bridge, or take the forts which defended it.

To furnish this design, the duke of *Lorrain* went himself in person to oppose him. But the *Seraskier* declined fighting, and returned under the cannon of *Alba Regalis*: while certain regiments were posted on hills, to observe their motions; and several redoubts built, to impede his march to *Buda*. However, that general being resolved once more to attempt the relief of it, set forward on the 20th of *September*. Next day two thousand *Turks* attacked the lines in two places, in order to force their way into the city: but altho' they were beaten off with considerable loss, fifteen hundred horse and foot, making a sally at the same time out of the town, cleared all the trenches before them, killed two hundred men, and advanced to the very batteries: yet at length they were driven back, with the loss of four hundred of their companions. To make amends for this, about the same number, on the 23d, waded over a marshy ground, up to the arm-pits, and got into the place, while the *Seraskier* appeared as if he would have attempted the lines himself. On the 25th, making the same feint, the besiegers drew out of their lines to oppose him. Mean time, a detachment of *Turkish* horse advancing under covert of the hills, before they were perceived, attacked a quarter of the imperialists, where they cut-off one thousand men, while a thousand *Turks*, under favour of the same hills, got into *Buda*: whereupon the *Seraskier* retired to *Alba Regalis*.

THE siege now began to go on very heavily, and the imperialists, having on the second of *October*, battered down a little tower belonging to the castle, next day, with four thousand men, attempted to make a descent into the ditch; but were beaten-off, with the loss of fifteen hundred. This encouraged the besieged to make several successful sallies, while the *Seraskier* kept the confederate camp in a continual alarm. Hereupon the generals, considering that the besieged were still ten thousand strong, well provided with necessaries: that without a greater force, it was not possible to cut off their communication with the *Danube*; and that their own mines, besides being ill managed, had been discovered, they raised the siege on the first of *November*; after they had lost twenty five thousand men, and retired to winter quarters.

<sup>n</sup> RICAUT & MANLEY, ubi supra.

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to what  
owing.

THE *Turkish* historians impute the raising of the siege wholly to the last cause; and confess that all the efforts made by the *Seraskier*, would not have relieved the city, if the garrison had not, by accident, or treachery, discovered the mines, just as the imperialists had determined to surround the place. For the generals, finding they must now begin their work again, and at the same time contend with a superior army, thought it more advisable to raise the siege; which they did on the 23d of *Zulkaadeb*, after four months leaguer, without any opposition from the *Turks*, who were glad to see themselves freed from the fears of that formidable expedition.

IN the mean time count *Lesley*, sent by the duke to besiege *Wirrowit*, a considerable fortress in *Sclavonia*, defeated the *Turkish* auxiliaries in two battles, and assaulted the walls with such fury, that the garrison was obliged to surrender, on the 23d of *Shaabân* (G). About the same time, *Tekeli* being routed by the imperialists at *Eperies*, in upper *Hungary*, his cabinet and baggage are taken by the conquerors.

*Affairs of Moldavia.* WHILE the *Seraskier* of *Hungary* is thus engaged, to his loss, with the *Germans*, *Ayneji Soleymân Pâshâ*, with better success, fight the *Poles* at *Bâbadâghi* (H); where having assembled his army, he passes the *Danube* near *Sakcza* (or *Sakcha*) and, hearing that the *Polish* troops did not yet appear, thinks it more proper to settle the affairs of *Moldavia* and *Walakbia*, than march any farther. These provinces were at that time governed by the two *Cantakuzeni*, *Moldavia* by *Demetrius*, and *Walakbia* by *Serbân* (I), whom he resolves to de-

(G) By this means a way was opened for him to *Esseck*, whither he was bound, with 15,000 men, to burn the bridge.

(H) The seat of the *Pâshâ* of *Silistria*, as hath been observed before. There are found in the neighbourhood plenty of eagles, from their strength and largeness, called by the *Turks*, *Ghiu-jighien*. Their feathers are the best for arrows; but if an arrow, fledge with a quill of this eagle, be put into a quiver with arrows made with other feathers, that feather, will eat all the other feathers to the wood. *Cantemir*.

(I) A magnanimous prince, who formed the design to drive the *Turks* out of *Europe*: for

which purpose he had made leagues with the emperor, and czars of *Russia*, who promised to make him emperor, after *Constantinople* was taken. He also cast 38 cannon, and raised 24,000 men. This the *Turks* knew; but, being harrassed by the *Germans*, dissembled their resentment. However, they were delivered from him by death, being poisoned, as it was thought, at a feast, by his brother *Constantine Stolnik*, and *Brankovan*, his sister's son, that they might live at ease. He left one son, prince *George*, who lives in *Transylvania*, under the emperor's protection, and four daughters. *Cant.*

pose; the first, because a weak man, and unskilled in military affairs; the latter, because he kept a correspondence with the emperor of Germany, and Czar of Russia. *Demetrius* he divested of his authority, and appoints *Constantine Cantemir* (K), Polish *in-Serdar* of the province, in his room: but, being bribed by *Serbân*, with a large sum of money, conceals his treachery, and confirms him in his government.

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DURING the *Seraskier's* stay in these parts, *John III.* king of Poland, on the 12th of *Ramâzan*, assembles his forces at *Buchach*, and before any such design was suspected, at the first assault, takes *Quancze* (L), situated on the *Tyras*, opposite to *Khotin*, and about two hours distant from *Kaminiek*. There he commands a bridge to be built over the *Tyras*, in order to transport his troops into *Moldavia*: but when it was just finished, the *Serâskier*, passing the *Tyras*, surprises the king, and shuts him up in his camp; where he harasses the *Poles*, and gives them no time to rest, or draw-up in order, while the *Tatars* destroyed all the provisions in the neighbourhood. The king finding things desperate, escapes first out of the camp, with a few attendants, and is soon after followed by the officers; who, having burnt their baggage, and thrown their warlike engines into a lake, leads home the remains of the army (M), not without great loss.

THE *Venetians* had much better success in the *Adriatic Venetian* sea: they begin the war at *Morlakkî*, in *Dalmatia*, subdue *Urana*, *Obrowazzo*, and *Skardona*; burn *Dernis*, and take the castle of *Duare* by stratagem. Their fleet commanded by *Morosini*, who surrendered *Kandia*, arriving at *Leukos* (N), lays close siege to the city, which *Bekr Aga*, governor of the castle, after seventeen days defence, delivers up, on the 6th of *Ramazân*, and passes over to the continent. The island

(K) Surnamed the old; he was prince of *Moldavia* eight years, and the father of our author prince *Demetrius. Cantemir*. He died in 1693. *Serdâr* is general of the forces, appointed to defend the borders, that lie between the *Hierasus* and *Tyras*, against the *Kosâks* and *Tatars*.

(L) Or *Quanche*, the Christian writers say *Jaslowitz*.

(M) The Christian writers say, the king's actions this year fell very flat: and that the *Turks* laughed at them, and said, he

had been bribed by the king of *France*, their only friend among the Christians; and so made no preparations against him, for the ensuing year. *Jones*.

(N) Or *Leucade*, called also *Santa Maura*, an island in the *Ionian* sea, north of *Cephalonia*, formerly joined to the coast. It has no towns, but only the forts of *Demata*, and *Santa Maura*. The fleet arrived there on the 20th of *July*, which was surrendered on articles the 6th of *August*, when ready to be stormed. *Jones*.

A. D. 1684. being subdued, the *Venetians* send part of their forces, under the command of *Strasoldo*, into *Akarnania*, a province of *Epirus*, and compel *Venizza* and *Seromero* to submit. In their progress forward, they defeat four thousand *Turks*, under *Seffer Aga*, who endeavoured to stop their passage; whereupon the inhabitants of the country voluntarily submit to pay them tribute.

**Prevesa**  
*surrendered.* IN the mean time, the rest of the army had passed into the *Morea*, and so fiercely assaulted *Perevesa* (or *Prevesa*) that on the eighth of the same month of *Ramazân*, *Mehemed Effendi*, who commanded the garrison, was obliged to deliver up the castle (O). Besides these successes, there came an account from *Tina*, an island in the *Archipelago*, that several *Turkish* galleys, sent to seize it, had been repulsed with great loss.

*K A R A Ibrâhîm Pâishâ*, judging that it would be easy to recover those places from the republic, when once the *German* and *Polish* armies were repulsed; he appoints the generals, who had before been so successful, to be *Seraskiers* against those powers, and sends only a small army, with a fleet, against the *Venetians*.

**Viwar**  
*besieged,* MEAN time, the *Germans* had so closely besieged (*Owar*, or *Newhaufel*) during the whole winter, that the famine destroyed more than the sword. At length on the first of *Hej. 1096* *Shaabân*, in the year 1096, the city is assaulted in form, and the siege pushed with such vigour, that the garrison, a few days after, was obliged to abandon the out-works °.

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ACCORDING to the Christian historians, besides famine, snows, and great rains, the *Germans* were afflicted with a pestilence, which spared neither man nor beast: The blockade was commanded by general *Schultz*, with four thousand horse and dragoons, besides *Hussârs*, who defeated six thousand men, coming to relieve the place, under *Tekeli*. However, this prince, adventuring a second time with three thousand horse, made way for as many more, and three hundred waggons, with provisions, to enter. After this, two thousand sacks of corn got in: but while *Schultz* defeated another convoy, *Tekeli* defeated him, and took all his baggage. Being also forced to raise the siege of *Esperies*, he was, in his retreat totally routed by *Tekeli*; whose troops, not long after, were routed in their turn, with the loss of the provisions sent to

° CANT. p. 318 & seq.

(O) The *Venetians* attacked *September*, and had the place *Prevesa*, because *Sainte Maura* surrendered on articles, on the 28th. They began the siege the 21st of

supply

supply the garrison of *Newhausel* (*Viwar* or *Owar*). General *Heuster* was likewise successful in divers rencounters, and took two large convoys, going with provisions to that city. A. D. 1685.

MEAN time the duke of *Lorrain* having joined the imperial army at *Gran*, it was resolved to besiege *Novigrade*, rather than *Buda*, which had been strongly fortified by the *Turks*: but encouraged by a letter, sent from the Christian slaves at *Newhausel*, falsely setting forth, that the place might be easily taken, and that there were no more than twelve hundred men in garrison, they determine to invest it; and on the 7th of *July*, encamped on the *Nitra*, about cannon-shot from the town. On the 11th, they opened their trenches. The 14th, the batteries began to play against the bastion, near the gate of *Gran*; and by the 21st, made a considerable breach, while the duke sent parties to observe the motions of the *Seraskier*, *Shaytân Ibrâhîm*, late governor of *Buda*. On the 22d, the town was set on fire; which yet was extinguished by the great rain that fell, and much incommoded the besiegers in their trenches. On the 25th, they endeavoured to fill the ditch with rubbish; but the *Turks* in a sally stopped the channel by which the water ran into the river. Yet, being beaten back by the *Bavarians*, and the bank again opened, the water fell so low, that they discovered a secret passage, by which the ditch was supplied from the marshes; the stopping whereof became a continual cause of contest.

THE waters still encreasing in the ditch, the besiegers fell to make galleries, which being fired by the *Turks*, caught hold of the next batteries, and blew up their powder. Mean time, advice arrived daily of the *Seraskier's* motions; who on the 26th, with 60,000 men, pitched his camp in sight of *Gran*.

Now let us return to the *Othmân* historians. On advice that the garrison of *Viwar* (or *Newhausel*) had abandoned the kier outworks of the town, the *Seraskier*, *Shaytân Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, hastens to the relief of the city; and finding it dangerous to attack an army so strongly intrenched, has recourse to his usual artifices, and besieges at once, *Gran* and *Vicegrade*, hoping by this means, to draw off the enemy's forces from *Viwar*. Fortune indeed seemed to favour him: for in a few days he not only recovered *Vicegrade*, but so distressed *Gran*, not yet sufficiently repaired since the last siege, that it seemed in no less danger of being taken, than *Viwar*.

BUT before the *Seraskier* could finish what he had begun, the duke of *Lorrain*, leaving sixteen thousand men to continue it, the siege of that place, marches with the rest of his army

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against him, and, on the 2d of *Ramazân*, appears in sight of the *Othmân* camp. The *Seraskier*, imagining he had now gained his point, immediately abandons the siege of *Gran*, and draws up his army so advantageously, that the enemy could neither surround, nor attack him in front or flank, without great danger. The right wing was defended by the rapid *Danube*; the left by a ridge of mountains, which extended for several leagues; and the front was covered with wide and difficult marshes. In this situation he continues four days, without motion; either, by delay, to elude the attempts of the enemy, or to destroy them in their passage over the morass, if they should venture to attack him. But the duke perceiving his design, and considering that his army could not, without extreme danger, be exposed in such difficult places, counterfeits a flight; and sounding a retreat, on the 14th in the night, retires with his whole camp.

but is  
over-  
thrown.

THE *Turks*, imagining that the *Germans* were fled in earnest, boldly follow them; and tho' often repulsed, continue all night to attack them as they retreat: while the imperialists proceed on, and leave a space for the enemy both to pass the morasses, and open their front. At length, when they perceived more were passed over than could return without loss, they halt, and so furiously attack their pursuers, who followed them in confusion, that they compel them to fly back to their camp, with great precipitation. The elector of *Bavaria*, who commanded one of the wings, follows them through the morasses; while the duke of *Lorrain* does the same on the opposite side, tho' neither of them knew the other's intentions. Upon this, the *Turks*, being seized with a panick, in spite of all the *Seraskier* could do, take to flight in such confusion, that the *Janizaries* killed and unhorsed their own cavalry, to fly with more speed; so that a greater number were slain by their companions, than by the enemy. Their camp, baggage, treasure, provision, and a great quantity of warlike stores, fell to the conquerors.

Another  
account of

THE Christian historians differ somewhat from the *Turkish*. The duke of *Lorrain*, on the news of the *Seraskier's* being encamped in sight of *Gran*, as before mentioned, sent out a party; who on the 4th of *August* returned, with news that he had besieged that city. Hereupon the duke set forward with 40,000 men; and on the 10th, stopped within three hours march of the place. There next day they were surprised with the sight of the garrison of *Vicgrade*; since they heard nothing of the siege, altho' attacked for sixteen days, before the blowing up of the tower joining the castle obliged them to sur-



render. The 13th, he marched in quest of the enemy, who had raised the siege on his approach; and next day came in sight of them, encamped beyond the morafs: but, finding the morafs impassable, he feigns a kind of fear, and retreated back an hour's march. The *Turks*, thus deluded, on the 15th and 16th pass the marshy grounds, and coming up with him, hastily charge the right wing of the imperialists, who repulsed them three times; while the duke caused the left wing to move slowly to their assistance. The *Seraskier*, perceiving the disorder of his left wing, advanced to attack the imperial right wing himself: but the duke doubling the forces of the first line, *Donewaldt* reinforcing it, and the elector of *Bavaria* at the same time coming to their assistance, the *Turks* were put into confusion.

HOWEVER, as soon as they were out of reach of the *German* muskets, they rallied again, and charged as furiously as before: yet at length were routed. This being observed by their right wing, they wheeled that way, to try their fortune once more, and succour them. With this view, a considerable detachment advanced to attack the imperialists in flank; but being repulsed, the whole army was put to flight; and retreating over the marshy grounds, in the pursuit, above two thousand of them perished there. the battle.

MEAN time, the imperial right wing, being acquainted with the passage over the marsh, pursued them that way, and made them abandon their camp; leaving tents, baggage, and all behind them. Altho' in the first action, they lost not above four thousand men, yet double that number perished in the morafs, and other ways; besides thirty-eight colours, twenty-three cannon, and two mortars, taken: whereas the imperialists lost not in all above two hundred men.

IN the interim, the besiegers had made such a progress before *Newhausel*, that, on the 19th of the same month, they made a general assault: when the *Turks* defended themselves with great bravery, and never hung out a white flag, till three thousand of their enemies had entered the breach. But it being then too late, the soldiers put all to the sword, without distinction of age or sex. The governor died next day of his wounds, and out of seventeen hundred of the garrison, remaining out of three thousand, only two hundred were saved. Viwar taken,

THE *Turkish* historians say, this city was taken on the 19th of *Ramazân*, and several thousands of the garrison slain, with the loss only of a few men on the enemy's side. The *Othmans*, according to the same authors, were struck with such terror at the taking of this fortress, that not only the garrisons with other places.

RICAUT, ubi supra.

A. D. 1685. of *Novigrade* and *Vicegrade* abandon those cities, at the report of the enemy's approach: yet the *Seraskier* himself, tho' in other respects a man of invincible courage, and a veteran soldier, sent one of his officers twice to the imperial general, to try whether any peace might be made with the emperor; but, as more advantages were expected from the present situation of affairs, he was both times dismissed with a downright denial.

German  
successes.

WHILE the duke of *Lorrain* was yet engaged in the siege of *Viwar*, count *Lefley*, with a small body of troops (P), had laid waste all *Slavonia*; routed the *Pâshâ* of *Poshega* (Q), and on the 12th of *Ramazân*, burnt great part of the bridge over the wide morasses of the *Drava*, and taken *Essék*: but, not being able to reduce the castle, he plundered the town (R), and then left it. *Schultz* had equal success in lower *Hungary*; where, on the 10th of the same month, after a long siege, he compelled *Esperies*, a city of *Tekeli's* party, to surrender (S); and took *Tokay*, with several other castles and towns, which were garrisoned by the rebels. *Merci* and *Heusler*, joining their forces, had subdued *Zolnok*, *Ibraîni*, *Kalo*, *Little-Waradin*, *St. Nicholas's Church*, and *Sataisa*. *Tekeli's* party, being every-where routed, retire to *Kassovia* (or *Kashaw*); and strongly fortifying the city, determine to wait there for the troops promised by the *Turks*, chusing to suffer the utmost extremities, rather than submit to the *German* emperor.

Kassovia  
besieged,

Tekeli  
arrested.

SOON after, *Caprara*, on the 3d of *Zilkaadeh*, beginning to attack the city (T), *Tekeli*, to secure his troops from the danger, sends frequent messengers to the *Pâshâ* of *Waradin* for assistance. This the *Pâshâ* promises; but desires *Tekeli* to come and advise him how the place might best be relieved. *Tekeli*, putting too great a confidence in him, sets forward, with 7000 of his countrymen; and, before he reaches *Waradin*, is met by the *Pâshâ*, who receives him with great honour, quarters his soldiers in the neighbourhood, and desires him to enter the city, with his principal officers. Then he invites the prince to dinner; which being over, an officer, attended by several *Janizaries*, enters the room, and shews the

(P) About 8000 men.

(Q) The *Turkish* commander, according to the Christian accounts, was called *Siauos* or *Shaus Pâshâ*: which word, in prince *Cantemir's* history, is written *Siauos*. This defeat was on the 13th of *August*. He was killed here.

(R) And burnt it likewise,

but did not think fit to attempt the castle. *Jones*.

(S) The siege began the 19th of *August*, and the city surrendered the 18th of *September*, on very honourable conditions.

(T) *Kashaw* was invested on the 6th of *October*, and surrendered on the 25th.

*Soltân's* mandate to bring *Tekeli* in chains to *Constantinople*. *Tekeli*, unable to resist, suffers himself to be carried away bound; while his attendants, struck with surprise, and fearing for themselves, stood motionless, nor dared to ask the reason of such treatment.

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PRESENTLY after, the *Pâshâ* sends for *Petrozzi*, the principal person among them, bids him lay aside his fears, and take upon him the command of the *Hungarian* forces, till the *Soltân's* further orders. *Petrozzi* artfully conceals his resentment, and replies, that altho' he knew not *Tekeli's* crime, and had believed him a faithful servant to the *Soltân*, yet he did not doubt but his majesty had a very important reason for treating him in that manner: that, however, this affair would not shake the fidelity either of himself or the *Hungarians*. These assurances he gave the *Pâshâ*: but, at his return to the camp, with the rest of *Tekeli's* attendants, he persuaded his countrymen to a very different conduct. After giving the officers an account how treacherously the prince had been ensnared at *Waradin*, he told them "it was in vain to expect  
" the restoration of liberty to *Hungary*, from men who knew  
" not what liberty was, and had no other rule of their actions  
" but the arbitrary will of their governors.—That they  
" should therefore consider what would be most for the in-  
" terest of themselves and the kingdom, whether to con-  
" tinue in exile, see their country wasted, and be perpetually  
" in fear of prison and chains; or to implore the emperor's  
" mercy, whose troops had in two years subdued almost all  
" the kingdom, excepting *Kassovia*, and embrace the am-  
" nesty offered them."

*Petrozzi*  
made ge-  
neral:

revolts to  
the empe-  
ror.

THIS last measure being approved by them all, *Petrozzi*, with the whole army, goes to *Caprara*, still engaged in the siege of *Kassovia*; and promising fidelity to his imperial majesty, joins his forces to those of the emperor, and orders them to make incursions upon the *Othmân* territories. The garrison of *Kassovia* hearing this, immediately follow their example, and open their gates on the 26th of *Zilkaadeh* to the imperial general.

WITH regard to this arrest of *Tekeli*, our historians tell us, *With se-*  
that the great success of the imperial arms in *Hungary*, as al-  
ready related, had struck such a dread into the hearts of the  
*Turks*, and the malecontents, that they, without any diffi-  
culty, yielded *Potak*, *Regents*, *Ungwar*, and *Seraw*, all be-  
longing to *Tekeli*; and that several other strong places (U),

veral  
places.

<sup>r</sup> CANT. p. 322. & seq.

(U) As *Senetz* and *Valdœbin*, *Pallotz*, *Duron*, *Spadex*, *Joram*,  
with the castles of *Sonna*, *Annoin*, *Hingen*, *Zatmar*, and others.

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followed their example : so that the *Seraskier*, to cover his own ill success, caused that prince to be imprisoned at *Wardin* (X) \*.

Poles in-  
vade  
Moldavia.

MEAN time the *Poles* meet with a very different fate in *Moldavia* : for the king, taught by the ill success of the last expedition, that nothing could be done for his advantage in those countries, unless he could engage the inhabitants in his interests ; tries, during the whole winter, by various arts, to gain the prince *Constantine Cantemir*, and induce him to revolt from the *Turks*. *Cantemir* let him know, “ that he was “ willing enough to do as he desired him, could he but see “ that by his revolt, the least advantage would accrue to “ *Christendom*, whereas, at that time, it would rather prove “ detrimental to the king ; and, that in case he should consent to revolt, yet the states of the province could never be “ persuaded to hazard the loss of their estates and children, “ who were hostages at the *Porte*, for their fidelity.”

Prince  
Cante-  
mir's ad-  
vice

*SOBIESKI*, finding the prince inflexible to his persuasions, in the beginning of summer, sends his forces, under the command of *Potocky* and *Tablanowski*, towards *Moldavia*. *Cantemir*, informed of this, advises the generals by letter, “ to take *Kameniek*, before they passed the *Tyras* (or “ *Nieſter*) ; since otherwise, as they had experienced last year, “ their retreat would be cut off, in case they were defeated ; “ and, if they obtained any victories, would not gain the more “ ground : that their eruption would only expose the inhabitants to captivity and torments ; and that he himself “ was obliged by the severest threats to repair to the *Turkish* “ camp, and defend his principality to the utmost of his “ power.”

THE generals, despising the prince's advice, answer, “ that “ they are commanded by their king, to endeavour to subdue “ *Moldavia* ; and therefore cannot disobey his orders : “ that the siege of *Kameniek*, was difficult and needless, since “ the neighbouring country being once reduced, the garrison “ must abandon the town for want of bread ; and that they “ feared no defeat from the *Turks*, having an army with them “ sufficient to repel the forces of the whole *Othmân* empire. “ they conclude, by advising him to join his troops with theirs ; “ and threatening otherwise to treat him as an enemy.”

\* RICAUT.

(X) Our author adds, that *Tekeli*, by his agents at court, so well acquitted himself, that orders were quickly dispatched to the *Pâſbâ* to release him, and at

the head of the army, to proclaim him innocent : but a little lower the readers will find the *Turkish* account of this affair.

WITHOUT

WITHOUT waiting for a reply, they run a bridge over the *Tyras*, and pass with their army into *Moldavia*: but had not marched far, before they were met, at a village called *Boyan*, by *Ayneji Soleymân Pâshâ*, and with twenty-five thousand *Turks*, and *Selîm Gyeray Khân*, with fifty thousand *Tatars*, who were followed by the prince of *Moldavia*, with five thousand men. When the two armies came near each other, they stopped, and fortified their camps. The *Seraskier* and *Khân*, perceiving the *Poles* to approach, consult whether they shall attack them, or wait till the enemy either fall on the *Othmân* camp, or retreat. As they differed in their opinions, *Cantemir*, desirous of turning every thing, as far as possible, to the advantage of the *Poles*, persuades the *Seraskier* to remain in his post, and prevent the *Poles* from making any farther progress; alleging, "that a battle was not rashly to be hazarded, "since the enemy were numerous, and he (the *Seraskier*) had "but twenty-five thousand men who could be depended on, "as the *Tatars* would scarcely stand the first fire: that if any "misfortune happened, all *Moldavia*, and perhaps *Bujak*, "with the *Danubian* provinces, would become a prey to the "Poles: that, in short, they might be subdued without the "loss of a single man, if he would but surround his camp "with strong works, and weaken them by continual skirmishes."

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~  
sighted by  
them.

THE *Seraskier* approving this advice, *Cantemir*, by a trusty person, informs the *Poles* of all which had passed in the council; adding, that his troops were posted on the western bank of the *Tyras*, and that they had nothing to fear from that quarter. The *Polish* generals, on this advice, resolve first to defeat the *Moldavians*, imagining that they should afterwards meet with less opposition from the *Turks*. To this end, they immediately march towards the *Moldavian* camp, which lay one hour's distance from the *Turkish*. The prince, seeing them come on full speed, wonders, and thinking they had mistaken his directions, draws up fifteen hundred of his men; not to oppose, but to undeceive them by their colours, embroidered with crosses, and other marks of Christianity: but the *Poles*, regardless of these peaceful and friendly dispositions, fall furiously on them, as if they had been capital enemies.

Their treacherous proceeding.

THE prince, incensed at this treachery, commands all his troops to arm, and repel force by force. This they did with such resolution, that they not only repulse the first body of *Poles*, consisting of six thousand men; but, in their turn, attacking them, who retired when their first ardor was spent, at last put them to flight. The noise of muskets alarming the *Turks*, they immediately send several regiments to the assistance

They are routed.

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ance of the *Moldavians*; while the rest of their army unexpectedly assailing the *Poles* in the rear, within the space of one hour, six thousand of them are killed, and five thousand *Kassaks*, who were surrounded, obliged to surrender. The remaining troops, finding victory incline to the *Othmâns*, endeavour to retreat to their trenches: but being intercepted by the *Tatars*, they take to flight, leaving their camp and baggage, with all their warlike provisions, a prey to the victors.

Seromero  
relieved.

THIS however was the only good fortune which this year attended the *Othmân* arms: from all other parts, there came nothing but accounts of the defeat of their forces, with the loss of cities, and even whole provinces. They early in the spring attack *Seromero*, which last year had submitted to the *Venetians*; but on the approach of their fleet, immediately retire<sup>t</sup>.

The May-  
nottæ re-  
volt.

HERE it may be proper to observe, from the *Christian* historians, that the *Maynottæ*, a people of the *Morea*, excited by the ill successes of the *Turks* on all sides, declared for the *Venetians*. Hereupon, the *Saltân* having sent some forces to reduce them, they, with the assistance of signor *Delphino*, attacked three thousand five hundred *Turks*, with so much vigour, that no more than one hundred and forty escaped either the sword or captivity.

THESE things were the preludes to greater matters: for the captain general *Morosini*, with the *Venetian* fleet, joined by the galleys of the pope and *Mâlta*, both sailed to the waters of *Sapienza*; and having there prevailed on the *Maynottæ* to revolt a second time from the *Turks*, notwithstanding their late agreement, resolved to besiege *Koron*, as the most commodious place, to support, and keep them firm to the republic. With this view, the captain general landed his forces, consisting of eight thousand foot, besides horse, under the command of the count of *St. Paul*, almost within cannon-shot of that city, without opposition<sup>u</sup>.

Koron be-  
sieged.

THE *Venetians* having, on the 23d of *Rajeb* (15th of *June*) according to the *Turkish* historians, closely besieged *Korm*, *Halâl*, *Seraskier* of the *Morea*, marches to relieve it with the forces which he had ready; and having suddenly taken a redoubt, built for their defence on the top of a hill, from thence annoys their camp with his cannon. But the *Maltese*, appointed to guard that part, assault the *Seraskier's* camp, before he could secure what he had gained; and being reinforced by other troops, after a long and bloody conflict, force him from his post. A few days after, he advances a second time; but finding the enemy strongly fortified, after a few skirmishes retires. The *Venetians*, no longer in danger from the *Othmân*

<sup>t</sup> CANT. p. 323. & seq.

<sup>u</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

army, having demolished the walls, surround *Koron* on the 10th of *Ramazân*, and after an obstinate defence of the garrison, enter it by storm. The *Turks*, seeing no possibility of saving the city, offered to surrender: but as this was too late, after all the fortifications of the castle were taken, they were all put to the sword \*.

ACCORDING to the Christian writers, the suburbs, or out town of *Koron*, was quickly taken; and the tower of the fort erected towards the sea, which much incommoded the fleet, effectually battered by two gallies. However, the *Turks*, on promise of relief, made an obstinate defence; and, July 7, about 6000 of them appeared under *Siaus Pâshâ* (Y): who, finding himself too weak to attack the besiegers, fortified his camp, and from thence much incommoded them, with a battery of four cannon played cross-wise, as well as with his frequent skirmishes. However, the *Venetians* went on with two mines, one of which, charged with one hundred barrels of powder, being fired on the 24th, blew up part of the wall, but not moving the rock, vented itself another way. The *Turks*, taking this to be a signal for a general assault, as in fact it was, immediately invested the redoubt and battery, erected on an eminence by the besiegers, for security of their lines; and stormed it so furiously, that they at length took it, and planted thereon twenty of their colours.

THIS being observed by M. *la Tour*, who commanded the knights of *Mâlta*, and was posted nearest, he, with great speed advanced, and was the first who leaped into the redoubt, where he killed two *Turks* who opposed him: but a third behind, tipping off his light helmet, cut him down, while a barrel of powder, which took fire, blew him into the air. However, he was followed so close by the other knights, that altho' many of them fell, yet they recovered the fort, and slew the two hundred *Turks* who had lodged themselves there. They likewise repulsed the enemy, in another attempt which they made to recover it: but, to prevent being any more annoyed by them, it was resolved to attack their camp on the 7th of *August*, by break of day. To this purpose, fifteen hundred soldiers landed out of the gallies, one part marching to the left, the other to the right of the trenches, while general *St. Paul*, with three thousand out of the lines, assaulted them in front. The signal being given, they all fell at once upon the camp of the *Turks*; who believing the *Venetian* forces to have been much augmented by the *Maynotta*, and other aux-

\* CANT. p. 325.

(Y) This is a mistake perhaps for *Halîl* or *Kbâlîl Pâshâ*.

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*The city surrenders.* THE besiegers, no longer disturbed by the enemy's army, go on briskly with the siege; and on the 11th sprung a mine, which, being charged with two hundred and fifty barrels of powder, found in the *Turkish* camp, overthrew the bulwark, and blew up all who defended it. The breach thus widened, they immediately assault it, yet go no farther than to make a lodgement there; while the forces of *Málta*, supported by those of *Brunswick* and the pope, attacked another breach, and gained the top of it, where a most terrible fight ensued: but altho' they were repulsed for this time, they in the afternoon marched out of their lines, to make a fresh assault. Hereupon the besieged erected a white flag: but as the captain general refused any treaty, unless the main tower was first delivered up, it happened that, while this point was settling, a pistol was shot between two soldiers who fell out, and the bandoleers of another took fire; which so alarmed the besieged, that they cried out, treachery! and immediately discharged one of their cannon, laden with small shot. By this means, several who were mounted thereon being killed, the enraged soldiers broke into the town, and put all they met to the sword, without respect to age or sex.

*Zarnata yields.*

THIS fortress being subdued, the *Maynotta* (Z) likewise take up arms, and besiege *Zarnata*: but the garrison understanding that forces were coming from the *Venetians* to assist the enemy, they deliver up the city<sup>2</sup>.

THE taking of this place is represented very differently by our historians. They tell us, that, on the loss of *Koron*, the captain *Páshá* sailed with his gallies in sight of *Cerigo*, hoping to divert the *Venetians* from any farther attempts this year: but soon retired himself, for fear, to *Napolídi Romania*. Mean while *Morofini*, reinforced at *Korsu* with the *Saxon* troops, set sail to the coast of *Zarnata*; which city was surrendered to him by the *Aga*, commanding there. His officer fearing to be but to death for his cowardice or treachery, remained in the *Venetian* camp,

<sup>1</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

<sup>2</sup> CANT. p. 326.

(Z) They are the descendants of the ancient *Lacedemonians*, and at this day the bravest people among the *Greeks*. Tho' they are not reckoned to have above 12,000 soldiers, yet they never were subdued, or made tributary by the *Turks*: neither could the *Venetians* ever give them law at

pleasure. Their name is derived from *mania*, *madness*; because they rush in battle upon the enemy as if they were mad. The country they inhabit is on all sides surrounded with mountains, which are the chief defence of their province. *Cant.*

and



and had a pension given him by the captain general, of thirty pieces of eight a month, after he had received baptism, with twenty *Turks* more, who consented to the surrendry.

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WHILE these things were acting, the captain *Pâshâ*, leaving the command of his fleet to *Mezzamama*, or *Mezzomorto*, came and encamped with seven thousand foot, and three thousand horse, within five miles of *Zarnata*; but, on news of the surrender of that fortress, withdrew his forces under the cannon of *Kalamata*: yet, when the *Venetian* forces landed, and moved to attack him there, he set fire to the magazines, and made his retreat with some small skirmishes (A). The inhabitants also, finding themselves deserted, fired the place, and left it to the enemy; who, not judging it fit for a garrison, demolished the walls. After this, the *Venetians* seized on *Porto Vitalo*; and *Hassan Pâshâ*, accompanied with a thousand people, brought the keys of *Kbielasa* to the admiral galley. To crown the campaign, the captain general, happening in his return with some galleys to put into the port of *Gommennizza* (B), he quickly obliged the garrison to leave him, in possession of the castle <sup>a</sup>.

Other success.

IN the mean time, *Valier* had closely besieged *Zing*, in *Turks de Dalmatia*; but, after losing a great many men, on the approach of the *Pâshâs* of *Bosnia* and *Ercegovina*, retires from before it. The *Turks*, flushed with this success, attack *Duare*: but a few days after, are repulsed with greater loss by *Valier*, who had raised fresh forces <sup>b</sup>.

OUR historians say, that *Paolo Michael*, a noble *Venetian*, having with one thousand horse joined three thousand *Morlâkians*, made incursions into *Bosnia*; and that the *Pâshâ* being thereby diverted from his intended march into *Hungary*, sent eight thousand men to besiege the fortress of *Duare*, in *Dalmatia*: but that they were beaten off by *Valier*, in conjunction with *Michael*, while the *Morlâks* defeated four thousand others under the *Pâshâ* himself, as he was advancing to support the siege.

'TIS hardly credible how much the account of these ill successes disturbed the *Othmân* court, and especially the prime zir's *Wazîr*, *Karâ Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*; who, continuing at home, under a real or pretended indisposition, was in fear of being di-

The Wazir's artifice.

<sup>a</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

<sup>b</sup> CANT. p. 326.

(A) The *Turkish* historians say the *Turks* were routed here with great slaughter, by the *Venetians*, under *Degenfeld*; and that hereupon *Kalamita*, *Passa*, and *Kbielasa*, being abandoned

by the *Othmâns*, were dismantled by the enemy. CANT. *Othm.* hist. p. 326.

(B) A town of *Akbaia*, opposite to *Korcyra*. Ibid.

A. D.  
1685.to cut off  
rivals.

vested of his dignity. To ward off this blow, he has recourse to the method used by other *Wazirs* before (C) him, and the only one left : which was to destroy all who were eminent for their warlike abilities ; that, in case the *Soltân* should resolve to deprive him of the imperial seal, there might be none so worthy to possess it as himself. He begins the tragedy with *Shoytân Ibrâhîm Pâshâ*, *Seraskier* against the *Germans*, whom he accused of negligence in the battle of *Gran*, and of converting the soldiers pay to his own use (D). The same fate befalls others, who could either justly or unjustly be charged with any crime. The only person who seemed out of danger, was *Ajneji Soleymân Pâshâ*, *Seraskier* against *Poland*, who had gained so great authority by his victory in *Moldavia*, that he was universally declared worthy of the *Wazîrship* itself.

K A R A

(C) Some of the most eminent *Wazirs* have used this artifice. The most skilful in this practice, was *Kyoprili Mehemed Pâshâ*, who, in the seven years of his *Wazîrship*, put to death, under various pretences, almost all the old *Pâshâs* brought up under *Morâd IV.* The chief of these were *Seyd Oglî*, the defender of *Hungary*, against the *Germans* ; and *Delli Hufseyr Pâshâ*, governor of *Dalmatia* ; two of the most excellent and invincible heroes who ever were in the *Othmân* empire. This *Wazîr*, after he had obtained a *Khatîsharîf* (or mandate) for putting the latter to death, sent for him, and with wet eyes pretended to lament his misfortune. But *Hufseyr Pâshâ*, who knew his hypocrisy, answered, *O ! thou old wizard, like a crocodile, thou first killest a man, and then weepest over his body.* Then pulling a gold box out of his bosom, in which he kept 24 pieces of bones, taken out of his wounds ; he flung them in his face, with these words ; *I was raised to the office of Wazîr, and the happiness*

*of dominion, not like thee, by magic arts, but for my fidelity, and effusion of my blood. Cut therefore my head off, if thou wilt, like an infidel : but lay my feet in thy mothers pudendum.* This *Pâshâ* was *Selbadar* to *Morad IV.* who never did any thing without his advice. He was famous for his invincible resolution, in all conditions of life. His ready wit, eloquence, and quick repartees, many excellent actions and sayings of his, are recorded, of which our author *Cantemir* gives some instances.

(D) Our historians tell us, that differences arising in *Hungary* between the *Janizaries* and *Spahis*, *Aremxâdeb*, a man of prudence, was sent to enquire into the cause, and made a report so much to the disadvantage of *Shoytân Ibrâhîm*, that an officer was sent to take off his head, which was brought to *Constantinople* the 6th of *December*. He died, pitied by all, in the 80th year of his age. Being an excellent accountant, he was first employed by *Mr. Dawis* (afterwards *Sir Jonathan*) a factor in *Turkey* :

*KARA Ibrâhîm* therefore, finding it not safe to hurt him openly, persuades the *Soltân* to appoint him *Seraskier* against the *Germans*; by whose valour he hoped that *Pâshâ* would lose the glory he had obtained in the *Polish* war. *Soltân Mohammed*, having thereupon ordered him to be recalled from *Moldavia*, and *Buikkli Mostufa Pâshâ* (E), left in his room; The *Kisler Aga* (F), who knew the *Wazîr* to be *Soleyman's* mortal enemy, suspecting a snake in the grass, gave the *Pâshâ* notice to be upon his guard. As soon as *Soleyman* arrives at *Constantinople*, he waits on the *Wazîr*, as if he desired to receive his commands; and pretends so great a veneration for him, that *Kara Ibrâhîm*, imagining he had caught the fox, acquaints him with the *Soltân's* design in sending for him.

Is sup-  
planted by

WHEN he comes to the palace, *Soltân Mohammed*, after Ayneji highly commending his service done that campaign, offers *Soleyman* him the post of *Seraskier* of *Hungary*. The *Pâshâ*, seeming to *Pâshâ*: decline the honor, answered, that the disordered state of the public affairs, and the terror still imprinted on the army by the *Vienna* defeat, required the presence, if not, of the *Soltân* himself, at least of the prime *Wazîr*, in the camp; and that the authority of a *Seraskier* was not sufficient to oblige soldiers to do their duty, who seemed more inclined to fly or mutiny, than to fight. The *Soltân*, moved with this speech, stands musing for some time; which being observed by the *Kisler Aga*, who had been long the *Wazîr's* enemy, as well as *Soleyman's* friend, "Why (says he) O emperor! do you hesitate? if you think the *Seraskier's* counsel just and prudent, " what hinders you from immediately applying the remedy

*Turkey*: during which time a tumult arising, this obscure person was in the hurry made treasurer. He immediately gave *Dawus* notice of his advancement; and wanting money to appease the mutiniers, was advanced all that *Dawus* could raise, to the great advantage afterwards of him, and all the *English* in those parts. When *Pâshâ* of *Egypt*, meeting some *English* ships in his passage, he treated the officers; and on mentioning Sir *Jonathan*, said he was the best friend he ever had in the world.

Jones.

(E) *Buikkli* signifies having long whiskers: he was under

this *Soltân*, *Silhadar, Kapudan Pâshâ*, *Seraskier* of *Silistria*; and at length, for his victory over the *Poles*, made *Wazîr*. From this post he was removed by *Abmed II*, to the government of *Damaskus*. But he was recalled and made *Kaymakân*, by *Mostafa II*.; who, after the battle of *Zenta*, offered him again the *Wazîrship*: but he desired not to be placed a second time again in that dangerous office, from which he reckoned it one of the greatest felicities of his life that he had before escaped. *Cant.*

(F) Chief of the black eunuchs. He then bore the greatest sway at court. *Cant.*

" to

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1685.

" to this evil ? divest of his dignity *Kâra Ibrâhim Pâshâ*, under whose indisposition, whether pretended or real, the empire languishes, and appoint this hero both *Seraskier* and *Wazîr*."

who is  
made *Wazîr*.

THE suspicion which the *Soltân* had before entertained, that *Kâra Ibrâhim* counterfeited sickness out of fear, being increased by what the *Kislar Aga* had suggested, he removes the *Wazîr* from his post, and places in his room *Ayneji Soleymân Pâshâ* ; who immediately seizes his predecessor ; and finding him accused of many crimes, banishes him to *Rhodes*. Then he releases *Tekeli*, imprisoned by *Kâra Ibrâhim*, and by the evidence of *Ibrâhim Aga*, chamberlain of *Kâra Mustafa*, acquits him of the crime with which he was charged by that *Pâshâ* ; whose villanies, as well as pernicious designs against the empire, he exposes to the public. By this means *Tekeli* is restored to his former honours ; and all his effects, which he had been plundered of by the soldiers, returned to him. Affairs being thus settled, the *Wazîr*, with great diligence, raises an army, and orders all his silver and gold vessels to be turned into money (G), for support of the war.

Arad  
taken.

Hej. 1097  
A. D.  
1686.

BUT before he could bring his forces into the field, the country being still covered with snow, part of the imperial troops, under *Caraffa*, on the 18th of *Rabio'lawel* 1097, had taken *St. Nicholas* ; and another party under *Merci*, had routed several *Turkish* regiments conveying provisions to *Arad*, taken that city (H), and burnt the stores laid up there by the *Turks* .

ACCORDING to our historians, hostilities began this year by general *Heusser* taking a convoy of 200 waggons, laden with provisions from *Transylvania*, for the support of *Buda* ; which early action made *Apri Pâshâ*, appointed *Seraskier* in the room of *Shaytân Ibrâhim*, very active to supply the frontier garrisons with men and provisions.

Mongatz  
blocked up.

AT this time *Caprara* having blocked up *Mongatz*, which was defended by the lady of *Tekeli*, who could by no means be prevailed on to surrender the place, her husband made

\* CANT. p. 326. & seq.

(G) There was little money at this time ; for after the treasures were emptied with the expenses of the last campaign, the *Soltân* in summer ransacked the treasury of the stables, causing the gold and silver stirrups, with other horse furniture, to be

coined, with thirty *per cent.* alloy, to the value of 2000 purses. *Jones.*

(H) Our historians say the campaign in 1685 ended by the taking of this place (situated on the *Marox*) by colonel *Heusser*.

great preparations to raise the siege. As this motion of *Tekeli* alarmed all the country, *Caraffa* endeavoured to way-lay him in his march : but the other being informed of his design, directed his course toward *Giula*, to join the new *Pâshâ* of that place. *Caraffa*, having by this means missed of his prize, on the 9th of *February*, invested the fortress of *St. Job*, three leagues from great *Waradin*, and threw in many bombs to no effect ; till at length one falling directly on the tower, in the middle of the castle, tore it to pieces : whereupon the *Turks* immediately capitulated.

MEAN time, *Caprara* carried on the siege of *Mongatz* with great vigour. But, tho' at last the besieged, by their great losses, were able to act only on the defensive, yet, at this juncture did the princess *Ragotski* take a new oath of fidelity from the soldiers, who cheerfully complied, assuring them from *Tekeli's* letters, that he would in person shortly raise the siege. But, altho' *Tekeli* was not as good as his word, yet *Caprara* was not able to take the town ; for the great rains having rendered the ground so soft, that they could not maintain their works, he was obliged to withdraw about the middle of *April* : To return to the *Turkish* historians.

## S E C T. IV.

### *The Siege of Buda, and Battle of Mohatz, with Soltân Mohammed's Deposition.*

AFTER several other rencounters, at length, on the 26th of *Rajeb* (or 7th of *June*) the whole imperial army besiege *Buda* (I), which had been in vain attempted two years before ; and on the 2d of *Shaabân*, make themselves masters of the lower town, with less opposition than was expected. They next assault the walls of the city, and the strongest of all the forts being demolished by the cannon, on the 21st of the same month (*July* 2d) the breach is attacked with such success, that the besieged were compelled to abandon it : but the workmen who were to cover the victors with a rampart, not coming immediately, many of them are killed by the continual firing of the *Turks* ; who also have an opportunity of springing the mines before prepared, which force the imperialists to retire with great loss.

\* *RICAUT*, ubi supra.

(I) Our historians say, the general, their account agrees with the *Turkish*.

of their design. For the  
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A. D.  
1686.

The Wa-  
zîr at-  
tempts

to raise  
the siege,

THE besiegers, rather animated than discouraged by this repulse, on the fourth of *Ramazân* (July 15) having demolished several paces of the wall, they renew the assault in the same place. The contest was long doubtful, and so fierce, that above three thousand imperialists were either killed or wounded (K), before they could mount the breach; and it was with great difficulty, that, after a conflict of several hours, they forced the besieged to abandon the first wall. After this, the batteries were directed against the second: the greater part of which was also demolished (L), before the arrival of the new *Wazîr*, with his troops: who, finding it in vain to attack the imperial camp, resolves, if possible, to reinforce the garrison, and amuse the enemy by delays, till he had an opportunity to attack them unexpectedly, when fatigued with the length of the siege.

WITH this view, on the 22d of *Ramazân* (August 3d) he sends four *Pâshâs*, with eight thousand horse, and two thousand *Janizaries* (M), to try if they could pass between the quarters of the imperialists and *Bavarians*, and throw in part, at least, of the *Janizaries*, to relieve the besieged: but the duke of *Lorraine* suspecting their design, sends a body of horse to encounter them, before they reached the camp; which they did with such vigour, that after a short opposition the cavalry fled, and left the *Janizaries* to the mercy of the imperialists. On the last day of the same month (August 9th) the *Wazîr* sends two thousand *Janizaries*, with several troops of horse (N), to execute his former design. These proceeding with greater caution, surprise the advanced guards of the imperialists; and then falling on the *Brandenburg* camp, with the fury of wild beasts, rather than of men, rush thro' fire and sword, and at

(K) Our historians say they lost near 1000 men, besides officers, and 50 volunteers, several of whom were noblemen, and among others divers *English* men of quality; while the *Turks* had not above 200 killed, and 100 wounded.

(L) Owing to the blowing up of the principal magazine, near the castle: after which, July 27th, they in a general assault took the great tower; and in another, advanced as far as the inner tower, tho' not without great loss. Hereupon the governor *Apti Pâshâ* offered to

surrender the town, provided a peace was concluded. August 3, the besiegers were repulsed in making a general assault, and alarmed with the approach of 60,000 *Turks*.

(M) Our historians make but 6000 in all, and say; the imperialists took 8 pieces of cannon, and 40 standards, after slaying most of the *Janizaries*. They place this action on the 14th of August.

(N) The Christian writers say about 4000, on the 20th of August, made the attempt.

once pass the rampart raised against them: but the *Brandenburg* troops, being seasonably relieved by *Caprara* and *Hessler*, inclose the *Turks*, just ready to enter the city; and make such a slaughter of them, that scarce three hundred, and those almost all wounded, escape within the gates.

Two days after, the imperialists, to shew the besieged how little they dreaded the *Wazir*, assault the strongest part of the castle (O), and after a sharp conflict, become masters of it. When they seemed, by this means, to be very near taking the city, the *Wazir*, on the 19th of *Shawâl* (August the 18th) for the third time, obliges one thousand *Janizaries*, supported by one thousand *Spahis*, and fifteen hundred *Tatars*, to attempt the relief of *Buda*: but altho' they behaved with the same bravery as the former, and even penetrated to the trenches of the imperialists, yet they were repulsed with great loss. The garrison, who to favour the attack, had made a sally with their whole strength, seeing their friends defeated, retire again, with great speed and ill success. By these losses the *Othmân* army is quite disheartened; and a report being spread, that, when the confederate forces had taken the city, they would attack them in their camp, the greater part of the soldiers, notwithstanding the *Wazir's* intreaties, disperse themselves, and return home.

THE besiegers, being thus freed from the danger which threatened them in the rear (P), on the 13th of the same month (August 22d) make the last effort upon the city; which the governor, *Abdi Pâshâ*, a man very famous for his warlike abilities, for several hours bravely repels: but he being at length slain, the garrison begin to lose courage, and make a faint resistance. At last, finding the match unequal, they display the white flag, and desire quarter: but before the ardor of the *Germans* could be restrained, a great number of the besieged are slain upon the very walls, so that scarce two thousand of them were received into mercy.

OUR historians say, that the imperialists, after a bloody fight, for above three quarters of an hour, entered the town, and in the heat of their fury, put all to the sword: but that about sixteen hundred retiring within the trenches, and works of the

" CANT. p. 329, & seq. See also RICAUT.

(O) The *Bavarians* having played their batteries against the main castle, on the 22d assaulted the tower, and took it.

(P) Being also reinforced with 8000 men, under count *Scaffenberg*, on September 2d, began to

P p 2

castle,

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castle, begged for quarter ; which, after holding a council of war, was granted them, in consideration of the near approach of night, and of the confusion, occasioned by the fires, in several parts of the city. In this action, not above four hundred of the besiegers were slain, and two hundred wounded: but of the *Turks*, three thousand might have fallen, and two thousand been made prisoners, among whom were several officers of note \*.

*BUDA* being subdued, the prime *Wazir*, who, during the assault, had with tears lamented his own and the empire's fortune, with the rest of his army flies, rather than retreats; while the garrisons of *Hatman*, and the other adjacent places, abandon their posts, and submit to the emperor.

Other suc-  
cesses.

THE duke of *Lorraine*, finding no army to oppose him, divides his forces, and sends part, under the prince of *Baden*, into lower *Hungary*, and part into the upper, under the conduct of *Caraffa* and *Heusler*. The prince of *Baden*, with his forces, on the 8th of *Zilkaadeh* (*September* the 15th) besieges *Simonthorn*, and in a few days obliges the *Turkish* garrison to surrender themselves and castle to his mercy. Then he attacks *Kapofwiwar* (Q), and takes the city, which he plunders and abandons, because he would not stay to reduce the castle. From thence, having received fresh supplies by *Scherfsenburg*, he marches towards *Five Churches*; and on the 28th of the same month (*October* the 5th) arriving with his foremost troops within sight of the city, the garrison, on a belief that the whole army was come, set fire to it, and retired into the castle (R): but the prince ordered three hundred horse to dismount, and extinguish the flames, whereby the greater part of the city was saved for the soldiers to plunder. The garrison, by this time sensible of their mistake, out of shame, endeavour by a sally to recover the town: but were repulsed with loss.

Five  
Churches  
taken.

HOWEVER, to atone for the fault, they display on the castle walls, one black and six red banners, to let the besiegers know that they were resolved to sacrifice their lives in defence of it: but when they saw their strongest works demolished by the enemy's cannon, the prospect of death inspiring them with gentler resolutions, they take down their ensigns, and offer to surrender, on condition to depart with their arms; which being refused, they submit to mercy, and are made

\* RICAUT, ubi supra.

(Q) Or *Kapofswar*.

(R) Our historians say, the imperialists, surprising the city,

scaled the walls, and entered it sword in hand, while the *Turks* fled to the castle.

prisoners,



prisoners, with the *Pâsbâ* and seven *Begs*, on the third of *Zilbajeh* (October 10th). The prince of *Baden*, after this success, sends *Scherfenberg*, with part of his army, against *Syclos*; where that general arriving on the 7th, at the first assault takes the city: then battering the castle, he in several attacks so presses the garrison, that on the 12th, they surrender themselves prisoners of war.

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FROM thence *Scherfenberg* is recalled by the prince, who *Essek* was then at *Darda*; and hearing that some *Turkish* troops were still about the *Drave*, was resolved to defeat them: but the *Turks*, on the bare report of his approach, fly with such precipitation, that they leave *Essek* open to the enemy, and burn part of the bridge (S), to prevent pursuit. The prince of *Baden*, finding they had escaped him, orders the remainder of that bridge, and the other bridges built by the *Turks* over the *Drave*, to be burnt. In his return he assaults the castle of *Kapofwiwar*, which before had been attempted in vain; and so presses the governor, that it was surrendered on the 22d of *Zilbajeh* (October 29th) on honourable terms.

MEAN time the other part of the imperial army, commanded *Seghedin* by *Caraffa* and *Heusler*, had marched to *Seghedin*, and besieged that city; where, hearing that two thousand *Turks*, with a strong body of *Tatars*, were encamped at *Sebinta*, a town six hours distant, with design to reinforce the garrison, *Caraffa* sends *Veterani* with several regiments, who rout the *Tatars*, and take their camp, besides five thousand horses. Soon after the *Tatars* return, imagining that the *Germans* were employed in plundering; but being repulsed by the outmost guards, immediately retire. They had not been gone long, before the *Wazir* himself appears (T), bringing them back with him. *Veterani*, altho' he knew not the *Othman's* strength, yet would not retreat for fear of discouraging his men; but drawing them up, undauntedly expects the enemy. The *Turks* begin the attack, and fight with great fury; but, after two hours doubtful contest, they retire to a hill, where they are covered by their cannon: *Veterani* follows, and surmounting all difficulties, drives them also from that post, after they had lost in both battles two thousand *Janizaries*, and as many *Tatars*. *Seghedin* was the reward of this victory, on the 5th of *Zilbajeh* (October 12); when the exhausted garrison deliver up that fortress.

(S) This bridge, according to doctor *Brown*, is five miles long, and 17 paces broad, reaching from the *Drave* to *Darda*.

(T) Near the bridge on the *Danube*, with 12,000 men. They lost in this defeat all their cannon and baggage. *Jones*.

A. D.  
1686.

John Sobieski

THIS was the state of affairs in *Hungary* : but in *Poland* most part of the year was spent in negotiations. The emperor had invited the *Czars* of *Russia*, *John* and *Peter*, into an alliance against the common enemy of *Christendom* ; in order to invade the *Krim*, and prevent the *Tatars* joining with the *Turks*, while the rest of the confederate forces were employed in *Hungary*. The *Czars* having answered that they were ready to declare war against the *Porte*, provided they could be secure against a rupture with *Poland* ; the emperor at length prevailed on the *Poles*, to renounce claim to *Kiow* and *Smolensko*, which had for several ages been the ground of sharp contests, and sign the articles of peace, on the 20th of *Jamaziol* (U), 1097 Y.

invades  
Moldavia

*JOHN Sobieski*, encouraged by this new alliance, resolves on another expedition into *Moldavia*, as being the chief bulwark of the *Othmân* empire, against *Poland*. But before he took the field, he resolved to try once more, by his ambassadors, to engage the prince of that country in a treaty against the *Turks*. *Constantine Cantemir* excused himself from an open rupture, for the reasons already given, but promised, in case the *Turks* and *Tatars* were defeated in the intended expedition, that he would then declare against them ; and in the mean time let him know whatever passed in the *Othmân* camp, as well as order his subjects to supply his army with provisions. The king of *Poland*, on receipt of this answer, in the beginning of *Shawâl*, passes the *Tyras* (or *Niefter*) and advances to *Jassi*, where meeting with no opposition, and finding store of corn and wine, which the prince had provided for the *Polish* army, he spends fourteen days in feasting and entertainments.

without  
opposition.

MEAN time the *Seraskier*, *Buikli Mostafa Pâshâ*, with twenty-five thousand horse, and eight thousand *Janizaries*, had already passed the *Danube*, and sent for *Nuraddîn Soltân* (X), with thirty thousand *Tatars* to his camp. These he orders to enter *Moldavia*, and ravage the country, to be re-

Y CANT. p. 330. & seq. RICAUT, *ibid*.

(U) *April* 3d 1683.

(X) There are two offices among the *Tatars*, never given to any but the *Khân's* sons, with consent of the *Othmân* court, namely, *Kalga* and *Nurradin* : *Kalga* is as it were the *Khân's* lieutenant general, who never moves out of *Krim Tartary*, but with the whole army of the *Tatars*. *Nurradin* (which in the

*Tatar* language signifies *Will*) is the next in degré, and is sent with a certain number of forces, as ten or twenty thousand, to the assistance of the *Turks*. *Cant*. We judge *Nurradin* not to be a *Turkish* but an *Arabik* word, the same with *Nur'eddin* signifying, the light of religion : *Kalga* also is by some written

*Kalga*, *Nurradin* (which in the

venged on *Cantemir*, whose absence was deemed a revolt: but this misery was prevented by *Beg Mirza*, a *Tatar* of the *Cantemir* family (Y), who engaged that in three days the prince would arrive at the camp; as he accordingly did, about the end of the same month. A. D. 1686.

DURING this interval, the king of *Poland* advances farther, with design to drive the *Turks* out of *Moldavia*: but, on his second encampment, finds his soldiers began to want provisions, because all their stores had been wasted at *Jassi*, thro' negligence of the commissioners. To remedy this inconvenience, he passes the *Hierasus* (or *Pruth*) near *Czoczura*, imagining, that before the *Turks* approached, he should seize the richest magazines of the *Tatars*: but, when he was scarce two days march from that city, the *Seraskier* comes up and surrounds him; while the *Tatars* set fire to the grass, and cut off the *Polish* foragers. The king, in despair, offers battle to the *Seraskier*, who evades it; either thinking sixty thousand *Poles* too many for him, or else to draw them farther from *Poland*. In great distress.

*S O B I E S K I*, thus distressed, having repassed the *Pruth*, at *Vale Strimba* (Z), with great difficulty, and loss from the *Tatars*, discharges his resentment on the *Moldavians*, whom he gives up to be plundered by his soldiers (A). He himself Plunders the monasteries.

(Y) This family was very eminent among the *Tatars* for nobility and riches. They derive their pedigree from *Temur* (or *Timur*, the famous *Tamerlan*); *Kantemur*, signifying the blood or race of *Temur*. One of the *Kantemirs* rebelled for several years, both against the *Khán* and *Soltán*, who at last deceiving him by a treaty, and title of *Beg*, cut him off. His brothers submitted to the *Khán*, and were placed in the provinces of *Ak Kiermán* and *Kili*. His son, *Shábbaz*, changing his name, took the surname of *Beg Mirza*, which passed to his descendants. *Constantine's* relation. *Cant.*

(Z) This, in the *Moldavian* language, denotes a perverse or unjust valley. 'Tis a place on the *Pruth*, very unfortunate to the Christians. *Konicky*, general of the *Kosaks*, had his trenches forced there by the *Tatars*, with great slaughter. *John Sobieski* was forced to retire twice out of it, with great loss: and *Peter*, *Czar* of *Russia*, was there constrained to make peace with the *Turks*, on terms he did not like. *Cant.*

(A) The king indeed endeavoured, by letters to the prince, to clear himself, and lay the blame on the soldiers, who acted contrary to his orders: but his own violent proceedings shew, that if they did not commit robberies, and other crimes, by his permission, they did by his example. *Cant.*

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burns two monasteries at *Jassi*, seizes the sacred vessels, carries away the relics of *St. John of Soczava*, with many jewels, the pious gifts of former princes, and carries off the metropolitan, for refusing to deliver them. Afterwards coming to the monastery of the *Three Hierarchies*, he demands the relics of *St. Parasceva* (B), of *Epibati*: and on the archimandrite's refusal, orders the cannon to be brought, threatening to batter down the doors, and seize the whole treasure: but finding the prior inflexible, either touched with shame, or prevented by his officers, soon after departs. The soldiers, induced by hunger, as well as the king's example, plunder the cities and villages, not sparing any place, religious or profane \*.

His army  
wasted.

HOWEVER, these violences soon met with due punishment: for the inhabitants being dispersed by the cruelty of the *Poles* and *Kosaks*, the troops, finding the houses empty, were forced to eat raw flesh unsalted; which occasioned such a flux among them, that five hundred died in the camp every night. Prince *Constantine* likewise unexpectedly, sending his forces over the province, surprises them dispersed, and takes four thousand prisoners, of whom he burns some, and impales others. When the king arrived at *Kotnar*, the *Tatars*, with noxious herbs (C), poisoned the lake, which waters that city, so that all the men and cattle who drank of it, were destroyed. The thing being discovered, the king avoids the open country, and encamps on the *Siretus*, surrounded by mountains; which, being difficult for horses to pass, the *Tatars* leave him to return to his country, and march off laden with booty and prisoners.

Disgraced  
at Nemez

THE king in his way attacks the castle of *Nemez* (D), deserted by all its inhabitants, excepting nineteen *Moldavian* hunters, who by chance happened to remain there. *Sobieski*, not knowing how inconsiderable the garrison was, assaults the place four days with cannon and bombs, while the hunters

\* CANT. p. 332. & seq.

(B) She was mistress of the village *Epibati*; which afterwards was possessed by the great *Apokaukus*, general of the emperor *Andronicus*. *Cant.* Mention is made of *Apokaukus* in the history of the *Greek* emperors.

(C) This herb is so strong a poison, that being thrown into the rapid river *Pruth*, a good way above the enemy's camp, all who drink of the water (till the herb is carried down with

the stream) die immediately. This, however incredible it may seem to others, the author has seen done himself by the *Tatars*, of whom not above three or four in all *Tartary* knew the secret. *Cant.*

(D) A very antient city of lower *Moldavia*, seated on a high mountain, beyond the *Siretus*, near a river of the same name. *Cant.*

defend

defend themselves, and kill above fifty *Poles*, with the master of the ordnance. But on the fifth day, seeing ten of their number slain, they surrender the city, on condition that the garrison should depart where they pleased. When the king saw only six hunters come forth, carrying three others on their shoulders, struck with admiration, resentment and shame, he orders them to be hanged; but dismisses them at the instance of *Yablonowski*: then leaving two hundred chosen horse in the city, marches to *Soczawa*, the antient capital of *Moldavia*, and finding it quite deserted, takes and garrisons it.

ON these successes of the *Poles*, the *Tatars* were recalled to glean the straggling soldiers: but on the 16th of *Zilkaadeh*, being met by the high treasurer, sent before by the king with eight thousand men, they were defeated with great loss. However they took revenge, by cutting off great numbers of the *Poles*, who were now obliged to disperse themselves thro' the woods, in quest of fruit to subsist on. The king, perceiving this danger, fled privately in the night, with a few attendants, under the guidance of a *Moldavian* colonel, leaving the rest of the army with *Yablonowski*, who followed the king to *Yavarovia*, about the end of the same month.

THE *Venetians* had this year better success. In the beginning of spring, the *Morlakhians* take *Ottokh* (a city situated between the two branches of the *Cettin*) by storm, and put the whole garrison to the sword. The *Kapudan Pâshâ* attempts *Khielafa* (E), but retires on the approach of the *Venetian* fleet. Part of this fleet being sent to block up the *Dardinels*, the rest attack old *Navarin*; which being surrendered on the first day of the siege (F), new *Navarin* is closely invested. The *Seraskier* of *Morea* flies to its relief; but in the way is routed by count *Koningsmark* (G), and the marquis of *Kurbon*, with eight thousand two hundred men. Making another attempt with three thousand recruits, he is defeated a second time; on which the city surrenders on the 26th of *Rajeb* (July 7th). Three days after *Methone* (or *Modon*) is be-

(E) With 10,000 foot, and 1500 horse: but *Cornaro*, general of the islands, in conjunction with *Morosini*, the captain general, landing with 4000 men, slew 400 of the enemy, who left behind six pieces of cannon. *Jones*.

(F) They left behind forty-three brass cannon, The castle

is seated on a rock, and accessible only on one side.

(G) *Koningsmark*, on the *Seraskier's* approach with 10,000 men to its relief, marched from before it June 4th; and forcing him to a battle, routed him, with the loss of 500, their tents and baggage. *Jones*.

sieged,

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taken

sieged, and on the 15th of *Sbaabân* (June 26th) delivered up by the garrison (H), terrified by the defeat of the *Seraskier*.

To crown the work, *Morofini*, on the 10th of *Ramazân* (July 20th) lays siege to *Neapolis* of *Romania* (I); and, tho' very strong both by nature and art (K), in a few days beats down the walls. On the sixth of the siege, the *Seraskier* hastens to the relief of the city: but is met by *Köningsmark*, and presently defeated. However, knowing that if the place was lost he must answer it with his head, he raised a more numerous army; with which on the 9th of *Shawâl* (August 18th) at break of day, he, attacks the trenches of the *Venetians*, and takes possession of a hill, from whence he could cannonade their camp. In this exigence *Köningsmark* advances, and detains the enemy till *Morofini* came up, with the rest of the army. Altho' the *Venetians* were superior, yet the *Turks* fight for seven hours, as if the whole *Othmân* empire was at stake; but at last are put to flight. Hereupon *Mosfafa* the governor delivers up the castle, on promise of leave to depart <sup>a</sup>.

by Kö-  
nings-  
mark.

Our historians are more particular; according to them, the *Venetian* army, July 30, posted themselves on mount *Lamida*, which commanded the city within musket-shot; and from thence vigorously attacked it; yet could not prevent the *Seraskier*, who lay incamped near *Argos*, from reinforcing the garrison with three hundred men, under the command of *Mosfafa Pâshâ*. Count *Köningsmark*, thinking it necessary therefore to dislodge the *Seraskier*, left fifteen hundred *Italians* to guard the works about the town, and marched two miles out of the camp to meet the enemy; who having lost two hundred men, presently retreated. Hereupon, *Köningsmark* possessed himself of the castle of *Argos*, and then returned to the siege of *Napoli*; which by this time was set on fire in several places by the bombs, and their magazine blown up. At length the *Seraskier*, being reinforced to ten thousand men, fell on the *Venetians* with great fury: but was received by the general, assisted by two thousand marines, with such bravery, that the *Turks* retired in confusion, after fourteen hundred of them had been killed and wounded.

Turks  
propose  
peace.

THE *Turks* having been very unfortunate this campaign, the *Saltân* next year, sends a *Chauß* to propose a peace (a thing unusual with the *Turks*) to the emperor; who made answer,

<sup>a</sup> CANT. p. 335. & seq.

(H) They found here 100 pieces of cannon, besides a great quantity of ammunition and provision. *Jones*.

(I) Or *Napoli di Romania*.

(K) Being defended on one side by the sea, and on the other by high and craggy mountains, which rendered the siege difficult.

that he could not enter into any treaty, without consent of the *Poles* and *Venetians*. Being disappointed of peace, he prepared for war, and imposed great taxes; which added to the discontent of the people. Mean time the *Wazir*, who was at *Belgrade*, contrived how to supply and preserve *Zigeth*: but for all his vigilance, the *Germans* from *Five Churches*, surprised and burnt the suburbs, whereby they made that and the neighbouring places more secure. However, the *Turks* fearing *Alba Regalis* would be attacked next, laboured to put it in a good posture of defence, not without much disturbance from the imperialists: but of all places belonging to the enemy, *Agria*, or *Erla*, was in most distress. *Tekeli*, who was intrusted to relieve it, was often routed; and in one conflict with the *Hussars*, wounded, while his princeps fortified *Montatz*<sup>b</sup>.

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THE *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia*, early in spring, besieges *Duare* in *Venetians Dalmatia*; but on the approach of the *Venetians*, retreats with great loss. He makes attempts on the enemy in other places also, but is repulsed with slaughter. The *Venetians*, elated with these successes, on the 7th of *Shawâl* (*August* 16th), under the conduct of *Cornaro*, attack *Zing*, which *Vallier* had in vain attempted the year before; and having battered down the walls, on the second day of the siege, take it by storm, putting all the garrison to the sword. With like success, the *Morlakhians* make an expedition towards *Constantinople*; and having by stratagem drawn one thousand foot, and five hundred horse, out of the garrison, kill a great number, and pursue the rest with such vigour, that they entered the city with them, and having plundered, set it on fire.

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THESE misfortunes alarming the *Ulema*, and people of that capital, they throw-out seditious speeches; alleging, that at Constantinople they were judgments for the breach of peace with the emperor, which could not be averted but by removing *Soltân Mohammed*, who was the author of that unjust war, and all those who advised or approved of it.

THE *Soltân* on this news instantly repairs to *Constantinople*, deposes the *Müstî*, and employs emissaries to persuade the people, that not he, but the prelate himself, and *Kâra Mostafa Pâshâ*, who had been put to death, were the occasion of beginning the war. Farther to gain their good opinion, he sells the jewels in the treasury to pay the soldiers; and the money not being sufficient, lays a tax on the *Jâmis*, and every house (L). By these arts, the incipient sedition is quashed; and

<sup>b</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

(L) The *European* merchants who live there, altho' very cu-

rious in other respects, could never compute how much this

tribute

A. D. 1687. the people induced to contribute more readily for the public service <sup>c</sup>.

*The Turks distressed.*

ACCORDING to the Christian historians, this contribution extended to all the officers, military, civil and ecclesiastic, tax-gatherers, and rich merchants. But they were still more at a loss for men than money: for scarce six thousand troops arrived from *Asia*, instead of forty thousand; and the levies fell short in other parts also. This made the court order the *Wazîr* to endeavour a peace at any rate; and offer the delivering up of *Tekeli*, as the first preliminary: but the emperor insisting to be paid six millions of gold, in satisfaction for damages, that all places held by the *Turks* in *Hungary* should be yielded to him, and equal advantages given to his allies, his answer was considered at the *Porte* as an absolute refusal to treat.

THE grand *Wazîr's* army, by a moderate computation, exclusive of the *Tatars*, *Hungarians* under *Tekeli*, garrisons and parties, was about fifty thousand strong: but that of the imperialists amounted to sixty-four thousand brave troops, plentifully supplied with necessaries of all kinds <sup>d</sup>.

*Battle of Mohatz.*

MEAN time, the duke of *Lorrain* marched with the imperial army towards *Essék*, and passed the *Drave*, with intent to attack the *Wazîr*, who had encamped about that place: but *Soleyman Pâshâ* was so advantageously posted, that the duke, instead of venturing to attack him, was obliged to fortify his own camp, for fear of being assailed. The two armies being so near, first try their fortune by skirmishes, and then fall to work with their cannon; which doing most execution on the part of the *Turks*, the *Germans* are forced to give way. The *Turks* taking this for a flight, follow the enemy, who retreat towards the *Danube*. Yet while the *Wazîr* proceeds more slowly, by reason of his numbers, the duke of *Lorrain* encamps at *Mohatz*; where, having refreshed his troops, he set out for *Zikli*. But he had scarce left his camp, when a great number of *Turkish* horse appears, and attacks the *Germans* on all sides, as they moved slowly, in order to detain them, till the *Wazîr* arrived with his whole army.

*The duke attacked.*

AFTER three days skirmishing, the *Wazîr* comes and posts himself in a little wood, thro' which the imperialists were to

<sup>c</sup> CANT. p. 336, & seq.

<sup>d</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

tribute brought into the treasury. But any one may guess, when he knows that in the city alone, exclusive of *Pera*, *Kbrîsopolis* (*Eskudar* or *Skutari*), *Ayub*, *Bektash*, and other adjoining villages, there are above 400,000

houses, besides the markets, inns, shops and baths; every house paying according to their largeness, or the master's abilities, from 10 to 500 leonines. Cant.



pass. Next day, which was the 4th of *Shawal* (August 1st), he draws up his army; when observing the front of the *Ger- mans* to be too wide for the wings to assist each other, commands his troops to annoy the enemy's right wing, with continued, but slight attacks; and at the same time to rush with their whole strength upon the left wing. The *Turks* accordingly fell upon the left wing with such fury, that they must needs have routed it, but for the cannon placed among the enemy's soldiers; which killed great numbers of the *Othmâns* as they moved incautiously forward, and made them retreat to the wood. However they attacked the same wing a second time with a larger force, but with no better success than the first.

THE duke of *Bavaria*, who commanded that body, imagining the courage of the *Turks* to be abated by these two repulses, leads his troops to attack them in the wood: but before he could execute his design, he sees the *Othmâns* advancing in a body against him. Hereupon, he orders his cannon to be placed in the front, loaded with small bullets and pieces of iron; which did such execution, that they were forced to retire in haste. The duke follows them, but had scarce continued the pursuit an hour, when, to his great surprise, he sees the *Othmân* camp intire, and fortified with a strong trench, in so short a time. However, the trenches being demolished by the imperial cannon, the enemy penetrate into the camp itself; and put to the sword almost all the *Janizaries*, deserted by their horse. The *Wazîr*, perceiving things to be desperate, with a few only, escapes by flight; leaving the whole camp a prey to the victors; who pursue him with their horse, when he was out of their reach \*.

OUR historians relate this action with different circumstances from the *Turkish*. Their account of the battle is this: The duke of *Lorraine*, joined by the duke of *Bavaria*, prince Lewis of *Baden*, *Caprara*, *Heusler*, and other generals, having passed the *Drave*, on the 18th of *July*, marched to *Essék*, and next day advanced towards the *Wazîr*; who was strongly and regularly encamped under that fortress, by the direction of some *French* engineers: for at this time the *French* began to enter into a confidence with the *Turks*. The imperialists finding it impossible either to draw them out to a battle, or force their camp, which was impregnable; and being themselves exposed, by their situation, to one hundred and fifty pieces of the enemy's cannon, as well as in want of provision and forage, they determined to repass the *Drave*. The *Turks*, believing this to be a kind of flight, made several attacks on

A. D. 1687. their rear : but being repulsed by the signal address of the generals, they suffered them to cross the river unmolested, without laying hold of the great advantages which the passage of it would have given them.

*Pursued and attacked :* THE imperial army, having passed the *Drave*, encamped on the 28th near *Mohatz*; where they were joined by five thousand German foot, and one thousand horse. Next day, on advice that the *Wazir* began to pass that river, all things were disposed for a battle; and the duke, the better to invite him to it, still retreated, being followed by the enemy, who were reported to be eighty thousand strong, besides attendants. At length, on the 12th of *August*, when the duke had advanced with his right wing, within an hour's march of *Siclos*, the elector of *Bavaria*, who commanded the left, was attacked by eight thousand *Turkish* horse, supported by six thousand *Janizaries*; who had the night before entrenched themselves on the side of a hill, from whence they fired many volleys on the cavalry. But prince *Lewis* of *Baden* having observed a very advantageous post, on the side of the same hill, he was ordered to take it; which he did with admirable success: for the *Janizaries* having fired three volleys, and the *Spahis* as often furiously charged the rear-guard, the brave elector settled his men firm against the frequent and forcible attacks of the enemy. These not being able to endure the fire and unshaken order of the imperialists, betook themselves to a disorderly and precipitate flight: so that the horse, breaking in upon the foot, trampled down the *Janizaries*, and drove them back to their trenches; into which the *Germans* entered at the same time, and put the whole army to a shameful rout, leaving their camp, with all their tents and baggage, behind them (M). In this battle eight thousand *Janizaries*, with their *Aga*, were killed; three thousand others drowned; and two thousand taken prisoners. Of the imperialists, only one thousand were slain.

*Sclavonia invaded,* THE *Wazir*, after this defeat, reinforces the garrison of *Essek* with several regiments; and having left six thousand men to guard the bridge of *Peterwaradin*, retires to *Belgrade*. The duke of *Lorrain*, perceiving these places too well fortified to be taken in the two months which still remained of the campaign, spreads a report that he designed to besiege *Temis-*

† *RICAUT*, ubi supra.

(M) There were found in the camp, 67 pieces of cannon; 10,000 grenadoes; arms of all sorts, 2000 oxen; 500 horse, 1000 kintals of powder; of and other animals, besides great match 400; 8000 cannon ball; plenty of provisions. 3000 bombs and carcases;

war. The *Waxir*, deceived by this stratagem, sends the greater part of his army to defend that city. The *Othmān* forces in *Sclavonia* being by this means weakened, the duke orders *Dunewald*, with a body of troops (N), to drive them out of that country; and continues himself with the main army, to watch the motions of the *Turks* in *Hungary* (O). *Dunewald*, having passed the *Drave* on the 2d of *Zilkaadeh*, sits down before *Burzin*, and batters down the walls; so that on the 6th day of the siege, the garrison yield themselves and castle at discretion.

THIS city being taken, he assaults *Walpo*, whose governor, by a signal, informs the garrison of *Essek*, and desires their assistance. But these latter, terrified at the unexpected approach of the imperialists, undermine the castle, and prepare to fly. *Dunewald*, being informed of this, orders *Ladrone* with two thousand horse to observe the garrison. These imagining that the whole *German* army was with him, abandon the city with such precipitation, that they left behind most of their baggage, and even forgot to set fire to the mines; upon which the governor of *Walpo* surrenders, to prevent an assault. With equal success that general takes *Posbaga*, capital of *Sclavonia*, with *Bellaftin*, *Patrask*, *Shirask*, *Telikbam*, *Walkowar*, *Erdeli*, and several other castles (P), which the *Turks* had deserted, and reduces the whole country under the emperor's obedience. Mean time *Areizaga*, *Ciokaku*, and *Polota*, surrender to the governor of *Leopoldstat*; while *Agria* in upper *Hungary* is invested by a small body of imperialists, and cut-off from all supplies.

THE campaign on this side is crowned with the reduction of *Transylvania*. The prince of that country, *Mikbael Apaffi*, had agreed in the beginning of summer to quit his alliance with the *Turks*, provided they were once removed from his borders, and admit the imperialists. But when the duke of *Lorrain* was preparing to take up his quarters in that province, *Apaffi* denies him entrance; alleging, that his promise of granting quarters did not extend to the whole army, but only to some regiments (Q). The duke hereupon enters the country, without

(N) Ten thousand men.

(O) The season being very wet, and his men growing sickly, they with great difficulty got to *Zolnok*. Jones.

(P) Particularly *Orovitza* and *Zerneck*. Our historians say, the *Turks* abandoned these and *Posbaga*, on the news of *Dunewald's* approach.

(Q) Our historians say, he alleged that in so doing he should offend the *Porte*, which would be his ruin: that hereupon the duke said, he would take quarters by force: that being refused quarters at *Klausenburg*, he proposed to attack it; whereupon the governor surrendered on articles: that no

A. D. without the prince's consent ; and seizing *Cibinium* and *Clau-*  
 1687. *diopolis* (R), the principal cities, obliges him to submit to the  
 emperor.

**Russian expedition.** THE *Russians* did not meet with the same success against the *Krim Tatars* : for *Basilius*, prince of *Galliczin*, being sent against them by the young *Czars*, with a numerous but confused army, after several days march thro' the frontier desert, is surrounded by *Nuraddîn Soltân*. The misfortune of being thus cut-off from provision and water, is soon followed by a pestilence, which destroys above forty thousand of his men in a short time. For all this, *Nuraddîn Soltân*, fearing the *Russian* army, to oblige them to return, pretends to march towards *Kiew* ; which had the desired effect. But this stratagem would not have hindered the prince from entering *Krim Tartary*, if he had not been hastily recalled by the letters of *Sophia* (S), sister to the *Czars*.

**Poles retreat.** THE *Poles*, under the command of *James Sobieski*, the king's eldest son, on the 24th of *Shawal* (*August* 2d), appear before *Kameniek* : but after throwing in some bombs, and discharging their cannon twice or thrice, they, on news that the *Turks* and *Tatars* were advanced to *Czuczera*, raise the siege. Nothing remarkable was performed farther this year between the contending powers.

**The affairs of the Morea.** WITH much greater vigour the *Venetians* carry on the war in the *Morea* : for landing their forces at *Patras* on the 23d of *Ramazân*, they march three days after, under the conduct of count *Koningsmark*, against the *Seraskier* ; who with his cavalry attacks their left wing. But being repulsed with loss, he bends his whole force against the right wing, with such fury, that the *Janizaries* with their swords endeavoured to remove the barricades, which secured the enemy's front : yet is he forced, after receiving a dangerous wound, and losing

other place afterwards refused to receive the imperialists into quarters ; and that afterwards the duke made a treaty with *Apaffi*, and the states, to the satisfaction of both parties. About the same time the archduke *Joseph*, was crowned king of *Hungary*.

(R) *Hermanstadt* and *Klausenburg*. It is wrong to change the *Turkish* names, especially to give the antient instead of the modern.

(S) Many blame *Galliczin*

alone, for the ill success of this expedition : but I have chosen to relate here what I know to be true and unquestionable. *Cont.* From this, and many other circumstances in this second part of the *Othmân* history, a suspicion arises, that our author has mixed a great deal of matter from his own knowledge, or other historians, with what he gives us from the *Turkish* writers, without distinguishing one authority from the other,

many of his men, with the *Pâshâ* of *Valona*, to fly to the mountains, with the remainder, two thousand of whom are cut-off in the pursuit. This victory gained to the *Venetians*, all which remained of the *Morea* in the hands of the *Othmâns*. The garrison of the castle of *Patras* lead the way, and fly <sup>2</sup>.

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ACCORDING to our historians, on the 21st of July 1687, *The Seraskier* the whole *Venetian* fleet, consisting of twenty-six galleys, and six galleasses, besides eighty-seven vessels of other kinds, entered the river of *Patras*; and altho' the *Seraskier* of the *Morea* was strongly encamped near the town, and two *Pâshâs* guarded the banks of the river; yet, by count *Koningsmark's* advice, they landed in the river itself. Upon this a strong party of *Turks* attacked the *Germans*, who led the van with great fury, but were quickly put to flight; and the captain general having cut-off all communication between the *Turks* and the castle, by the entrance of several galleys into the gulph during the night, it was resolved to fight the *Seraskier*, and by *Koningsmark's* attempt his camp. With this view, on the 24th, general *Koningsmark* drew up his army in order of battle; which the *Seraskier* perceiving, he detached some of his best troops to try to break their ranks. Finding that this had no effect, he gave the signal for his whole forces to engage, and charge the *Venetians* in flank, trusting to the great superiority of his troops: but the *German* foot, who received the first fire, seconded by the cavalry, commanded by the marquis of *Corbon*, soon put them to flight; whereupon the strong fortrefs of *Patras* surrendered <sup>h</sup>.

*MEHEMED Pâshâ*, who had six thousand men to defend the castle of *Rumelia*, after blowing up the walls, deserted it likewise. The same is done by *Mehemed*, governor of the castle of *Morea*, on sight of the *Venetian* galleys: and, what is more surprizing, the city of *Naupactus* (*Lepanto*) strongly fortified both by nature and art, sends deputies to the *Venetian* fleet which was sailing thither, with offers of surrender.

ACCORDING to our historians, the captain general having ordered the fleet to bring their chace-guns, on the head of their ships, to bear on the fortrefs of *Lepanto*; the inhabitants were so terrified that they abandoned the place, carrying what baggage they could on their backs. Thus in the space of twenty-four hours, the *Venetians* became masters of four strong fortresses, with little or no loss; and sixty pieces of cannon, most of them brass, were found in them, besides eight in the *Seraskier's* camp (who after his defeat, marched in haste to *Korinth*) and six in that of *Mosafa Pâshâ*.

<sup>2</sup> CANT. p. 338 & seq.

<sup>h</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

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Korinth  
deserted.

WHEN the affairs of the conquered cities were settled, *Morofini*, general of the *Venetian* army, appears before castle *Tornefe*, and *Misitra*, which the governors deliver up, with all the stores, without the least opposition. The only city which made any resistance was *Epidaurus Limeria* (T); wherefore *Morofini*, after annoying it extremely with his bombs to no effect, sails with his fleet thro' the *Korinthian* bay, directly to *Korinth*; presuming, that when this last city should be subdued, the passage into the *Morea* would be shut up to the *Turks*, and the remaining castles would be much easier to reduce. The *Seraskier*, on his approach, considering that the four thousand men he had with him would not be able to oppose the enemy, sets fire to the magazines; and demolishing most of the walls, retreats into the mountains of *Thebes*, slaying all the *Greeks* he met, on pretence that they were the cause of his misfortune. But *Morofini* perceiving the flames, sent and extinguished them, before the magazines could be all consumed.

Athens  
surrenders

AFTER this he sends *Koningsmark*, with part of his army to *Athens*, which surrenders, after a short siege; wherein the antient temple, dedicated to the *unknown God*, was blown up, by a bomb setting fire to the powder lodged there<sup>1</sup>.

to Ko-  
nings-  
mark.

OUR historians place the taking of *Korinth* next after that of *Patras*; and besides *Tornefe* and *Misitra*, mention the submission of *Saritenaea*, *Idrapolica*, *Solona*, and the strong fortrels of *Mitra*. After this, they say *Morofini*, in his way to *Athens*, ruined with his artillery, great part of the town and castle of *Malvasia*. According to them, on the 20th of *September*, he arrived at port *Leon*, six or seven miles from *Athens*, where he landed his men; and marching to the city, began to batter the castle with four mortars and six cannon, shooting red-hot bullets, one of which falling into their magazine, blew it up. This, with the *Seraskier's* retreating from general *Koningsmark*, who advanced to fight him, brought the place to surrender, on condition that the soldiers should march out with what they could carry on their backs, but without arms. Accordingly six thousand persons left the city, six hundred of whom were capable to bear arms. Many of the *Greeks* remained, with three hundred *Turks*, who were baptized; their intermarriages with the *Greeks*, disposing them to embrace the Christian religion here, more than elsewhere. There

<sup>1</sup> CANT. p. 340, & seq. RICAUT.

(T) Called by the modern *Italians*, *Napoli di Malvasia*. *Greeks Monembasia*: by the *Turks*, *Meneuiche*: and by the *the Morea*. CANT.

were found eighteen pieces of cannon in the castle. On this news, the inhabitants of *Megara* abandon that place, which the *Venetians* burnt, as being of no use<sup>k</sup>.

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IN *Dalmatia* the *Turks* begin the campaign, and under the command of *Atlaglik Pâshâ*, governor of *Bosnia*, on the first of *Jamazio'lawel*, besiege *Zing* (or *Singh*) which *Cornaro* had taken the year before : but after assailing it with great vigour for forty days, and losing a great number of men, he is obliged to retire on the approach of the *Venetian* army. *Cornaro*, on the other hand, with the assistance of the fleets of *Malta*, and the pope, on the 25th of *Shawâl*, besieges castle *Nusvo* in *Dalmatia*, which the *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia* hastes to relieve ; and having forced thro' the narrow passes guarded by the *Morlakians*, on the 8th of *Zilbajeh*, attacks the *Venetian* trenches with such fury, that he would have defeated the forces which defended them, had not *Cornaro*, with the rest of the army, and *Maltese* auxiliaries, seasonably supported them when they began to give way, and obliged the *Turks* to fly, after they had lost above eight hundred men. For all this the garrison held out, till the *Venetians* having taken the city by storm, on the 21st of the same month, they three days after found themselves under a necessity to surrender the castle<sup>l</sup>.

OUR historians mention certain particulars relating to this transaction, which deserve the reader's notice. On the 2d of *September*, general *Girolamo Cornaro*, procurator of *St. Mark*, landed his forces at a place called *Komburt*, near the town ; and tho' the *Turks* were strongly intrenched on the banks of the passes, yet they forced their way, beating the enemy out of their trenches. After this, having discovered the condition of the town, which was fortified with redoubts and trenches, it was thought adviseable to make another descent at a place called *Zeleucia*, which was performed by general *St. Paul* ; when, after five hours stout resistance, the *Venetians* became masters of the first and second trenches, with the hill of *Santa Veneranda*, which commands the town : from whence firing red-hot bullets into it, the soldiers were compelled to quit their trenches.

MEAN time, the *Pâshâ* of *Bosnia* came with all his forces to their assistance : but two thousand soldiers landing seasonably on the east side of the town, put him and his whole army to flight. After this, the militia of *Malta*, advancing to the very muzzles of the enemy's muskets, bravely maintained their ground, tho' many of them were cut-off, and obliged them to retreat under the cannon of the lower fortrefs. The town being thus blocked up, the defendants made a vigorous sally

The *Turks*  
defeated.

<sup>k</sup> RICAUT.

<sup>l</sup> CANT. p. 341.

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with their best men, but were repulsed with loss. At this time the *Pâshâ* of *Herzegovina*, endeavouring to relieve the besieged, was met by a detachment sent to oppose him; who being lately preferred to the government of *Bosnia*, so fiercely attacked the battalion of serjeant-major *Gaili*, that they were broken; and had been totally defeated, had not major-general *Grimani* come to their assistance. But at last the enemy was put to flight, leaving seven hundred dead on the spot, besides several great men, whose heads, three hundred in number, being cut off, were fixed on half-pikes before the town.

The city  
yields.

FINDING the besieged still resolute, they batter the place incessantly: so that hearing the *Pâshâ* of *Albania* was coming to relieve it, and the magazine being blown up, they assaulted the breach, now thirty-six paces wide, and opened their way into the town: but finding the street barricaded with all sorts of lumber, while the men fired upon them from the windows, and the women threw stones from the tops of the houses, they were obliged to retreat again. Yet making another assault on the 29th of *September*, the defendants capitulated the next day, on condition to march out with their baggage, and be transported to *Albania*; soon after which, the middle and principal castle surrendered on the same terms <sup>m</sup>.

The army  
mutiny,

MEAN time, there arises in the *Turkish* camp, from a slight cause, a very great sedition, which deprived the *Soltân* of the imperial dignity, and proved an almost irreparable detriment to the whole empire. The *Wazîr*, *Ayneji Soleymân Pâshâ*, being informed at *Peterwaradin*, that *Agria* would be forced to surrender, for want of provision, if not speedily relieved; commands a thousand *Janizaries*, and some hundred *Spahis*, to march thither with supplies of victuals. But the soldiers, alleging their being quite spent with that year's service, and accusing him as the cause of all their disgraces, refuse to obey his orders; and when he renews his commands, declare they will not move one step without him (U). These kindlings of sedition were inflamed soon after by a new incident; for the

<sup>m</sup> RICAUT, ubi supra.

(U) Our historians say, the sedition began after the battle of *Mobatz* at *Essek*; where the *Janizaries* and *Spahis* upbraiding one another with their ill behaviour in the late battle, at length fell to blows: that the *Wazîr*, having pacified them with money, marched to *Peterwaradin*, where the soldiers grew

so insolent by the incitement of *Osmân* and *Sbaus Pâshâs*, that he was forced to fly to *Belgrade*; after which they made *Sbaus* their general. They differ in other particulars from the *Turkish* historians before us, whose authority, in an affair of this nature, ought we think to be preferred.



*Wazir* having attempted to destroy several *Pásbás*, by accusing them to *Soltán Mohammed* of neglect of duty in the last battle, those officers, being informed of the danger by their friends at court, exasperate the whole army against him.

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*SIYAVUS Pâshâ* (X), a stout and haughty man, who was in the list of the accused, which was sent to the *Soltân*, appeared at the head of these disturbances; and by his persuasion the army demands of the *Wazîr* the payment of two *Kîst* (Y) due to them. That minister not having the money ready, tells them their pay was on the road, and would be there in a few days. But the soldiers, not to be put off with fair words, command him either to pay them forthwith, or resign the *Wazîrship*, since they had a person ready, who was much more deserving of that dignity, and would satisfy their demand. *Soleymân Pâshâ* hereupon, in fear of his life, secretly flies, and carries to the *Soltân* the first news of this rebellion; laying the whole blame on *Siavus*, and some others, whom he accused of treachery in the *German war*.

*SOLTÂN* Mohammed easily credits the *Wazîr*, and *Petition* with tears orders him to conceal himself, till he enquired into the designs of the rebels. *Soleymân*, by this convinced of his sovereign's good-will, retires to the house of *Manolaki*, a wealthy Greek, near the palace; where he lay hid for twenty-seven days, unknown to any body, excepting the *Soltân*, and his friend the *Kizlar Aga*. Two days after the *Wazîr's* flight, *Siavus Pâshâ*, calling a council of the chief conspirators at *Belgrade*, engages them in a design to depose the *Soltân*, and put several of the great men to death. The rest of the army imagining that the *Wazîr* had fled to expose them to the enemy, or the *Soltân's* repentment, desire *Siavus* to take on him the *Wazîrship*. He, to gain the *Soltân's* favour, refuses the honour; alleging that the dignity could be conferred by none but his majesty, against whom he would not be so wicked as to attempt any thing; and therefore exhorted them, before they proceeded a step farther, to send him a petition, and wait his answer.

THIS advice being approved, *Siavus*, in the name of the *Thir* de-  
whole army, sends an *Arzmahzar* (Z) to *Soltân Mohammed*, *mands re-*  
*jected.*

(X) A man before this action distinguished for no merit. The *Italians* write *Sciaw*, or *Shaw*, in our characters. Our historians call him *Ogli* likewise; and join with him one *Ozmân Pâshâ*, as a leader in the mutiny.

(Y) That is three months pay,  
as *Ulyuse* is one month's, and

*Navaka* one day's pay. The *Janizaries* are paid quarterly.

(Z) It is a petition, presented, in the name of the whole province or army, to the *Soltân* or *Wazîr*; that of a single person is called *Arzûbal*, as mentioned in a former note. *Cant.*

A. D. 1687. setting forth, "That the forces of the empire were determined to come to *Constantinople*, not to raise a sedition, or attempt any thing against his sacred person, but to demand justice against the treachery and desertion of the *Wazîr* : that however, if he was desirous immediately to appease those commotions, he should send to the camp the head of that traitor, and the pay due to the army by the *Tefterdâr*, and the *Gyumrukchi Hüsseyin Aga* (A)." The *Soltân* was advised by his most intimate counsellors to satisfy the demands of the soldiers, for his own safety ; but he had conceived so great an opinion of the *Wazîr's* abilities, that he returned no other answer to the *Arzmabzar*, than that the money was already sent to pay them, and would soon be distributed; hoping the sight of it would soften their resentment to his minister. But the soldiers, persisting in their demand, cry out, that the *Soltân* is equally culpable with the *Wazîr*, for protecting him, and ought to be deposed <sup>n</sup>.

At length granted.

WHEN *Mohammed* heard that for this purpose they hastened their march, he sent their leader the seal of the empire, and *Mohammed's* standard ; flattering himself, that *Siavus Pâshâ*, having obtained what he wanted, would not be so importunate for the *Wazîr's* head ; but *Siavus* considering that the authority conferred on him would not be lasting, while his enemy, in such favour with the *Soltân*, was alive, receives the ensigns of power with strong declarations of submission, from the *Silahdâr Aga* ; but withal informs him that it was not in his power to pacify the army, till the *Wazîr*, *Tefterdâr*, and *Gyumrukchi Basî*, to whose negligence they imputed the present calamities, were executed. The *Soltân* hereupon sends the *Wazîr's* head (B); which not contenting the soldiers, *Siavus* advises his

<sup>n</sup> CANT. p. 341. & seq.

(A) One of the richest men among the *Turks*, and in such credit with the *Soltân*, that almost every week he dined at his house, called *Findikli*, in *Pera*, almost opposite to the palace. It is now mostly in ruins ; an order having been made that it should not be inhabited. The *Gyumrukchi* is the receiver of the customs. *Cant.*

(B) As soon as the *Chausb* came to the prison, he said, *I know for what you come ; God's will be done* : and having said his

prayers, was strangled : but first enjoined him two things, I. to let the men in power know that he had given all his slaves their freedom. II. To advise them not to torment his people to discover his money, for that he never had any thing considerable, and the little which he was possessed of, was lost in the camp ; only he could wish the *Soltân* would bestow what furniture and other things there might be in his house at *Skutary*, on his son. *Jones.*

majesty not to draw some fatal consequence on himself, by an unreasonableness of clemency; assuring him, that if he would follow his advice, he hoped in a short time to extinguish the rebellion.

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THE *Soltân* having complied on this remonstrance, *Siavus Pâshâ* endeavours sincerely to perform his promise, and detain the army at *Adrianople*: but the rebels, instead of obeying his orders, reproach him with betraying them for sake of interest, and going over to the *Soltân's* party, now he had gratified his ambition; in short, they threaten, unless he leads them on, to cut-off his head, and choose another general, who should depose the *Soltân*, and place *Soleymân* in his room. The new *Wazîr*, finding it dangerous to refuse, brings them to *Constantinople*, where he is received with great honour by *Soltân Mobammed*; who promises to confer favours on him, even beyond his hopes, provided he would appease the tumults. *Siavus Pâshâ* first excuses himself for having accepted the command of the army without his knowledge; alleging that, when he saw them bent on some desperate design, he judged it would be of service both to his majesty and the empire. He then said, if the *Soltân* had granted their first petition, he might easily have suppressed the sedition; but that the rebellion now had taken deep root in their minds. However, he promised, on his oath, to do his utmost endeavour to extinguish it, at the hazard of his life.

As soon as the *Wazîr* returned to his palace, he sent for the chief rebels, and endeavours to dissuade them from proceeding in their designs, by representing, "That the *Soltân* had satisfied all their demands, and was not to be blamed for the misfortunes brought on by others: that no man of understanding could aim at deposing him, as he had heard some did; considering, that as a wise and warlike prince, he was able to defend the empire; while his sons were too young to govern, and his brothers, especially *Soleymân*, were fitter to be monks than soldiers, being skilled in the laws, but not in arms." The conspirators, confirmed in their former suspicions of the *Wazîr's* fidelity, feign a readiness to divert the soldiers under their influence, from any such design: but as soon as they are out of the palace, they meet in the *Orta Jâmi* (C); and accusing *Siavus Pâshâ* with being secretly in the *Soltân's* interest, in violation of his oath, advise the *Janizaries* to execute their purposes, before they are circumvented by his artifices.

° CANT. 346.

(C) A temple in the midst of the *Janizaries* chambers, where they consult about any matter of consequence; and therefore

when the *Soltâns* are afraid of a rebellion, they chiefly observe what is doing in the *Orta Jâmi*.  
Cant.

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The clergy  
agree

HEREUPON the sedition encreasing like wild-fire, the soldiers run armed in great bodies thro' the streets, crying out, *the Soltān, both unfortunate and indolent, ought to be deposed, and Soleymān advanced in his room; who by his prayers would appease the divine indignation.* They are soon after joined by the Ulema, partly of their own accord, and partly thro' necessity; on sight of whom the common people, thinking it criminal at such a time to sit still, snatch up what weapons are at hand, and repair to the church of *Sancta Sophia*. There the *Nakib* (D) and *Sbeykh* (E), offer themselves to the rest as leaders and directors of the intended consultation: but before any thing is proposed, they order the *Kaymakān*, *Kyoprili Mostafa Pāshā* (F), to be sent for, in the name of the whole *Musulmān* nation. When he came, the *Sharif* of *Sophia*, in a long speech, set forth how many provinces and cities had been lost; how much blood and treasure had been spent; and that greater calamities were still to be expected, if the government should be continued in the hands of such an emperor, who took no care of the army or state, and only minded his hawks and his hounds: then putting the *Kaymakān* in mind of the great services done to the empire by his ancestors, exhorts him to assist in averting the impending danger p.

to depose  
Moham-  
med.

As the *Sharif* is going on, he is interrupted by a clamour, that the *Shāzadeh* were in danger: for the *Soltān* finding, on being informed of this consultation, that there was no way left to prevent his deposition, but to put his brothers to death, had sent some of his chamberlains to dispatch them. But the *Bostānji-Bashi*, being made acquainted with this design, by some courtiers, bribed by the *Soltān's* enemies, had surrounded the apartments of *Soleymān* and *Ahmed* with a regiment of *Bostānji*; and having repulsed the chamberlains, informed the

P CANT. p. 343. & seq.

(D) Or more properly *Nakib Ajkrās*, the holy overseer, who is the keeper of the *Sanjāki Sbarīf*, or the holy standard. He is the head of the *Amīrs* or descendants of *Fatemah*, *Mohammed's* daughter, and alone hath power over the rest; for without his knowlege, the *Soltān* himself cannot so much as strike one of them. He is no way inferior in dignity to the *Mufti* himself: but because it would be dangerous to trust any man

long with so much power, the *Soltān* often changes him, but cannot take away his salary. Cant.

(E) He is the prelate or the head of a temple; but the *Sbeykh* of *Sancta Sophia* takes place of all other *Sbeykhs*. Cant.

(F) Son of the great *Abmed Pāshā*, a man for holiness of life, integrity, prudence, and courage, famous above all the rest of the *Turks*. Cant.

assembly of this affair. The rebels, fired with this news, de-  
fired the *Nakib* and *Sharîf* of *Sophia* instantly to proclaim  
the deposition of *Mohammed*, and declare *Soleyman* emperor;  
since the *Soltân's* attempt on the life of his brothers, was of  
itself a sufficient ground; and the *Boştânji* might be bribed, if  
the design should be delayed.

THE multitude would perhaps by force have deposed the *Soltân*, and even attempted his life, if the *Kaymakân* had not prevented it, by pretending to approve their opinion. Having thus gained their favour, he tells the assembly, "That there  
" was no occasion for doing things in a hurry, since the *Shah-  
" xâdeb* were securely guarded by the *Boştânji Bâshi*; and  
" advises them to proceed in such a manner, as might both  
" preserve the honour of the *Othmân* family, and prevent  
" more dangerous commotions; which would be to send  
" the *Shaykh Sharîf* and *Nakib* to the *Soltân*, in order to de-  
" clare him deposed, in the name of the *Ulema* (or clergy)  
" soldiery, and the whole *Mussulman* nation: then to desire  
" him to leave the palace of his own accord, and resign the  
" empire to his brother *Soleyman*." This advice being ap-  
proved of by the whole assembly, the *Nakib* and *Shaykh Sharîf*,  
are sent, much against their wills, with this fatal message;  
which they humbly deliver to the *Soltân*, and then ask pardon  
for doing what they were forced to by the multitude.

SOLTÂN Mohammed heard the messengers with great tranquillity, and then told them, "that they had brought him  
" no news but what he expected; for that he had long found  
" the common people were corrupted by the *Ulema*, desirous  
" of change, and engaged by them in their rebellion, which  
" he might have prevented by banishing them:" next having  
mentioned the justice of his government, and his many war-  
like exploits during a reign of forty years, he tells them, "He  
" cannot think of any other pretence for their impious attempt,  
" excepting the breach of peace with the emperor of *Germany*,  
" and the four last years ill success of the war: and yet that  
" they themselves first persuaded him to that war; and that  
" the *Mâfi*, the head of their confederacy, by his *setvab*,  
" pronounced the same just."—"That instead of endeavour-  
" ing to appease the divine wrath by fasting and prayer, which  
" was their proper office, they had instigated the people to  
" trample on his authority, and the laws, of which they were  
" the guardians." Then, after repeating the many conces-  
sions and sacrifices he had made to please the people, and  
procure peace, concluded, "That altho' he knew the people  
" by their (the *Ulema's*) authority, were too deeply rooted  
" and confirmed in their wicked design, yet he also knew that  
" the righteous god would prove his avenger, and severely

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"punish the corrupted people, for the injury then offered him."

His abdication.

THE *Nakib*, unmoved with the *Soltân's* speech, uses still greater insolence towards him, and replies, without any sense of modesty; "That he was not sent by the people to hear his apology; but to command him, in the name of the whole *Mussulman* assembly, to quit the throne: that therefore if he was desirous to preserve his honour and life, he should, of his own accord, resign the government to his brother *Soleymân*? since, was he to oppose the will of the citizens, they would notwithstanding execute their resolutions." The *Soltân* hereupon, submitting to necessity, says to the messengers, "Since I see the divine indignation, stirred up by the sins of the *Mussulmans*, discharged on my head, go and tell my brother, that God's decree is declared by the mouth of the people, and he is appointed governor of the *Ali Othmân* empire." *Soltân Mohammed*, having spoken these words, on the third of *Moharram* 1099 (G), resigns the imperial scepter<sup>9</sup>.

Reign and children.

Rejeb Pâshâ escapes.

THE several steps taken in this great revolution, are more fully and accurately related by the *Turkish*, than the Christian historians; from whom we shall only add two particulars farther, to shew the unaccountable vicissitudes, and miserable state, to which human greatness is liable. Upon *Soleymân* the *Wazir's* flight to *Constantinople*, *Rejeb*, the *Kaymakâm*, a man of great abilities, who was his friend, suspecting that the friends of *Ibrâhim*, the former *Wazir*, fomented the sedition, he obtained an order to remove the *Musti* (who the year before had been banished to *Prusa*) to the island of *Rhodes*; and another to take off the head of *Ibrâhim*, who was imprisoned there. After this, the soldiers, in their march towards the capital, beginning to talk of deposing *Mohammed*, *Rejeb*, apprehensive of the danger, applied to the *Musti* for a *fetva*, to declare all those rebels and infidels, who would not obey the *Soltân's* commands. But this being refused, and the *Kislar Aga* insinuating to *Soltân Mohammed*, as if *Rejeb* was contriving how to make his peace with the army, it was agreed to send them his head along with *Soleymân's*, in order to make atonement for the lives of others. Pursuant to this resolution, the *Postânji Bâshi*, being sent to seize *Rejeb*, he very readily offered to go with him: but as that officer and his servants went down before him, he stopped short at the head of the

<sup>9</sup> CANT. p. 346, & seq.

(G) Which answers to *Saturday* the 29th of *October* 1687: our historians place this event on the 28th.

stairs, and said, *Agâ, it would not be amiss if I should take some Chekîns with me into the prison; step in with me for them into my chamber*: then, turning quick about, he entered into a room, and passing nimbly into another, thro' a sort of cupboard door, from thence by a pair of back-stairs, got into the garden, and made his escape by the postern. However, he was afterwards taken, and put to death.

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MEAN time the *Musti*, pursuant to the mandate obtained by *Kejeb*, was put on board a galley, whose *Beg* or commander, being a friend of the *Wazîr Ibrâhîm*, endeavoured, during the voyage, to sound the *Kâpîji Bâshi*, whether he had any other order to execute at *Rhodes*; and this officer not owning that he had any, the *Beg*, as soon as he arrived there, went directly to *Ibrâhîm*, to assure him that he was in no danger. Not long after, the *Kâpîji Bâshi* entered, and kissing *Ibrâhîm's* yest, sat down by him: after which, being asked what news, he said, all was well. Then he drank some coffee, and having smoaked his pipe, drew a paper out of his bosom, and gave it to *Ibrâhîm*, who on reading it changed countenance; and happening to have a little child upon his knee, kissed it, with tears in his eyes, and said, *what have I done? they seized all my estate; and not being content therewith, have sent for my life. O treacherous world!* This said, he was presently strangled.

Ibrâhîm  
strangled.Mohammed's  
reign

**SOLTÂN Mohammed** lived after his deposition for five years, a thing very uncommon, closely confined in his apartment; departing the world in *Jomazi'lawel* 1104. He lived fifty-two, and reigned forty years, five months, and sixteen days. He left, by different wives, seven sons, two of whom, *Mostafa* and *Abmed*, were advanced to the empire; the rest died in their infancy.

HE was a prince eminent for justice and warlike abilities; and of great clemency, and his reign very happy, excepting the last four years of it. There was but one fault which his enemies could reproach him with, and that, is his immoderate love of hunting in the latter years of his reign, to the neglect of state affairs. He is reported by some, to have been poisoned by his brother *Soltân Abmed*, at the instigation of the *Wazîr, Arabaji Ali Pâshâ*; who having sought the death of certain great men, and meeting with a repulse from the *Soltân*, by *Mohammed's* advice, in revenge, suborned the *Munejin Bâshi* (H), to give out he had discovered, by the stars, that *Moham-*

and character.

RICAUT, ubi supra.

(H) He is the chief astrologer; and third of the four officers in the inner *Othmân* court, who are reckoned ecclesiastics,

A. D. 1687. ~~and should~~ depose his brother, and reascend the throne: which artifice the *Wazir* made use of to irritate *Abmed* against him. But it is customary on the death of a *Saltān*, to raise a report of his being poisoned: besides it is well known that *Mohammed*, before his deposition, was continually troubled with the gout in both his hands and feet: this, added to the hypocondriack distemper, occasioned by his confinement, at last exhausted all his vital spirits \*.

\* CANT. p. 348, & seq.

the other three are, the *Hojeh*, and the *Jerrab Bāshi*, or chief or *Saltān's* preceptor; the *Hakim Effendi*, or chief physician, *Cant.*

The END of the TWELFTH VOLUME.

















